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VOLUME IV.

King Henry the Eighth.

PART IV.

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CONTENTS OF THIS VOLUME.

ORDER OF THE BOARD for publishing the STATE PAPERS relative to SCOTLAND and the BORDERS.

PART IV.

INTRODUCTION.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

ORDER.

AT a Board of Commissioners for printing and publishing State Papers, held at His Majesty's State Paper Office, on the 16th day of February 1835;

PRESENT,

The Right Honorable Charles Manners Sutton, G.C.B.,
The Right Honorable John Wilson Croker,
The Right Honorable Henry Hobhouse;

Ordered,

That the State Papers relative to Scotland and the Borders during the Reign of King Henry VIII. be forthwith printed, in the same manner and form as they are now arranged, transcribed, and submitted to the Board.

Robt Lemon, Secretary.

STATE PAPERS.

King Henry the Eighth.

Part IV.

CORRESPONDENCE

RELATIVE TO

Scotland and the Borders.

1513—1534.

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According to the classification stated in the General Preface, p. xxi, to have been adopted for the Reign of Henry VIII., the fourth part of this publication would have been confined to the correspondence between the Government of England and the King's representatives on the Scottish Border. But on a more minute comparison of this series of papers with the correspondence between the Courts of England and Scotland, the two classes were found to be so intimately blended, that for literary and historical purposes they were unfit to be separated; and further, there appeared to exist a third class equally inseparable, consisting of correspondence between the English Ambassador in Scotland and the English authorities on the south of the Tweed, viz., at one time, the Lord Warden of the Marches, or his Vice Wardens; at another, the Lord Lieutenant beyond Trent; at a third, the Lieutenant of the North; at a fourth, the Lord President and Council of the North, and occasionally two, or even three, of these, contemporaneously. It has, therefore, been determined to publish, in one series, the papers falling within these three classes.

Similar considerations have led to the resolution to defer the publication of the correspondence with the King's representatives at Calais, until that with the Court of France shall be ready for the press.

These arrangements present next to our notice in this publication the Correspondence with Foreign Courts. And, as the connexion between the two Crowns of England and Scotland, which subsisted in the 16th Century, and has since been cemented by the Union of the Realms, presents Scotland as the State entitled to the first notice, precedence has been given to that Kingdom. The two succeeding volumes, therefore, contain the State Papers relative to Scotland, including those which, for the reasons above stated, are incorporated.

The earliest original document of the Reign of Henry VIII., relative to Scotland, now remaining in the State Paper Office, is an account of the battle of Flodden, which is printed, because it differs, in some points, from other narratives of that fight, in which James IV. was slain; and is expressly referred to by the latest Historian of that æra. With the exception of a few Papers, which, as they relate principally to England, are published in the first Volume of this Work, yet contain some information as to Scottish affairs, there is no other document in the State Paper Office throwing light on Scottish history, till the letter in which James V. announced to Henry VIII. his assumption of the Royal authority, in 1524. The series, therefore, now published, commences with papers illustrative of that event, which appears to have been contemplated by Queen Margaret, and a party of the Scottish Lords, in the year 1523, and to have originated in the apprehension that the young King would, either by force or by stealth, be conveyed to France by the Regent Albany; to have been suspended upon the Regent's visit to Scotland in the autumn of that year, probably in consequence of impediments arising out of his presence; and to have been resumed, as soon as he quitted the realm, in the ensuing spring.

The greater portion of these papers during the years 1523 and 1524 are found in the Cottonian Library, and have been ransacked by Pinkerton as materials for his portion of Scottish history; viz. from the accession of the House of Stuart to that of Mary. He complains that "the opulence of original correspondence, for these two years, "surprizes and embarasses an historian." He has culled from many of them; but he was not aware of the contemporary papers in the Chapter House, and of course knew nothing of the intimate connexion between the two collections, described in the General Preface, p. xiv, which is illustrated by several examples in the following pages. The value of these papers in the Cottonian Library is adverted to in the Appendix to the first General Report from the Commissioners on Public Records, p. 155. Pinkerton claims the merit of having affixed dates to them, the state of which he describes by the word "chaos," (Vol. II. p. 111, note[2]), but expresses his regret that the arrangement was still completely unchronological. This character of the collection is most correct,

correct, and threw such serious impediments in the way of the present compilation, that it was found necessary to dissect the whole Cottonian catalogue relative to Scotland, during the reign of Henry VIII., and to make an entirely new arrangement of the articles of which it consists. In the course of this arrangement many of the papers were found to have had no date at all assigned to them, and some of those, to which a date had been assigned, required to be differently placed.

After James V.'s erection (as his assumption of the Royal authority was styled), a communication, though not always an amicable one, was usually kept up betwee then two Kingdoms. There are however some considerable chasms, the most remarkable of which occurs in the years 1530 and 1531, when during a space of twenty-one months not a single paper relative to Scotland is now extant either in the State Paper Office, the British Museum, or the Chapter House. Whether this hiatus is to be ascribed in any degree to the reason suggested by Lesley for Henry's peaceful disposition at this period, viz. that He "wes sa bissy occupyit "in purchascing ane devorce to be hed betuix him and Quene "Katherine his wyffe," it is not easy to judge. Another remarkable chasm occurs between June 1540 and May 1541. And it is singular that while almost the sole trace of Sadleyr's missions in the years 1537, 1544, and 1545 is found in the papers here published, Vol. V. pp. 81, &c., 385, &c., 423, &c., there is a total silence as to that in 1540. And the single paper in the State Paper Office respecting the rout at Solway Moss is the list printed in p. 232.

Though great use has been made of these stores by various authors, yet, notwithstanding all their diligence, light may still be reflected on the annals of Scotland by many of the papers remaining in these collections. In the following volumes will be found a selection from them; in making which, the object has been to illustrate the most prominent events, and not to dwell on the general state of the country, which has been already well described by historians.

Considering the deficient state of female education at that period, the reader will be surprised to find the large number of Queen Margaret's letters (of which many are still unpublished), and more so to observe how great a proportion of them is in her own handwriting; and

and this surprise will be increased, if he has recourse to the originals, and sees the badness of that manuscript.

The most striking fact established by these Papers is the participation of Henry VIII. in the murder of Cardinal Betoun, of which no historian, antecedent to Mr. Tytler, had any evidence, except the inference which may be drawn from the answer in Haynes's State Papers, to Hertford's letter printed in Vol. V. p. 377. The progress of that crime, and Henry's privity to it, and encouragement of its perpetration, may here be traced from the first suggestion made by Kirkaldy (the late Treasurer of Scotland) and his confederates, in April 1544, through the various stages (pp. 467, 470, 512.) to its completion in May 1546. (pp. 560, 561.)

CONTENTS

OF

PART IV.

		PAGE
I.	Account of the Battle of Flodden; 9 September [1513.] - - -	1
II.	Queen Margaret to Lord Surrey; [Edinburgh,] 24 August [1523.] Project for setting James V. at liberty.—She wishes to go to England, if He is not released. - - - - - - - - - -	2
III.	Surrey to Queen Margaret; [Newcastle, 26 August 1523.] Public answer to the preceding. - - - - - - - -	6
IV.	Same to Same. Further answer, public or private, at her discretion. -	8
V.	Same to Same. Further answer, strictly private. - - - -	10
VI.	Surrey to Wolsey; Newcastle, 27 August [1523.] Reasons for postponing his expedition into Scotland.—Encloses Queen Margaret's letter of 26 August, and his answers. - - - - - -	11
VII.	Same to Same; Newcastle, 4 September [1523.] Albany's secretary is arrived. —James V. would otherwise have left Stirling Castle. - - -	13
VIII.	Threlkeld to Lord Dacre; Coldstream, 12 and 13 September [1523.] Proceedings in Scotland consequent on the arrival of Albany's secretary.—Albany embarked in Picardy.—Angus does not accompany him. - -	14
IX.	Queen Margaret to King Henry VIII.; Edinburgh, 13 September [1523.] Asks assistance to put James V. out of the power of Albany, and leave for Her to go to England. - - - - - - - -	16
X.	Same to Surrey; 13 September [1523.] Encloses the preceding. - -	19
XI.	Surrey to Wolsey; Newcastle, 14 September [1523.] Asks instructions in case James V. should be set free. - - - - -	20
XII.	Same to Queen Margaret; [Morpeth, 16 September 1523.] Public answer to her letter of the 13th. - - - - - -	21
XIII.	Same to Same. Private answer to the same. - - - - -	23

CONTENTS OF PART IV.

PAGE

XIV. Surrey to Wolsey; Morpeth, 17 September [1523.] Encloses the letters from Queen Margaret, and his answer.—The Homes offer to come to England, if Albany returns to Scotland.—Asks for instructions. - 25

XV. Queen Margaret to Surrey; [18 September 1523.] Encourages him to enter Scotland, and advance to Edinburgh, for the relief of James V. - - - - - - - - 26

XVI. Same to Same; [Edinburgh,] 20 September [1523.] Desires Surrey to send as an answer from Henry VIII. what he had written to Her on the 26th of August. - - - - - - - - 27

XVII. Surrey to Wolsey; Berwick, 21 September [1523.] Forwards Queen Margaret's letter, and states the difficulty of complying with it.—Means to enter Scotland on the morrow. - - - - 28

XVIII. Same to Queen Margaret; [22 September 1523.] Refuses to write to the Scottish Lords. - - - - - - - - 30

XIX. Same to Wolsey; 22 September [1523.] Sends copies of the letters from and to Queen Margaret. - - - - - - - 31

XX. Wolsey to Surrey; The Moore, 25 September [1523.] Answers his letter of the 17th.—Directs him to make known in Scotland the difficulties which surround the King of France. - - - 32

XXI. Surrey to Wolsey; [Berwick,] 27 September [1523.] Albany is arrived, and expected to invade England.—State of preparation to resist him.—Surrey asks leave to quit his command.—Lord Percy is to succeed. - 37

XXII. Same to Queen Margaret; Newcastle, 1 October [1523.] Has received her letter by Patrick Syngclar, and sent by him an answer from Henry VIII. - - - - - - - - 40

XXIII. Same to Wolsey; Newcastle, [1 October 1523.] Sends his correspondence with Queen Margaret.—Sees no advantage in Her coming into England.—Albany at Glasgow.—Preparations against him.—Forray into the Merse. - - - - - - - - - 40

XXIV. Same to Same; Newcastle, 3 October [1523.] Forrays made into Scotland.—Albany threatens to invade England.—Sir William Gascoigne's claim to the Earldom of Westmorland.—Wants instructions. - - - 44

XXV. King Henry VIII. to Surrey; Woodstock, 5 October [1523.] Thanks him for the capture of Jedburgh and Fernyhirst.—Reinforcements.—Albany's movements.—Leave of absence refused to Surrey at present. 46

XXVI. Surrey to Wolsey; Newcastle, 19 October [1523.] Marquis of Dorset appointed Lord Warden.—Albany's threatened invasion.—Richard De la Pole expected in Scotland. - - - - - - - 49

XXVII. Same to Same; Camp by Wark, [4 November 1523.] Flight of Albany.—Dacre recommended to succeed to the wardenship till Percy arrives. - - - - - - - - - 51

CONTENTS OF PART IV.

PAGE

XXVIII. SURREY to WOLSEY; Alnwick, 5 November [1523.] Sends the names of noblemen and gentlemen deserving thanks.—Albany's estimation in Scotland is gone.—Surrey wishes instructions as to the garrisons. 52

XXIX. Same to Same; Newcastle, 7 November [1523.] Has received money.—Difficult, for want of it, to keep the garrisons together.—Advises that Dacre be appointed Lord Warden.—Wishes to be discharged.—Is ill. - - - - - - - - 53

XXX. QUEEN MARGARET to SURREY; 10 November [1523.] Sends a despatch for Henry VIII., praying a truce. - - - - - 56

XXXI. Same to Same; Stirling, 24 November [1523.] James V. placed under the rule of four Lords, and the Queen excluded from free intercourse with Him. - - - - - - - - 57

XXXII. Same to ALBANY; 26 November [1523.] Complains of being separated from her son. - - - - - - - - 59

XXXIII. WOLSEY to SURREY; Westminster, 26 November [1523.] The King will make no truce, until Albany ceases to govern James V.'s person.—Discourages the Queen's journey to England.—Gives Surrey leave of absence. - - - - - - - - 60

XXXIV. SURREY to WOLSEY; Newcastle, 2 December [1523.] Queen Margaret separated from her son, who is placed under Albany's partisans. Surrey quits his command. - - - - - 63

XXXV. DACRE to WOLSEY; Morpeth, 27 December [1523.] Has received no answer to a peaceable message from Albany, which he has forwarded to Wolsey for 14 days.—Albany wishes to depart from Scotland, but cannot obtain licence from the Lords.—Amount and expence of the garrisons.—Richard Cavendishe. - - - - - 63

XXXVI. Same to ALBANY; Morpeth, 27 December 1523. Forwards answer to Albany's message. - - - - - - 67

XXXVII. ALBANY to DACRE; Edinburgh, 2 January [1524.] Sends his secretary to propose a truce till Midsummer. - - - - - 68

XXXVIII. DACRE to ALBANY; Morpeth, 8 January [1524.] Has no power but to conclude a truce for James V.'s minority, nor to include France. - 68

XXXIX. Same to WOLSEY; Morpeth, 28 January [1524.] Albany is determined to depart, and lies at Glasgow with his ships.—Huntley is dead.—Many of the French wrecked and starved. - - 69

XL. Same to Same; Morpeth, 8 February [1524.] Albany wishes to send to France.—Sends Barbon to Wolsey.—Has returned to Edinburgh.—Has obtained a promise that the Scots will not make peace without his consent.—Great dearth. - - - - - 71

XLI. Same to Same; Morpeth, 4 March [1524.] Justifies the course he has taken in the communication between Albany and the English Court.—State of the Border. - - - - - - 73

PAGE

XLII. Sir W. Bulmer to Wolsey; Norham, 24 May [1524.] A friar has proposed that Henry VIII. should advise James V. to take the rule on himself, and offered to convey the letter.—Queen Margaret upholds Albany.—Albany has obtained leave to depart, but wants money. - 76

XLIII. Same to Same; Norham, 25 June [1524.] Has received and forwarded the King's answer to the friar. - - - - - 78

XLIV. Same to Same; Norham, 26 June [1524.] Forwards a letter from Queen Margaret to Henry VIII. - - - - - - 78

XLV. Gardyner to Wolsey; Barnet, [7 July 1524.] Supply of money to Angus.—The King approves of Radclyff being sent to Scotland.—Angus to take leave of the King. - - - - - 79

XLVI. Queen Margaret to King Henry VIII.; 14 July [1524.] She is strongly opposed to a reconciliation with Angus, and anxious for the safety of her son, who has received Henry's letters. - - - 80

XLVII. Dacre to Wolsey; Morpeth, 17 July [1524.] Has sent the King's and Wolsey's letters to Queen Margaret, and forwards her answer.—The Lords convened in Edinburgh by the Archbishop of St. Andrews.—James V. rejoiced at Henry VIII.'s letter.—Queen Margaret has shewn it to the Chancellor.—She means to mediate for Angus. - - 83

XLVIII. Duke of Norfolk to Wolsey; [19 July 1524.] Queen Margaret not pleased at Angus's return. - - - - - - 84

XLIX. Wolsey to Norfolk; [Hampton Court, 1 August 1524.] Wish to set up James V. and extinguish Albany's government.—Means to that end.—The King promises aid, and sends money.—Accedes to the Queen's wishes respecting Angus. - - - - - - 85

L. Same to Queen Margaret; [2 August 1524.] Congratulates her on James V.'s assumption of the Royal authority.—His marriage.—Truce. 93

LI. King James V. to King Henry VIII.; Edinburgh, 5 August [1524.] Thanks Henry for his letter.—Has taken on himself the government, and expelled Albany. - - - - - - - 95

LII. Wolsey to Norfolk; Hampton Court, 9 August [1524.] Sends letters to the King and Queen of Scots and Arran.—Necessity of getting rid of the Scottish Chancellor.—Commission to conclude a truce, on condition that James V. shall continue his government, and Albany be not again admitted.—No allies to be included.—Ambassadors afterwards to conclude a perpetual peace.—Marriage of James V.—Angus.—No claim of superiority intended during the young King's minority. - 96

LIII. Same to Same; 15 August [1524.] Henry approves James V.'s letter, and the promise of allegiance by the Scottish Lords, &c.—Abandons the expectation of reconciling Margaret and Arran to Angus.—Archbishop Betoun to be conciliated.—Angus to be sent back to the English Court. 104

LIV. Same to Same; 19 August [1524.] Further instructions on the same subjects. - - - - - - - - 108

PAGE

LV. The Lords of Scotland to King Henry VIII.; [August 1524.] Thank him for his letters.—Promise their support to James V. - - 111

LVI. Queen Margaret to King Henry VIII.; Edinburgh, 31 August [1524.] Marriage between James V. and Princess Mary.—Reward to Arran.—Bishops Betoun and Dunbar.—Albany.—She complains of Dacre. - 112

LVII. Norfolk to King Henry VIII.; Newcastle, 31 August [1524.] Angus returns to the English Court. - - - - - 119

LVIII. Wolsey to Norfolk; The Moore, 2 September [1524.] Foreign affairs have prevented his earlier attention to Norfolk's letters.—Henry VIII. rejoices in James V. having taken the government.—Advises that the two Bishops be not released, but sent to Berwick, and deprived.—Restitution of ships from Iceland taken by Scots.—Conciliation.—Angus at Newcastle.—To be kept there, or return to London. - - 120

LIX. Queen Margaret to Norfolk; Edinburgh, [6 September 1524.] Complains of his not writing.—Sends Syngclar for money.—Lords about James V.—Betoun. - - - - - - - 126

LX. Same to Same; [12 September 1524.] Ambassadors to be sent to England.—Lords, who are to be about James V., not chosen.—State of the Borders.—Buccleuch and Cesford put in prison.—The two Bishops.—Angus.—Gonzolles.—Lennox. - - - - 128

LXI. Norfolk to Wolsey; Barnard Castle, 14 September [1524.] Forwards letters from Scotland.—Explains his conduct towards Queen Margaret. 134

LXII. Wolsey to Queen Margaret; [15 September 1524.] Persuades Her to admit Angus into Scotland. - - - - - 136

LXIII. Same to Norfolk; The Moore, 15 September [1524.] Magnus and Radclyff sent to Scotland.—Detention of Angus in England.—Betoun to be sent to Berwick.—Letters to Arran, Bishop Cockburn, and Abbot Shaw.—Dunbar and Dumbarton to be summoned to surrender.—Priory of Coldingham for William Douglas.—Angus suspected of colluding with the French. - - - - - - - 138

LXIV. Norfolk to Wolsey; Newcastle, 19 September [1524.] Answer to the preceding.—The Queen will not send the Bishops to Berwick.—Henry Stewart fills too many offices in Scotland, and rules as he will.—The Queen unpopular.—Norfolk wishes to be recalled. - - - 146

LXV. Wolsey to Norfolk; The Moore, 28 September [1524.]—Angus resolved to go to Scotland.—French cruizers in the North Sea. - - 149

LXVI. Same to Same; St. Albans, 3 October [1524.] Has conferred with Angus and his brother George.—Prefers the latter.—State of parties in Scotland.—Sends letters to Queen Margaret.—Instructs Norfolk how to act.—Complaints against Dacre. - - - - - 153

LXVII. Earl of Arran to King Henry VIII.; Linlithgow, 3 October [1524.] Has received the King's letter commending James V.—Desires peace consistently with his Sovereign's weal.—Angus's coming will prejudice it. 157

PAGE

LXVIII. Wolsey and Angus; 4 October 1524. Articles for the weal of James V.—Albany to be kept out of Scotland.—Angus to be reconciled to Queen Margaret and to Arran. - - - - - 159

LXIX. King James V. to Pope Clement VII.; Edinburgh, 5 October 1524. Asks his favour, and the accustomed right of the Kings of Scots to ecclesiastical patronage. - - - - - - 166

LXX. Queen Margaret to Norfolk; 6 October [1524.] Remonstrates against Angus being preferred to Her.—Sends a present to Norfolk. - 167

LXXI. Norfolk to Wolsey; Newcastle, 10 October [1524.] Magnus and Radclyff arrived.—Queen Margaret and Arran forbid Angus's return to Scotland.—Doubts on that point.—Betoun's release from prison.—The authority of the Queen and Arran not likely to last.—Angus at Newcastle.—Proposes that Angus should leave hostages, if allowed to enter Scotland. - - - - - - - 169

LXXII. Magnus and Radclyff to Wolsey; [Newcastle,] 10 October [1524.] Want instructions. - - - - - - - 172

LXXIII. Wolsey to Norfolk; [October 1524.] Answer to Norfolk's last letter.—Angus to be detained at Newcastle, not as a prisoner.—Magnus and Radclyff to proceed into Scotland.—Norfolk to write to Margaret. - - - - - - - 174

LXXIV. Norfolk to Wolsey; Newcastle, 16 October [1524.] The Scots Ambassadors are returned home.—Angus wants to proceed.—Arran prevents Margaret from consenting. - - - - 182

LXXV. Same to Same; Newcastle, 20 October [1524.] Answer to Wolsey's last letter.—Has written to Margaret three letters, to be used at discretion.—Angus still detained.—Magnus and Radclyff still at Newcastle. - - - - - - - 185

LXXVI. Norfolk, &c. to Wolsey; Newcastle, 23 October [1524.] The Queen and Arran's enmity to Angus.—Betoun inclined to him.—Angus popular.—Albany hated.—Conspiracy against Arran, endangering the King and Queen.—Advise that Angus should go into Scotland. - - - - - - - - 188

LXXVII. Norfolk to Wolsey; 23 October [1524.] Secret information from Bishop Cockburn as to French pensioners in England.—His veracity doubted.—He is supposed to be in the French interest. - - 190

LXXVIII. Wolsey to Magnus, &c.; [24 October 1524.] New instructions for their embassy. - - - - - - - 191

LXXIX. Same to Norfolk; Westminster, 24 October [1524.] Sends the preceding instructions.—Angus to proceed into Scotland, whether with or without consent.—Betoun.—Arran. - - - - 201

LXXX. Same to Same; [October 1524.] Instructs him further as to Angus's entry into Scotland. - - - - - - 205

PAGE

LXXXI. MAGNUS, &c. to WOLSEY; Edinburgh, 2 November [1524.] Their arrival in Scotland, and reception by the Court.—The Queen's disposition respecting Angus.—Betoun set at liberty. - - - 208

LXXXII. Same to Same; Edinburgh, 3 November [1524.] Fickleness of the Queen.—Henry Stewart communicates between Her and Betoun.—She has forbidden Angus to go with any force.—Parliament about to assemble. - - - - - - - 214

LXXXIII. Same to ANGUS; Edinburgh, 4 November [1524.] Rejoice at his coming into Scotland.—Advise him to be cautious.—Angus writes to Queen Margaret. - - - - - - 216

LXXXIV. WOLSEY to NORFOLK; Westminster, 5 November [1524.] Henry VIII. dissatisfied with Queen Margaret's conduct.—Angus.—Sends letter from Henry VIII. to the Lords of Scotland. - - - 218

LXXXV. NORFOLK to WOLSEY; Newcastle, 5 November [1524.] Several Scots Lords will not come to Parliament, unless Angus asks them.—Cassillis is detained for want of the consent of the Lords.—Money to Queen Margaret.—Truce. - - - - - 223

LXXXVI. Same to MAGNUS, &c.; Newcastle, 5 November [1524.] Influence of Henry Stewart.—Objects to supply Queen Margaret with more money, unless a short day is fixed for the coming of the Ambassadors. - - - - - - - 225

LXXXVII. MAGNUS, &c. to NORFOLK; Edinburgh, 5 November [1524.] The Queen more compliant, but still objects to Angus.—She wishes Norfolk to send for Angus to Berwick, and keep him there during the Parliament. - - - - - - 227

LXXXVIII. NORFOLK to MAGNUS; Newcastle, 7 November [1524.] Answer to be shewn to the Queen. - - - - - 229

LXXXIX. Same to Same. Answer not to be shewn to the Queen. - - 230

XC. MAGNUS, &c. to NORFOLK; Edinburgh, 7 and 8 November [1524.] Answer to his letter of the 5th.—Wait for a conference with Arran.—Reasons for supplying Queen Margaret with money. - - 231

XCI. Same to WOLSEY; Edinburgh, 10 November [1524.] Conference with Archbishop Betoun.—He is well disposed.—So is Bishop Dunbar.—Bishop Cockburn and Lord Cassillis appointed Ambassadors to England.—The Queen is averse from Angus.—Parliament.—Interview with Arran.—The Lords object to the stay of the English Ambassadors. - - - - - - 234

XCII. NORFOLK to WOLSEY; Newcastle, 12 November [1524.] His letter to Queen Margaret has been delivered.—He wishes to be relieved, if the Ambassadors leave Scotland.—Lord Dacre. - - - 241

XCIII. MAGNUS, &c. to WOLSEY; Edinburgh, 15 November [1524.] James V.'s recreations.—His likeness to Henry VIII.—Ambassadors not yet

PAGE

despatched.—Myll substituted for Scott.—Archbishop Betoun.—Bishop Cockburn.—Attempt to reconcile Angus and Arran has failed with Arran.—Reasons for not delivering Henry's letter to the Scottish Council.—Angus.—Parliament. - - - - - 243

XCIV. Norfolk to Wolsey; Newcastle, 16 November [1524.] Money to Cassillis and Bishop Cockburn. Norfolk's return. Zealand fleet. - 248

XCV. Wolsey to Magnus, &c.; [Westminster, 19 November 1524.] Answer to their letter of 10 November.—Crisis between the English and French parties in Scotland.—Ambassadors from Scotland.—Archbishop Betoun.—Angus.—The King's letters to the Lords to be delivered.—Money for the Queen to be stopped.—Their return to be delayed if possible. - - - - - - - - 249

XCVI. Magnus, &c. to Wolsey; Edinburgh, 26 November [1524.] Angus and others have forcibly entered the town, professing loyalty, and addressed themselves to the Council.—At the King's command they went to Dalkeith.—The King and Queen gone from the Abbey to the Castle. - - - - - - - - 256

XCVII. Queen Margaret to Earl of Cassillis; [Edinburgh, 27 November 1524.] Articles to be shewn to Henry VIII., and to be answered. - - 259

XCVIII. Same to Wolsey; 28 November [1524.] Recommends the Scottish Ambassadors to his attention.—Desires peace.—Complains of Angus's return. - - - - - - - - - 262

XCIX. Angus to Wolsey; Tantallon, 28 November [1524.] Desires him to send no more money to the Queen.—Applies for the See of Moray, and Abbey of Melros.—The Scottish Ambassadors are coming.—His enemies.—Wants wages of Henry VIII. for 200 men. - - 264

C. King James V. to the Pope; Edinburgh, 28 November 1524. Urges his claim to the ecclesiastical patronage. - - - - 266

CI. Magnus, &c. to Wolsey; Edinburgh, 27 and 29 November [1524.] Their return.—Their letters intercepted.—Transmit letter from Betoun.—Angus.—Money for the Queen.—Departure of the Ambassadors.—Character of Myll. - - - - - - - 267

CII. Norfolk to Wolsey; Darlington, 3 December [1524.] Ambassadors are come to England.—Folly of Queen Margaret. - - - 271

CIII. Magnus to Wolsey; Edinburgh, 22 December [1524.] News of the French successes in Italy ill received by the French party in Scotland.—Angus.—Bishop Dunbar.—David Betoun returned from his embassy to France, with some of Albany's servants.—Surmise that Albany purposes to marry Margaret. - - - - - - 273

CIV. Same to Same; Edinburgh, 27 December [1524.] David Betoun is gone to the Archbishop without seeing either the King or Queen.—The French have victualled Dunbar, and sent a commission to treat, and

PAGE

make an offer of marriage to James V.—His communication with the Queen.—Angus.—Robert Barton. - - - - - 277

CV. Archbishop Betoun to Magnus; St. Andrews, 29 December [1524.] Explains the conduct of the Frenchmen. - - - - - 282

CVI. Angus to Magnus; Melrose, 1 January [1525.] Promises to keep all his engagements. - - - - - - - 283

CVII. Magnus to Wolsey; Edinburgh, 9 January [1525.] Intercourse between the Queen and the Frenchmen.—Offer of marriage from France, and money.—Archbishop Betoun will not attend the Queen, nor Bishop Dunbar.—Albany.—Divorce between the Queen and Angus.—State of parties. - - - - - - - - - 284

CVIII. King James V. to King Henry VIII.; Edinburgh, 14 January [1525.] Wishes to prevent the return of Albany and get possession of Dunbar. 290

CIX. Cassillis to Wolsey; Felton, 16 January [1525.] Good order on the Borders. - - - - - - - - 291

CX. Queen Margaret to King Henry VIII.; Edinburgh, 23 and 24 January [1525.] Points of treaty between the two realms.—Marriage of James V. with Princess Mary.—Perpetual peace.—Comprehension of France.—Mary's affiance with the Emperor.—Gonzolles's departure.—Abbey of Melrose.—Archbishop Betoun.—Norfolk to repair to the North, lest Albany should return.—Money.—Church patronage.—Angus.—Ammunition. - - - - - - 292

CXI. Magnus to Wolsey; Edinburgh, 24 January [1525.] The Pope's briefs.—French alliance, and offer of marriage.—Queen Margaret well disposed.—Betoun, Angus, Lennox, and Argyll.—Henry Stewart.—Gonzolles gone towards France. - - - - - 299

CXII. Archbishop Betoun, &c. to King Henry VIII.; St. Andrews, 26 January 1525. Complain of James V. being kept in the Castle.—Have asked reasonable terms of the Queen, but met with refusal.—Request Henry's interposition. - - - - - - - 312

CXIII. Magnus to Wolsey; Edinburgh, 2 February [1525.] Proclamations of the King and the Lords.—Convention to be held at Stirling.—Archbishop Betoun.—Angus.—State of affairs in Scotland. - - 315

CXIV. Same to Same; Edinburgh, 14 February [1525.] Convention adjourned from Stirling to Dalkeith.—Fickleness of the Queen.—Proceedings of the convention. - - - - - - - 321

CXV. Same to Same; Edinburgh, 22 February [1525.] Queen Margaret disposed to be reconciled to Angus.—Negotiations between Her and the Lords.—Final agreement.—Motives of the leading men.—Archbishop Betoun is inclined to peace.—Is dissatisfied that Glasgow should be exempt from his jurisdiction.—Cantelay sent to Rome, supposed to sue for Margaret's divorce. - - - - - - 325

PAGE

CXVI. Angus to Wolsey; Edinburgh, 8 March [1525.] Has brought divers Lords to the English party.—The Queen is ill disposed towards him.—Asks Wolsey's interest to obtain ecclesiastical preferment for his brother. - - - - - - - 332

CXVII. Magnus to Wolsey; Edinburgh, 9 March [1525.] Parliament.—The King and Queen removed to Holyrood House.—Lords appointed to the care of the King's person and realm.—His conference with the Council, as to peace and marriage.—Albany.—The Pope.—The Queen has familiar communication with Angus, but wishes a divorce.—She is ill disposed towards England.—Archbishop Betoun.—Magnus asks to be recalled.—Angus well affected.—Henry Stewart gone to Stirling.—Suspicion that the King will be removed from the Abbey.—He is gone into the Town. - - - - - 334

CXVIII. Archbishop Betoun to Wolsey; Edinburgh, 15 March 1525. Desires amity between the realms.—Seeks for promotion from the Pope through Wolsey. - - - - - - - 340

CXIX. Bishop Dunbar to Wolsey; Edinburgh, 15 March [1525.] Has received letters from King Henry VIII. and Wolsey.—Inclined to peace. - - - - - - - - 342

CXX. Queen Margaret to King Henry VIII.; 22 March [1525.] Desires him to order his orator at Rome not to interfere in favour of Betoun to the prejudice of the Archbishop of Glasgow. - - - 343

CXXI. Archbishop Betoun to Wolsey; Edinburgh, 29 March [1525.] Has received a safe conduct to England.—Wishes some of James's Council to be removed.—Cassillis returned to England.—Wants a safe conduct to include Rome and other countries. - - - - 343

CXXII. Angus to Wolsey; Edinburgh, 29 March [1525.] Is not content to refrain from meddling with the Queen's property.—Solicits promotion for his brother, and presents for James V. - - - - 345

CXXIII. Magnus to Wolsey; Edinburgh, 31 March [1525.] Effect of the news of Francis I.'s defeat at Pavia.—Margaret's reception of Henry VIII.'s letters.—James has proposed divorce to Angus.—Angus has evaded the proposal.—Peace.—Archbishop Betoun cannot leave Scotland before August, and then proposes going to Rome.—Angus made Warden of the East and Middle Marches.—Will be best met by Lord Dacre.—Presents for James to be sent through Angus. - 347

CXXIV. Bishop Cockburn, &c. to Wolsey; Huntingdon, 6 April [1525.] Have received letters, but without sufficient instructions for peace, otherwise they would have returned.—Will hasten home and procure a Parliament to be called. - - - - - - - 355

CXXV. Queen Margaret to King Henry VIII.; [April 1525.] Vindicates herself against the reproaches of Henry. - - - - 356

PAGE

CXXVI. Magnus to Wolsey; Edinburgh, 10 April [1525.] The King and Queen absent.—Archbishop Betoun can do no more towards peace, till the Council meets.—Angus is confident of quiet on the Borders. - 358

CXXVII. Bishop Cockburn, &c. to Wolsey; Coldstream, 16 April [1525.] Will do their best to effect peace. - - - - - 360

CXXVIII. Magnus to Wolsey; Edinburgh, 19 April [1525.] Further news of the French defeat.—Effect of it.—Albany at Rome.—Archbishop Betoun said to have obtained Melrose Abbey.—Conference with him as to the state of the negotiation.—Other opinions thereon.—The Queen's conduct.—Angus.—James governed by the Queen.—Robbery on the East Borders, for want of an English Warden there. - - 360

CXXIX. Argyll to King Henry VIII.; Edinburgh, 27 May [1525.] Professes all attachment consistent with his allegiance to his Sovereign. - 367

CXXX. Magnus to Wolsey; Edinburgh, 31 May [1525.] James V. can not read English.—No person can communicate with Him, but in presence of one of the Council.—His pastimes.—Correspondence with the Queen at Stirling.—She wishes to be avenged of Archbishop Betoun, to be divorced from Angus, and to bring back Albany's party.—Angus is grateful for Henry's promise of money, and offer of assisting his brother to preferment.—He has made a forray on the Armstrongs with great success.—The Archbishop of Glasgow has denounced the rebels of Tynedale.—P. Syngclar and John Chisholm good Englishmen.—Parliament to meet 6 July.—Truce prolonged.—Archbishop Betoun well disposed.—The objects of his ambition.—Archbishop Dunbar.—Argyll.—Lennox.—The Scots jealous of Magnus's stay.—Their treatment of him.—Scott of Balwery.—Otterburn.—Secret mission of P. Wemyss to France. - - - - - - - 367

CXXXI. Queen Margaret to Wolsey; Stirling, 31 May [1525.] Complains that her letters to Henry VIII. are unnoticed, and desires an answer.—Copies of her letters have been sent to the opposite party. - - - - - - - - 377

CXXXII. Angus to King Henry VIII.; Edinburgh, 8 June [1525.] Complains of the Queen. - - - - - - - 378

CXXXIII. Magnus to Wolsey; Edinburgh, 8 June [1525.] Objects of Wemyss's mission.—Advises a feint of hostilities, and presents to James V. - 379

CXXXIV. Same to Same; Edinburgh, 23 June [1525.] Parliament to meet in July.—Great depredations on the Border.—Angus ordered to redress them.—Queen Margaret sues for divorce, on the ground that James IV. was alive when she married Angus.—Arran is gone without agreeing with Angus and Lennox. - - - - - - 383

CXXXV. The Duke of Richmond's Council to Wolsey; Colyweston, 2 August [1525.] The Duke's progress towards York. - - - 385

PAGE

CXXXVI. MAGNUS to WOLSEY; Edinburgh, 9 August [1525.] Parliament.—Act respecting the Queen's authority.—Queen afraid of Angus.—Archbishop Betoun traduced at Rome. - - - - 387

CXXXVII. Same to Same; Edinburgh, 12 August [1525.] Clandestine correspondence with Rome, unknown to Betoun. - - - 389

CXXXVIII. Same to Same; Edinburgh, 27 August [1525.] Recommends John Chisholm to Wolsey's notice. - - - - - 390

CXXXIX. Same to Same; Edinburgh, 27 August [1525.] Betoun solicits Henry's interest at Rome for Melrose Abbey. - - - 391

CXL. The DUKE of RICHMOND'S COUNCIL to WOLSEY; Sheriffhutton, 29 August [1525.] The Duke and his Council established there. 392

CXLI. MAGNUS to WOLSEY; Edinburgh, 9 September [1525.] Treaty of peace.—Ambassador arrived from France.—Ill received.—Letter and present from Albany to James V.—Archbishop Dunbar devoted to France.—Wemyss returned from France.—The objects of his mission, and of the embassy.—Dissension between Angus and Home.—Tulliallan murdered by the Homes.—Peace.—Albany.—Queen Margaret.—Magnus wishes to be recalled. - - 394

CXLII. KING JAMES V. to THE POPE; Edinburgh, 15 September 1525. Beseeches Him to relieve the see of Dunkeld from pensions charged on it upon the translation of Bishop Cockburn. - - - 402

CXLIII. MAGNUS to WOLSEY; Edinburgh, 25 September [1525.] Place of the Commissioners' meeting.—The French Ambassador has had an audience.—James V. denies having sent for Albany.—Archbishop Betoun keeps aloof.—Stormy weather ascribed to Magnus.—No justice to be obtained.—Magnus wishes to be removed. - - 404

CXLIV. FRANKELEYN to WOLSEY; Sheriffhutton, 10 October [1525.] Intercedes for saving the lives of the Tynedale men who have surrendered.—Praises the Duke of Richmond's capacity. - - - 407

CXLV. MAGNUS to WOLSEY; Edinburgh, 28 October [1525.] Interview with Archbishop Betoun.—Comprehension of France in the treaty.—Angus. — Arran. — Lennox. — Albany.—The Queen's jointure.—Curse against the Borderers. - - - - - 409

CXLVI. Earl of CUMBERLAND to WOLSEY; Skipton, 14 November [1525.] Thomas Lord Dacre dead.—His son refuses to surrender the castle of Carlisle. - - - - - - - 420

CXLVII. MAGNUS to WOLSEY; Morpeth, 5 December [1525.] Complains of days of truce on the Borders not being kept by the Scots. - - 421

CXLVIII. Same to Same; Berwick, 15 December [1525.] Prolongation of truce.—Lord Westmorland's exertions for keeping peace.—Money. - 422

PAGE

CXLIX. ANGUS to KING HENRY VIII.; Edinburgh, 31 December 1525. Many persons adverse to the peace.—Excuses himself for not keeping truce. - - - - - - - - 425

CL. MAGNUS to WOLSEY; Edinburgh, 1 January [1526.] The people pleased at the expectations of peace.—Commissioners to meet at Berwick on the 13th.—Proclamation for order on the Borders.—Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow.—James V. swayed by the latter. - - 426

CLI. Same to Same; Edinburgh, 11 January [1526.] Arran, Murray, &c. adverse to the peace, raise a party against it.—The Queen and Angus.—Rumour of Henry VIII.'s death. - - - - - 430

CLII. The COUNCIL of SCOTLAND to MAGNUS; [Edinburgh, January 1526.] Terms of the treaty of peace. - - - - - 433

CLIII. HIGDON and MAGNUS to WOLSEY; Berwick, 16 January [1526.] Peace concluded. - - - - - - - - 436

CLIV. Bishop KITE and Sir WILLIAM EURE to WOLSEY; Carlisle, 16 January 1526. Have delivered the castle of Carlisle to Lord Cumberland. - 437

CLV. MAGNUS to WOLSEY; Berwick, 24 January [1526.] The Scottish Council is anxious for the ratification of the treaty.—Correspondence as to redress on the Borders.—Gatherings.—Attack on James V. at Linlithgow. - - - - - - - - 438

CLVI. Same to Same; Berwick, 1 March [1526.] Redress on the Borders.—Archbishop Betoun favours England against France.—Terms on which he may become Cardinal and Legate.—Well that he should owe it to England.—Mode of keeping order on the Borders. - - - 442

CLVII. Same to Same; Berwick, 20 March [1526.] Ratifications exchanged.—The Kers promise to be peaceable.—Angus has not kept his promise.—Good order on the West Marches.—Magnus is ill, and going southward.—Cramp rings for cure of epilepsy. - - - - - 445

CLVIII. KING JAMES V. to SYNGCLAR; [August 1526.] Instructions on his mission to England, with Wolsey's remarks. - - - 449

CLIX. QUEEN MARGARET to WOLSEY; Dumfermline, 21 August [1526.] James V. is under the thraldom of Angus.—Archbishop Betoun will not stir, until desired by Henry VIII.—She desires Wolsey's mediation at Rome. 452

CLX. MAGNUS to WOLSEY; Sheriffhutton, 30 August [1526.] Angus likely to be forced to give up James V.—He and Arran agreed.—James complains of his thraldom.—The Queen hopes to regain Him.—Archbishop Betoun expects to be Chancellor again. - - - - 454

CLXI. Sir CHRISTOPHER DACRE to WILLIAM Lord DACRE; Carlisle, 1 September [1526.] Angus has not agreed with the Queen or Lennox.—The Queen's party increases.—Angus's diminishes. - - - 456

PAGE

CLXII. Magnus to Wolsey; Sheriffhutton, 13 September [1526.] Slaughter of Lennox and the Abbots of Melrose and Dumfermline.—Power of Angus and Arran.—Henry Stewart attendant on the Queen. - - 457

CLXIII. Sir Christopher Dacre to Lord Dacre; Norham, 2 December [1526.] Parliament in Scotland.—The King and Queen at Edinburgh.—Various forfeitures and ecclesiastical promotions.—The King has no affection for Angus or Arran. - - - - - 460

CLXIV. King James V. to King Henry VIII.; Edinburgh, 10 January 1527. Asks passport for John Douglas. - - - - - 462

CLXV. Magnus to Wolsey; Pontefract, 10 January [1527.] The Queen has brought Archbishop Betoun back to the Court.—Angus bribed to consent.—Money in the hands of the Abbot of St. Mary Abbey. - 463

CLXVI. Same to Same; Pontefract, 14 February [1527.] Present of hounds to James V.—Expense of the Duke of Richmond's establishment.—Good rule on the Borders, except in Liddesdale. - - - 464

CLXVII. The Duke of Richmond to King Henry VIII.; Pontefract Castle, 3 March [1527.] Has written to the King of Scots as to the state of Liddesdale. - - - - - - 467

CLXVIII. Magnus to Wolsey; Pontefract, 26 March [1527.] Queen Margaret offended that Henry Stewart is excluded from Court.—Angus and P. Syngclar in favour with James V. - - - - 468

CLXIX. Angus to King Henry VIII.; Holyrood-house, 10 August [1527.] Has received the King's letters for the arrest of Sir William Lisle, and will endeavour to effect it. - - - - - - 469

CLXX. Magnus to Wolsey; Sheriffhutton, 17 August [1527.] The Lisles indicted at the Assizes.—Sixteen of the great names of Tynedale and Redesdale executed. - - - - - - 470

CLXXI. Same to Same; York, 22 August [1527.] Lisle and his son indicted for treason.—Dearth in Northumberland.—Angus to be Chancellor of Scotland. - - - - - - - - 474

CLXXII. The Duke of Richmond's Council to King Henry VIII.; Medley, 7 September [1527.] Sir W. Lisle in the Debateable ground.—Apprehend disturbance on the Borders.—Angus Chancellor. - 476

CLXXIII. Same to Wolsey; York, 16 October [1527.] The Lisles have joined the Armstrongs, and do great injury.—James V. and Angus promise fairly, but do nothing. - - - - - - 478

CLXXIV. Eure to Wolsey; Harbottle, 27 October [1527.] State of the Middle Marches. - - - - - - - 482

CLXXV. Angus to King Henry VIII.; Holyrood-house, 2 November 1527. Will use his best endeavours to apprehend Lisle. - - - 483

CLXXVI. Same to Wolsey; Holyrood-house, 29 December 1527. Has received Wolsey's letter.—He and his ancestors have always promoted peace

PAGE

between the two kingdoms.—He will resist the Duke of Albany.—Will try to apprehend Lisle. - - - - - 484

CLXXVII. Earl of Northumberland to King Henry VIII.; 28 January [1528.] The Lisles and other outlaws have surrendered. - 486

CLXXVIII. Tuke to Wolsey; [February 1528.] Compassionates a younger son of Sir William Lisle. - - - - - 487

CLXXIX. Lord Dacre to Wolsey; Naward, 2 April [1528.] Traitors convicted.—Escape of Richard Græme from gaol.—Command of Bewcastle.—The Queen of Scots has married Henry Stewart.—Trade with France.—Angus wishes to make a forray on the Armstrongs, but is prevented by Lord Maxwell.—Commission of Gaol Delivery.—Debateable ground burnt. - - - 488

CLXXX. Same to Same; Naward, 8 April [1528.] Jury hesitate to find a bill against Græme, an escaped traitor. - - - - 493

CLXXXI. Angus to Sir C. Dacre; Edinburgh, 27 May 1528. James V. proposes to raise an army on 22 June, and invites an assembly of English on the Borders to see that no malefactors are harboured in England. - - - - - - - 495

CLXXXII. Lord Dacre to Wolsey; London, 9 June [1528.] Means for repelling threatened invasion of the Scots. - - - - 496

CLXXXIII. King James V. to King Henry VIII.; Stirling, 23 June 1528. Has postponed his forray on the Borders.—The Estates are discontented with Angus.—A general Council fixed for 10 July in Edinburgh. - - - - - - - 498

CLXXXIV. Same to Syngclar; Edinburgh, 13 July [1528.] Instructions on his mission to England.—Causes of displeasure against Angus.—Desires to prolong the peace. - - - - - 499

CLXXXV. Lord Dacre to Wolsey; Naward, 18 July [1528.] James V. and Queen Margaret removed from Stirling to Edinburgh, and back to Stirling.—Bishop Dunbar to be Chancellor.—James ruled by the Queen, &c., and in fear of Angus. - - - - 501

CLXXXVI. King James V. to King Henry VIII.; Jedburgh, 23 July [1528.] About to restore good rule on the Borders. - - - 504

CLXXXVII. Angus to King Henry VIII.; Coldingham, 10 September [1528.] Asks for protection. - - - - - - 505

CLXXXVIII. Lord Dacre to Wolsey; Naward, 13 September [1528.] State of the Western Border.—Scottish Commissioners appointed. - - 506

CLXXXIX. Northumberland to Wolsey; Topcliff, 17 September [1528.] Affairs of Scotland.—Scottish Commissioners.—Angus forfeited.—Asks leave of absence for himself, Tempest, and Bowes. - 508

CXC. Same to Same; Topcliff, 22 September [1528.] Thinks it necessary to reinstate Angus in his authority. - - - - 513

PAGE

CXCI. KING JAMES V. to NORTHUMBERLAND; Edinburgh, 5 October [1528.] Sends Lion Herald to England, and will appoint Commissioners to meet English Commissioners on the Borders. - - - 514

CXCII. MAGNUS to WOLSEY; Sheriffhutton, 7 October [1528.] Duke of Richmond has escaped the sweating sickness, and has visited the Earl of Northumberland.—Disputes between Dacre and the Earl of Cumberland. - - - - - - - - 515

CXCIII. NORTHUMBERLAND to WOLSEY; Newcastle, 9 October [1528.] James had taken Coldingham.—Angus drove Him to Dunbar and retook Coldingham. — Lady Margaret Douglas at Norham. — Sends letters from King and Queen of Scots. - - - - - - 517

CXCIV. Same to Same; Alnwick, 28 October [1528.] James still intent against Angus.—Attacks Tantallon.—Northumberland will attend the Commissioners.—Angus popular. - - - - - - 519

CXCV. ANGUS to NORTHUMBERLAND; Coldingham, [7 November 1528.] James V. has besieged Tantallon, and returned to Edinburgh with loss. - 521

CXCVI. Same to KING HENRY VIII.; Coldingham, 13 November 1528. Presses to be included in the truce with Scotland. - - - - 522

CXCVII. MAGNUS, &c. to WOLSEY; Berwick, 14 November [1528.] The Commissioners have met and discussed the questions of peace, and of the inclusion of Angus.—Adjourned to 9 December. - - - 523

CXCVIII. MAGNUS to WOLSEY; Berwick, 14 November [1528.] Angus and his uncle and brother.—Want of gunpowder in Scotland.—James V. has, by the advice of Angus, sent William Hamilton to the Emperor with proposals of marriage. - - - - - - 530

CXCIX. NORTHUMBERLAND to WOLSEY; 16 November [1528.] Hamilton sent to negotiate with the Emperor both peace and marriage.—Parliament summoned. - - - - - - - 533

CC. MAGNUS to WOLSEY; Berwick, 30 November [1528.] State of the negotiation.—Correspondence with the Scottish Government.—Margaret's disposition towards Angus. - - - - 534

CCI. Same to Same; Berwick, 17 December [1528.] Parliament in Scotland.—Hamilton is returned.—Negotiation between Scotland and France has not succeeded.—Emperor seeks to obtain James's marriage for one of his family.—Overtures for his marriage with the Princess Mary.—Sends copy of treaty. - - - - - 541

CCII. KING JAMES V. to KING HENRY VIII.; Edinburgh, 3 February [1529.] Refuses any further favour to Angus.—Charges against him. - - 546

CCIII. QUEEN MARGARET to KING HENRY VIII.; Edinburgh, 5 February [1529.] Professes affection. - - - - - 551

CCIV. MAGNUS to WOLSEY; Berwick, 13 February [1529.] Has received the ratification of the treaty.—James dislikes to be moved respecting Angus.—Private audience with Him.—His marriage. - - 552

PAGE

CCV. Angus to Wolsey; Prestoun, 18 May 1529. Dares not stay longer.—Beseeches Wolsey's aid. - - - - - - 562

CCVI. King James V. to King Henry VIII.; Jedburgh, 22 June 1529. Order better kept on the Marches by the Scots than by the English. - 562

CCVII. Otterburn to Magnus; Edinburgh, 26 June [1529.] Scottish privileges in the Netherlands.—No truth in the rumour of James's marriage with the Queen of Hungary. - - - - - 564

CCVIII. King James V. to Magnus; Peebles, 29 June [1529.] Campbell sent to Flanders to renew an old convention.—Henry shall be consulted as to any new matter. - - - - - - 566

CCIX. Strangways to Wolsey; Berwick, 26 July [1529.] Is ordered to keep Lady Margaret Douglas, whom by the request of Angus he has harboured for three months without payment. - - - - 567

CCX. Northumberland to Wolsey; Newcastle, 29 August [1529.] Has entertained Angus well, as he is ordered.—Angus has promised to advise his friends to keep good order. - - - - 568

CCXI. King James V. to King Henry VIII.; Dumfries, 5 November 1529. Complains of the meetings for redress on the Borders not being kept.—Argues for peace. - - - - - - 569

CCXII. Northumberland to King James V.; Topcliff, 25 November [1529.] Complains of a forray from Liddesdale, and claims redress. - - 570

CCXIII. King James V. to King Henry VIII.; Edinburgh, 2 December [1529.] Objects to Henry's mediation for Angus. - - - - 571

CCXIV. Decree of Concord by the Commissioners of both Realms. Carlisle, 7 September 1531. - - - - - - 573

CCXV. Northumberland to King Henry VIII.; 29 September [1531.] The Queen of Hungary will not marry James V.—The Emperor proposes to Him the Princess of Denmark.—Border affairs. - - - 574

CCXVI. King James V. to King Henry VIII.; Stirling, 18 October 1531. Credential for Thomas Scott. - - - - - 575

CCXVII. King Henry VIII. to King James V.; [15 November 1531.] Answer to the preceding. - - - - - - - 576

CCXVIII. Same to Carlisle, Herald; [November 1531.] Instructions how to answer the Scottish Articles.—Redress on the Borders.—Canoby. - - - - - - - 578

CCXIX. Same to Same; [November 1531.] Instructions for conference with Scott. - - - - - - - - 586

CCXX. King James V. to Bute, Pursuivant; [December 1531.] Credentials on mission to England. - - - - - - 592

CCXXI. Same to King Henry VIII.; [December 1531.] Answer to Carlisle's Articles. - - - - - - - 593

CONTENTS OF PART IV.

PAGE

CCXXII. NORTHUMBERLAND to KING HENRY VIII.; Newcastle, 27 December [1531.] Causes of Earl Bothwell's being offended with James V. —He is ready to serve Henry VIII., and expects to crown him in Edinburgh.—Secret communication between James and the Emperor. - - - - - - - 597

CCXXIII. KING HENRY VIII. to KING JAMES V.; 2 March 1532. Has examined into the complaints against the Border officers, and justifies them. —Has released some Scots prisoners.—Desires the release of Horwell's ship and goods. - - - - - 600

CCXXIV. Same to CARLISLE, HERALD; [March 1532.] Instructions on mission to Scotland.—Canoby.—Horwell. - - - - 603

CCXXV. CLYFFORD to NORFOLK; Berwick, 23 May [1532.] Redress on the Borders.—Horwell.—Imperial Ambassador gone southward. - 606

CCXXVI. Lord DACRE to KING HENRY VIII.; Naward, 16 June [1532.] King James and Queen Margaret have been on the Borders.—Correspondence with Him. - - - - - - 608

CCXXVII. KING HENRY VIII. to [CLYFFORD; June 1532.] Writes to King of Scots for redress, and instructs Clyfford to act according to the answer. - - - - - - - - 609

CCXXVIII. Same to Lord DACRE; [June 1532.] Directs him to make redress since Michaelmas, and to evade the questions as to the destruction of the Debateable ground, and succouring the men of Liddesdale. - - - - - - - 610

CCXXIX. NORTHUMBERLAND to KING HENRY VIII.; Hexham, 23 August [1532.] The Scots have made a forray.—The Islanders have invaded Ireland. —He is about to execute some Scottish prisoners. - - - 611

CCXXX. KING HENRY VIII. to ANGUS; 25 August 1532. Engagement to pay Angus £1000 a year for his services in a war with Scotland, until he is reinstated in his lands. - - - - - 615

CCXXXI. NORTHUMBERLAND to KING HENRY VIII.; Warkworth, 3 September [1532.] Islanders gone to Ireland.—Command of the Islands taken from Argyll, and transferred to Mc Lean.—Scottish Spiritualty.—James V. preparing forces.—Northumberland preparing defence. - 616

CCXXXII. Same to Same; Warkworth, 22 October [1532.] Angus well affected. —Favourable time for invasion of Scotland.—The Scots have taken towns in Northumberland.—James V. at Stirling. - - - 618

CCXXXIII. KING JAMES V. to KING HENRY VIII.; Edinburgh, 20 November 1532. Complains of the invasion.—Sends Colvill and Scott to England. - 623

CCXXXIV. NORTHUMBERLAND to KING HENRY VIII.; [Berwick,] November [1532.] Forrays in England.—James V. has assembled the Border Lairds, and pardoned all but Angus, and forbidden intercourse with England.—The Captain of Berwick has taken a Scottish ship, which the Mayor of Hull will not release. - - - - 625

PAGE

CCXXXV. NORTHUMBERLAND to KING HENRY VIII.; [Berwick, December 1532.] Has made an invasion to Dunglas.—Angus, &c. aiding.—Northumberland, as Warden, wishes to confer knighthood. - 627

CCXXXVI. SIR GEORGE LAWSON to KING HENRY VIII.; Berwick, 23 December [1532.] Has taken Cawmills, and delivered it to George Douglas.—Wants money. - - - - - - - 630

CCXXXVII. GARDYNER to LORD CHANCELLOR AUDELEY; Greenwich, 1 January [1533.] Orders him to issue a commission to Lord Northumberland to levy troops against Scotland. - - - - 631

CCXXXVIII. CLYFFORD to KING HENRY VIII.; Berwick, 9 February [1533.] Five ships of war sail from Leith.—James V. and the French Ambassador discontented with each other.—Forrays in Scotland. - 632

CCXXXIX. Sir G. DOUGLAS to KING HENRY VIII.; Berwick, 9 February [1533.] Wishes to know what to do with Cawmills. - - - 635

CCXL. LAWSON to KING HENRY VIII.; Berwick, 17 February [1533.] Scottish ships sailed.—James V. at Peebles.—Invasion expected. - 636

CCXLI. Same to CRUMWELL; Alnwick, 22 March [1533.] Hostility suspended, while James V. is on the Borders.—Money.—Repairs.—Alarm for the corn ships. - - - - - 638

CCXLII. Same to Same; Berwick, 23 April [1533.] Forrays in Scotland.—Scots ships have command of the coast.—Have taken the English corn ships.—Wants money. - - - - - 640

CCXLIII. Same to Same; York, 6 May [1533.] Has received money.—The Scots have taken twelve ships, and have cruizers on the coast.—They expect peace through the French Ambassador.—Archbishop Betoun imprisoned. - - - - - - 642

CCXLIV. MAGNUS, &c. to KING HENRY VIII.; Newcastle, 1 July [1533.] The Commissioners have met.—French Ambassador present.—The Scots will not make truce, while the English are in possession of Cawmills.—Advise that Cawmills be rased. - - - 644

CCXLV. Lord DACRE to KING HENRY VIII.; Greystock, 2 July [1533.] James V. has been on the Border.—Griffith comes from Wales to Scotland.—A forray by the Scots. - - - - 647

CCXLVI. MAGNUS, &c. to KING HENRY VIII.; Newcastle, 11 July [1533.] The conferences have ended in a truce for twenty days.—The Scottish Commissioners gone home. - - - - 648

CCXLVII. CLYFFORD and LAWSON to KING HENRY VIII.; Berwick, 15 July [1533.] The Scottish Commissioners returned to Edinburgh.—King James in Ross-shire.—Attack on Cawmills apprehended.—Price of corn has fallen.—The posts.—Truce for twenty days. - 652

CCXLVIII. MAGNUS, &c. to KING HENRY VIII.; Newcastle, 26 July [1533.] Truce near expiring.—Expected attack on Cawmills. - - 654

PAGE

CCXLIX. LAWSON to CRUMWELL; Newcastle, 28 July [1533.] Cawmills.—Embassy to France for James's marriage to a princess of Navarre, or to Vendôme's daughter. - - - - - 657

CCL. MAGNUS, &c. to KING HENRY VIII.; Newcastle, 6 September [1533.] The Scottish Commissioners hesitate, and have sent for further instructions. - - - - - - - - 658

CCLI. Same to CRUMWELL; Newcastle, 27 September [1533.] Truce.—Correspondence with the French Ambassador. - - - 660

CCLII. NORTHUMBERLAND to KING HENRY VIII.; [Newcastle, 27 September 1533.] Garrisons dismissed.—Dissensions in Scotland.—He will shortly be with the King. - - - - - 661

CCLIII. CLYFFORD to KING HENRY VIII; Berwick, 7 November [1533.] Correspondence with the Scottish Commissioners. - - - 662

CCLIV. KING JAMES V. to KING HENRY VIII.; Cupar, 22 November 1533. Sends Otterburn to England. - - - - - 664

CCLV. Same to Same; Stirling, 27 Febuary 1534. Accredits Bishop Stewart and Abbot Reid. - - - - - - 665

CCLVI. Same to Same; Falkland, 18 March 1534. Complains of outrage on the Middle Marches. - - - - - 665

CCLVII. ANGUS to GEORGE DOUGLAS; Berwick, 24 March [1534.] Desires him to speak to Otterburn to ask Henry VIII. to intercede for him with King James through Lord William Howard.—Council of the Clergy in Edinburgh.—Matters for their consideration. - 666

CCLVIII. KING JAMES V. to ALBANY; Stirling, 10 April 1534. Seeks his aid in secret affairs in France and Rome. - - - - 668

CCLIX. Bishop STEWART to CRUMWELL; [London, May 1534.] Ambassadors gone to France respecting James's marriage. - - - 668

CCLX. Same to Same; [London, May 1534.] Prays to be despatched. - 669

CCLXI. Bishop STEWART and OTTERBURN to CRUMWELL; The Merse, 3 June [1534.] Propose a meeting on the East Marches for settling differences. - - - - - - - 670

CCLXII. ANGUS and GEORGE DOUGLAS to KING HENRY VIII.; [1534.] Ask his intercession with James V. - - - - - 671

CCLXIII. KING JAMES V. to KING HENRY VIII.; [June 1534.] Professes attachment. - - - - - - - 672

CCLXIV. KING HENRY VIII. to KING JAMES V.; [August 1534.] Treaty of peace ratified. - - - - - - 673

CCLXV. Same to QUEEN MARGARET; on the same occasion. - - - 674

STATE PAPERS.

Part IV.

I. Articles of the batail bitwix the Kinge of Scottes and thErle of Surrey in Brankstone Feld, the 9 day of September.

Furst, when bothe tharmyes were within 3 myles togidres, the said Erle sent Rugecrosse to the Kinge of Scottes, desiryng hym of bataill; and he answered he wold abyde hym there tyll Fryday at none.

The Lord Haward at 11 of the clok the said 9 day passed over the brigge of Twyssell with the vaward and artyllary; and the said Erle folawyng with the rereward, tharmy was devyded in to 2 batalles, and to either bataill 2 wynges.

The King of Scottes army was devided into 5 batailles, and every bataill an arrowe shotte from the other, and all like fernes from the Englisshe armye, in grete plumpes, parte of them quadrant, and some pyke wyse; and were on the toppe of the hyll, being a quarter of a myle from the fote therof.

The Lord Haward caused his vaward to stale in a lytell valey, tyll the rerewarde were joyned to oon of the wynges of his bataill, and then bothe wardes in oon fronte avaunced against the Scottes, and they cam down the hill, and mette with them in good ordre, after the Almayns maner, withoute spekyng of eny word.

ThErles of Huntley, Arell, and Crawford, with theire host of 6000 men, cam upon the Lord Haward, and shortly their bakkes were tourned and the moste parte of theym slayne.

The King of Scottes cam with a grete puyssaunce upon my Lord of Surrey havyng on his lyfte hand my Lord Darcy son; whiche 2 bare all the

brounte of the bataill; and there the King of Scottes was slayn within a spere length from the said Erle of Surrey, and many noble men of the Scottes slayn moo, and no prisoners taken in thoes 2 batailles. And in the tyme of this bataill thErles of Lynewes and Argyll with their pusaunces joyned with Sir Edward Stanley, and they were putte to flyght.

Edmond Howard had with hym 1000 Cheshire men, and 500 Lancanshire men, and many gentilmen of York shire on the right wyng of the Lord Haward; and the Lord Chamberlain of Scotland[1] with many Lordes dyd sette on hym, and the Chesshire and Lancasshire men never abode stroke, and fewe of the gentilmen of Yorkshire abode, but fled. Mr Gray and Sir Humfrey Lyle be taken prisoners, and Sir Wynchard Harbotell and Maurys Barkeley slayne. And the said Edmonde Haward was thries feled, and to his relief the Lord Dacres cam with 1500 men, and put to flight all the said Scottes, and had aboute 8 score of his men slayne. In whiche bataill a grete nombre of Scottes were slayne.

The bataill and conflytte beganne betwixt 4 and 5 at after none, and the chace contynued 3 myles with mervelous slawter, and 10000 moo had been slayn, if the Englisshemen had be on horsbak.

The Scottes were 80000, and aboutes 10000 of them slayn; and under 400 Englisshemen slayn.

ThEnglisshe and Scottisshe ordinaunce is conveyed, by the good helpe of the Lord Dacre, unto Etall castell.

The King of Scottes body is brought to Berwyk. Ther is no grete man of Scotland retourned home, but the Chamberlain. It is thought that fewe of them bee lefte on lyve.

II. Queen Margaret *to* The Earl of Surrey.[2]

My Lord, I commend me hertely unto yow. And I have received your writing this Saint Bertilmew evyn, wherby I perceive your good and hertely mynd toward me and the King my son, wherof I thank yow right hertely, and

[1] Alexander, Lord Home.

[2] Printed from a copy, written by Lord Surrey's Secretary, and entitled, in his Lordship's own hand, "Copie off the Qwene off Scottes letter sent to thErle of Surrey," in the British Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 35. Surrey had been appointed Lieutenant General against the Scots in February 1523 (Rymer, Vol. XII. p. 781.), and continued in that command till the 3d of December following.

I prey

I prey God that I may deserve it. My Lord, as to the furst, ye know how I have solisted to yow to lawbour, at the Kinges Grace my brodre hand, for to have regard to the King my sons welfare, whilk lies in his hand, and specially now at this tyme; or elles not. As to the second poynt, ye know, my Lord, the good writing that I gat from the Kinges Grace my brodre, through your good lawbour; and theraftre how William Haderington was sent to me and to what purpose, whamto I did shew my plain mynd to be shawn to yow, which was, that the Kinges Grace my broder might never do bettre for the King my sonnes wele than he might have done now at this tyme, and mekill honour to hym self, which as yit His Grace may do, and it be his pleasure, and to wyn Scotland from France to be for hym; which me think shuld be mast tendre to His Grace next his owne childre. To the third poynt, whar that ye write that ye wald that I made pollicie emongest the Lordes of Scotland that the King my son may come forth and be at his libertie; as to that, my Lord, ther is na creature living that wald it so fayn as I, but that lyes mast in the Kinges Grace my brodres handes, as ye may wele considre. One way is ye know how the Lordes ar blynded with the Duke of Albany[1], both for aw, and for gyftes of benefices, and all is at his gyftes, and that he gyffes to hold them at his opynyon with part of money that the French King sendith them at his request. And as to the Kinges Grace my brodres partt, he has nowther asayed this realme with pollicie nor force, wherby His Grace putt it never to the profe; and that is the way that may best bring it to a good poynt, and without one of thes ways it can not be wel. Therfore, my Lord, gif the Kinges Grace my brodre mynd be to the wele and suyrtie of the King my son his nephieu, as I trust fermely it be, he must shaw it be one of thir twa ways, owther by way of force, or by good intreating of the Lordes. For ye may wele considre, my Lord, that the Lordes wilbe right loth and right ferd to leve the Governour ways without that they may fynd som suyrtie to take ther partt and to defend them. This beand done be the Kinges Grace my brodre help and power, I know wele the Lordes wald take a plain partt against the Governour, and be good Scottismen to ther King, which they der not do now. And asto this poynt I have commoned with them, and felt ther myndes. Wherfore I pray yow, my Lord, as my grete trust is in yow, that ye will cause the Kinges

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[1] John, Duke of Albany, left Scotland in October 1522, promising to return on the dav of the Assumption (August 15) next following. He did not precisely fulfil this promise, and was suspected of intending to break it altogether (See Vol. I. p. 122.), but on the 21st of September 1523 he landed at Kirkcudbright, according to Hall, or, according to Herbert, on the 24th of September on the isle of Arran.

Grace to be hastely advertist in this matier, and that ye may know his pleasure and mynd herintill, for the tyme is right shortt, but whill Monday come eight days, for that is the day sett of the gathering of the Lordes in Edinburgh, and has contenued the Parliament whill that day; and theraftre to take purpose owther to take the King my son furth, and to putt hym at fredome, orels to hold hym longer in for the Governours pleasure. This, my Lord, I advertise yow of it that wilbe done; and what remede may be done, is in the Kinges Grace my brodre hand, both for the wele and suyrtie of the King my son, and the uttre distruction of hym. A nother way I insure yow, my Lord, that of his age I trow not ther be in the warlde i wiser child, nor a bettre hartid, nor that der bettre take upoun hym in sa fer as he may; but he wantis na thing but help to bere hym furth in his good quarell. And I sure yow upon myne honour that he loves not the Governour nor no Frenchmen; and the King my brodre will fynd, and His Grace make hym help. And as to his commyng furth at fredom, he will not bide in no langer then Monday com eight days, without he be holden perforce be the Lordes; and that he saith playnly, that no good Scottisman will hold hym in ane house against his will. Wharof the Frenchmen that ar here ar right displeased, and makith all the ways that they can to stopp it by way of money giffyng, and other fare promises. Wherfore I prey yow, my Lord, sen that it standes upon this poynt, and that ye say that the Kinges Grace my brodre, and my Lord Cardinall, that I being here may do mich good and cause the King my son to be bold, and to take wele upon hym; asto that, I der take it upon me that he sall do it, but when that is done, it avaylith not, without that he have help to bere it furth, and that must be the Kinges Grace my brodre partt, and that is owther to send ane armye and power, and to cause the Lordes of force to leve the Governour ways, and to be trew to ther King, orels be fayr treaty and partt of good dedes to git them at his way, and to leve France, which may be done for litell thing; which me think it not to be left undone for His Grace honour, and I trust salbe to his pleasure. My Lord, ye have desired me to write yow playnly my mynd, and what I wald that ye did. Wherfore I do write this playnly, oone way that the Kinges Grace my brodre may undrestand that ther salbe no fault into me, but that I shawed yow the troughe of all thing, I fynd yow of so good mynd toward me and the King my son. And therfore my Lord help now my son to be the King my brodres awne and no nothers; which is kyndly to him. And I promyse yow that he trustes mare in the Kinges Grace my brodre, then he doith in all the warlde. I can say no more, but I traisted, when William Haderington past from me, that ther shuld have bene other thinges done, which me think is gone abak. Wherfore, and it be so, I shal never trust in no good wordes

wordes nor writing, nor I will never bide none trust, without I se the dede. Wherfore, my Lord, cause me to have some speciall writing to the Lordes from the Kinges Grace my brodre, wherby they may have som occacion to byde from the Governour purpose, orels my lawboring wilbe in vayn, and than I shall lawbour right wele, when they may se what I have for me, and that the Kinges Grace desireth the wele and suyrtie of his nephieu. And gif the Lordes fayle, then he has a good quarell upon them. My Lord, as to my self, wher that ye write that the Kinges Grace my brodre has said good wordes of me in his writing, and that he is contented of my commyng awey, and that I shalbe honorably entreated, the whilk I trust His Grace will do for his honour; for the bettre I be, the more may I do hym honour and stede. And be it not that the King my son com not furth now, I desire not to bide into Scotland. Wherfore I prey yow, my Lord, to solist for me that I may com away, for I will git no good done to me, and it be not throw the King my son; for the Frenchmen that ar here, and I, ar discordit. And therfore I know wele my Lord Governour will do me the evill that he can, and that is because I wald have the King my son furth. And a sobar thing that I had of the Governour, he has caused to take it from me, thir thre monethes, and he has dischargied it. Wherfore I have nothing now to hold up my honest expenses, without I lay my cupbord in plege, which is not to the King my brodres honour. And this is because I will not aplye to ther ways, contrary to the forth commyng of my son. Therfore I prey yow, my Lord, advertise me what I shall do, and what shalbe done to the helping of the King my son, and that I be advertised before the day, so that I may solist the Lordes to my purpose. And faling of this, ye will never git sik tyme; for com the Governour, as they trust he will, ye will not git it so easely done, nowther for the wele of my son, nor for the Kinges Gracis honour. And asto the peas that William Haderington com to me upon, I wald His Grace offerit it for my request that I sent before, and that I may be the doar of it; and bettre now then heraftre. And the Lordes will let the King furth with the bettre will. And your haisty ansuer in all thir thinges. And God have yow in His keping. Writen at Edenborough, this Saint Bertilmew daye.

III. SURREY *to* QUEEN MARGARET.[1]

MADAME, in my mooste humble maner I recommend me to Your Grace. And where I understaunde Your Grace hath not received the King my Masters aunswere unto your letter sent to His Highnes; Madame, I have noo litle mervayle thereof, considering that a long tyme past I sent the same too the Lord Dacre to convey to Your Grace; whiche of likelihode by the Frenchemen or some other of their faccion hath bee entercepted; theffect whereof was, that His Grace being advertised by the Lord Dacre that the seid letter was devised by the Frenche men, whiche was of none other effect but that His Highnes shuld advertise Your Grace what wayes ye shuld use for the welth of peas, His Grace thought not convenyent to make aunswer to any thing devised by the seid Frenche men; advertising Your Grace, that he wold never desist to make war unto the realme of Scotland, aslong as they wold accept the Duk for their Governour, who is the moost suspect persone of the suertie of the Kinges Grace his nephue, of all others: and if the Lordes and Counsell of Scotland wold abandon the Duke and take upon theym the rule and governaunce of their Soverain Lorde and of the realme, His Grace wold not onely assist theym with his royall poure, but also take their partes against all others; soo that nothing shuld lak on his behalf, being in good suertie that they wold perfourme the same, and have geven unto me full poure and auctorytie to commen and conclude with theym upon all causis that maye conserne the welth and suertie of the seid King his nephue and his realme. And this was theffect of His Graces letter.

This article is devysed to excuse that the Kynges Grace hath sent none answer to her letter.

Madame, I assure Your Grace all the wise men of this realme doo not a litle mervayle that the noble men of Scotland bee soo sore abused with the seid Duke; and that they consider no bettir the danger, that is like tensue to their Soverain Lord, if the seid Duke contynue as Governour, and alsoo that they remembre no bettir, howe litle good he hath doone to theym, and howe moche hurt many wayes he hath doon too the realme. Madame, it is not

All the articles hereafter ensewing be devysed to thentent that the Scottes may be encoraged to take out the Kyng and to reffuse the French faccion.

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[1] Printed from a copy written by Surrey's Secretary, and entitled by Surrey himself, "Copie off "the letter to be shewde by the Qwene to the Lordes off Scotlond," in the British Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 39. The apostiles likewise are in Surrey's handwriting.

unknowen

unknowen to theym what title his father made to the Crowne, and what wayes he sought to have be King; and it is thought here that this man is no les desierous to bee King then his father was, who hath not onely, sith his commyng to Scotland, at every tyme of his arryvall there, doon mervelous hurtes to the realme, but also by his covitous myend hath gathered togiders to his owne use and proufite a great part of the coyne of Scotland.

At the furst tyme of his comyng thider he strake of the Chambrelains[1] hed, one of the truest subjectes to his master that was in Scotland; whiche trouth, bourne to his Prince according to his dutie, we think here was the principall occasion that he put hym too deth.

At the second tyme he sent awaye thErle of Anguyshe, one of the noblest men of Scotland, who came in to hym upon the suertie of his promys.

And at the third tyme, nowe, if he shuld fortune to come, it is soore to bee doubted that he wold attempt some thing against the person of the yong King your son; whiche maye be well diffended, if the Lordes of Scotland, like trewe noble wise men, woll nowe, he having broken his daye prefixed, take out their Soverain Lord and take upon theym the governaunce of His Grace and realme; for whos assistence, by the King my Soverayne Lordes commaundement, they shall have me redy at all houres to help to diffend theym, with men and money to take theyr partes against the seid Duke and his part takers.

Me think the Lordes, and generally all the realme, have small cause to love or trust the seid Duke, considering that he trusteth noo Scottish man, neyther in his Prevy Counsaill, nor aboutes his person, and also kepeth the strongest holdes of the realme in his handes, leving Frenche men to kepe theym, and not suffring any Scot to come within theym; and ever, when he taketh any displeasure with any Lordes of the realme, either he striketh of his hed, orels doo send hym into Fraunce; and ever, as he hath nede of money, spoyleth Scotland, and spendeth the same in Fraunce. It is pitie there is no convenyent prison in Scotland to punyshe in the noble men, but that they must bee sent in captyvitie into Fraunce; and also that the revenewes and treasure of Scotland shuld be spent by Frenche men, both within the realme and without. Alas, Alas! what pitie it is, that the noble men nowe being in Scotland doo no bettir remembre what their noble antecessors have doone for the welth of their King and realme: and nowe

[1] Alexander Lord Home, executed 8th October, 1516.

is the tyme they maye with their honours take upon theym; whereunto they shall lak noone assistence.

And asfor ayde to come to theym oute of Fraunce, I assure Your Grace, that the Frenche King is, and shalbe within 8 dayes, invaded in somany dyvers contres, with somany puyssant armys, that he shall not dare send any part of his poure out of his realme, but shalbe enfourced to seeke all his frendes too help to diffend the same[1]; whiche, God willing, shalbe very herd to bee doone, as Your Grace shalbe shortly bettir advertised. The Venysiance hath clerely abandoned hym and woll take thEmperours and the Kinges part; and the Duke of Ferrar in likewise, and is chosen Knight of the Garther[2]; and generally all Italy bee combyned against hym, with many other great puyssant enemys, whiche as yet I dare not name too Your Grace: assuering Your Grace, upon my poore honour, that all the premysses bee of trouth.

Madame, fynally, the Kinges Highnes, never entending to make war against Scotland, but onely to thentent they shuld leve and abandon the Duke of Albany, for the suerty of his nephue the Kinges Grace your sonne; being advertised that the last daye, prefixed by the Lordes for the Dukes commyng, shuld expire upon Monday next, hath commaunded me to desist for doing any great hurt unto the seid realme, unto the seid daye were passed; to thentent that, and the Lordes wold take upon theym the rule and governaunce of their Soverain Lord and realme, and abandone the Duke, and make meanys unto His Grace for peas, noo more hurt shuld be doone. And if the seid Lordes nowe refuse soo to doo, I praye God that the vengeance, for the hurtes that the poore people shall susteyne, maye light upon theym that shalbe occasioners of the same.

IV. Surrey *to* Queen Margaret.[3]

Plesith it Your Grace to bee advertised, that yesterdaye the 25th of this moneth I received Your Graces letter dated at Edenburgh on Saint Bartilmew daye, and have well perused the contentes of the same. Madame, moost

[1] See Vol. I. pp. 120, &c.

[2] See Vol. I. pp. 118, 121, 129.

[3] Printed from a copy written by Surrey's Secretary, and entitled by his Lordship, "Copie "off the letter not to be shewde to the Lordes of Scotlond but such as the Qwene doth trust," in the British Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 37.

humble

humble I thank Your Grace for your payne taken in writing somoche with your owne hand. And, Madame, where Your Grace thinketh there is but two wayes to bring the Lordes of Scotland to abandon the Duke of Albany, whereof Your Grace writeth ye advertised me by William Edrington; Madame, I assure Your Grace he never spoke one word to me of the one waye ner of thoder. Notwithstaunding, I am redy at all tymys to accomplishe thone waye and thoder; and if Your Grace can fynd the meanys nowe at this tyme that the Lordes woll take out the yong King and abandone the Duke, I shalbe redy, upon one houres warnyng, to come to the Bordours, and commen with them, and too devise and conclude all that maye be thought moost expedient for the welth and suertie of the Kinges Grace your son, and his realme; and, soo that good suertie maye bee had that they woll soo contynue, they shall neyther lak assistence of men ner money to diffend theym, whiche is and shalbe redy at all tymys. And, if they woll not soo doo, Your Grace shall shortly aftir here of noo litle hurt doone to the realme of Scotland, whiche unto this tyme have bene forborne to bee doone, trusting that, the daye assigned by the Duke to come being expired, and he not come, the Lordes wold noo lenger bileve his fayned promyssis, and wold take out the King, and rule hym and the realme according to theyr honours and duties to their Soverain Lord.

And where Your Grace doth advertise me of the good towardnes and boldnes of the Kinges Grace your sone; Madame, I knowe assuredly nothing can bee more joyfull and pleasunte to the Kinges Highnes my Master then to here of the same; and also howe like a noble loving mother to your sonne, and like a good naturall suster to hym your noble brother, ye doo use yourself; which I assuredly trust shall not onely highly redownde to your lawde and prayce, but alsoo ye shall see your desiered purpoos take good effect. Assuering Your Grace that noo default shalbe found in the Kingis Grace in accomplisshing thone waye and thoder mencioned in Your Graces letter.

And where Your Grace doth write, that the Kinges Highnes hath neyther assayed the realme of Scotland by polycye ner force; as to the force, Your Grace knoweth more hurt hath bee doone this somer, then in any other war thies many yeres past; and nowe the tyme of the yere doth come, when more maye be doone. And as to the polycye, I knowe not by whom the same maye bee soo convenyently used for the King my Master, as by Your Grace; unto whome I have dyvers tymys written to make good offres unto the Lordes; whiche I am, and shalbe at all tymys, redy to perfourme, soo that I maye see a good grounde and cause why soo to doo. And in likewise my

Lord Dacre[1] hath written unto you. And where it is mencioned in Your Graces seid letter that Your Grace hath spoken with the Lordes, and that they wold be content too take parte against the Governour, soo they myght be assured the Kinges Grace wold take their part and deffend theym; Madame, I have full poure and auctoritie to commone and conclude with theym, soo that good suertie maye be had howe the same by theym shalbe accomplisshed.

Madame, I assure Your Grace that the Frenche King is and shalbe incontynent invaded in soo many parties, that he shall have more nede to send for ayde to diffend his realme, then to send any of his subjectes out of the same to diffend Scotland. And thus the Holy Trynytie send Your Grace thaccomplisshement of your noble hertes desieres.

V. SURREY *to* QUEEN MARGARET.[2]

AND, as touching Your Graces commyng into England, if it shuld fortune at this tyme that the Lordes wold not take the wayes that Your Grace wold have theym to doo; aftir my poure opinion, the best wayes were, that Your Grace myght, by your greate wisedome, fynd the meanys that the Lordes of Scotland wold bee contente, that ye myght be a mediatrice, that the poore people of the borders of Scotland shuld not bee nowe distroyed by brynnyng of their corne: and, the seid Lordes soo being content, then Your Grace to come to your hous at Bonkle to entreate for the same, and to bring with you all your best stuf, plate, and jewelles, and then I, with a good poure, sodenly to come to fetche Your Grace and your seid stuf awaye. Other wayes I can noone devise, howe Your Grace maye with saufgard of your person and stuf come awaye. And if Your Grace can fynde any other wayes wherein I maye doo you service, with good will I shall accomplisshe the same.

And, where Your Grace sent a payer of your beedes for a token to the Lord Maxwell by William Hedrington, trusting that he wold have been contente too have suffred you to have passed thorowe his contre into this

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[1] Warden of the West Marches.

[2] Printed from a copy written by Surrey's Secretary, headed with these words in Surrey's handwriting, "This article not to be shewde to the Lordes of Scotland," in the British Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 41.

realme;

realme; it was thought to me and my Lord Dacre not convenyente the seid token shuld be delyvered, ner that the message shuld bee doone to hym; considering that he is a very wise man, and durste not condessend thereunto.

[1] Madame, this sedule is not to be shewde: and as to the gretter letter, I thynk it convenient to be shewde to the Lordes and Counsell; and as to the les letter, Your Grace may do therein in shewing the same, as ye shall thynk best.

VI. Surrey *to* Wolsey.[2]

Plesith yt Your Grace too bee advertised, that upon Tuysdaye laste paste I received your Graces letter, with other letters fro the Kinges Grace to dyvers Lordes and gentilmen of Yorkshire for sending of men for the journey to Gedwourth[3]; mooste humble thanking your Grace for your advertismentes of the good newes conteyned in your seid letter.

As touching the journey to Gedworth, I have as yet delayed the same for dyvers causes, whereof the principall is that the powder, shot, and cartes as yet is not come; without whiche the seid journey cannot bee accomplisshed, as I wrote to your Grace in my former letters.[4] Alsoo I, being in noo suertie of the munycions commyng by see, dare not assemble the people that shuld goo with me to the same journey, nor also make provision of vitels for the same, unto the arrivall of the seid munycions. And nowe, the moone being waned 4 dayes bifore the assemble myght bee made, though the premyssis were arrived, the mone light shuld litle serve us, withoute help wherof I dare not adventure tenvade, and to ly in Scotland 2 or 3 nyghtes, as I entend too doo. Wherefore, all the premyssis considered, there is noo remedy but too deferre the seid journey for 20^{ti} dayes; the deferring whereof, if the seid Duke come not, shalbe moche more hurtfull to the Scottis, then if it were accomplisshed nowe, their whete, rye, and barly by that tyme being for the mooste parte inned, and redy with litle payne too bee borned; whiche nowe shuld take nothing somoche hurt. Also, the Counsaill of Scotland, being appointed to mete at

[1] In Surrey's hand.

[2] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 33.

[3] Jedburgh.

[4] There are two letters extant from Surrey to Wolsey relative to this projected expedition, one among Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. XI. Part 2. N° 27.; the other in the Volume above referred to, leaf 153.

Edenburgh on Mondaye next, myght fortune to take suche wayes, that noo suche invasion shall nede; whereby moche money myght bee spared. And, if they at that tyme fall not fro the Dukes faccion, if it maye stand with the Kingis pleasure and your Graces that I maye send for the 2000 Yorkshire men, I truste, the moone being derk, to doo suche displeasures in the Merche[1], that the Kinges Highnes and your Grace shalbe contente with the same, and then when the moone woll serve, to send for the poure of the Bisshopriche and my Lord Dacres with 3000 men, and with theym to perfourme the journey to Gedworth; and by this meanys peradventure taccomplisshe asmoche as the greate army appointed to have entred at Mychelmas shuld have doone, and noo litle money to bee spared by that meanys; and the Kinges Grace shall not bee charged with thies 2000 men passing 10 dayes more then he shuld bee if they served onely for the journey to Gedworth, and nothing in the Merche. Wherein I humble beseche your Grace I maye knowe the Kingis pleasure and yours with all possible diligence; for it requyreth greate expedicion.

Alsoo yesterdaye I received a letter fro the Quene of Scottes by thandes of one of myne espies, a Scottishman, and have this daye by noone depeched hym with other letters; whereof your Grace shall receive the copies with this: whiche letters were devised by me, my Lord Dacre, and Master Magnus. Mooste humble beseching the Kinges Highnes and your Grace to take the seid aunswers, by us devised, in good part, whiche we thought necessarye to bee sent forth with all diligence, too thentente the Quene myght receive the same upon Satirdaye next, bifore the Lordes shuld assemble; trusting the seid letters, being shewed to the Lordes, shall moche stir theym to loke to the welth and suertie of their Prince and realme.

And bicause I knowe the infinyte busynes your Grace hath contynually, I shall forbere to write any more herein; and in the mergent of the copies of my letters, nowe sent to the Quene, I have written the causes that moved us to devyse and wryte the seid articles. And what conclusion shalbe taken at this assemble at Edenburgh, I shall with all possible diligence advertise your Grace, whereof I doubt not to bee advertised by many wayes. Written at Newcastell, the 27th day of August.

Yours most bownden,

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates good Grace.

(*Signed*) T. SURREY.[2]

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[1] The Merse, a district in the South-eastern part of Berwickshire.

[2] Wolsey's answer to this letter does not appear to be extant, but the purport of it may be in some degree collected from More's letter to Wolsey, Vol. I. p. 128.

VII. Surrey *to* Wolsey.[1]

Plesith it Your Grace too bee advertised, that where by my laste letters I advertised your Grace, howe I was enfourmed the Quene of Scottis shuld some thing have altred hir good myende, by the reason of giftes geven by the Frenche men; I am this daye advertised of the contrarie; as shall appere too your Grace by a letter sent to me by Sir John Bulmer, Sir William Bulmer[2] is eldeste sonne, nowe lying at Noreham in the tyme his father is nowe putting your men of the Bisshopriche in arredynes: whiche letter your Grace shall receive with this.

Also this daye is come to me one of myne espies, a Scottishman, by whome I perceive that, and Galtier[3], the Duke of Albanys Secretary, had not arrived at this tyme, the Lordes wold have taken oute the King, and clerely abandoned the Duke. And, notwithstaunding all the perswasions that the seid Galtier can use, and the greate giftes in money that he promyseth, and alsoo the promosions of benefices, yet he bileveth that a good nombre of the Lordes woll consente too the taking fourth of the King. And he sheweth me undoubtedly that the yong King saith, that for noo man he wolbe any lenger kept within a castell, but wolbe at his libertie, and that one realme shall not kepe hym and the Duke; and that with a dagger he hath striken a gentilman aboutes hym thorough the arme, bicause he ded contrary his opinion; and wold have striken the porter with his dagar, bicause he wold not suffre hym too goo oute at his libertie. This espie is noo light man, but is a very wise man, and of good substaunce and credite in Scotland.

I advertise not your Grace of the premissis as matiers of trouth, but undoubtedly I see apparance many wayes, that if any one noble man in Scotland wold take upon hym againste the Duke, the mooste parte of the rest wold folow the same. And within 6 dayes I truste ye shalbe advertised of the fynall resolucion taken at this counsaill at Edenburgh; for I doubte not too have every daye one thens. Biseching your Grace not too bee wery of myne often advertisementes of the newes of thies parties, though they bee some tyme variant; for the paayne shalbe but onely to your Grace in reding and to me in writing; for the chardges of the poostes bee all one, riding or lying still.

As yet I here noo word of the 4 hoyes with ordynaunce, notwithstaunding that the wynd hath bee of long tyme very good to come hither; withoute

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[1] From the Chapter House, Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. XI. Part 2. N° 48.

[2] Lieutenant of the East Marches.

[3] Gaultier Malignes.

whome,

whome, noon invasion can bee made. The 2000 men in Yourkshire bee redy to come upon one daye warnyng, and in likewise the Bisshopriche, and all the reste of Yorkshire Lancashire and Cheshyre, to diffend the Dukes invasions; whiche I bileve shall not take effect this somer. Biseching your Grace to cause the seid hoyes with ordynaunce too bee conveyed hither with diligence, to thentente that, and the Scottis take noo good waye at this tyme, I maye shortly aftir doo theym some displeasure. Written at Newcastell, the 4th day of Septembre.

Yours most bownden,

(*Signed*) T. SURREY.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates good Grace.

VIII. THRELKELD *to* LORD DACRE.[1]

PLESIT your good Lordeship to knoe, that yis Setterday I have spoken with the Larde off Wedderborne, who is newly commet from Edenburghe, who was at this grete Parlement in the Toilleboyth amonges the Lordes; wher as ther come in Galter, Maister Thomas Hay, Secretor, and all the Frenchemen with hym. And, in the presens off the Lordes, Gailter tuke furth a letter, and delyverd it to the Lordes, from my Lorde Governor. First the said Gailter reid it in Franshe, and sine efter in Englishe, in the presens off all the Lordes and oder gentelmen bein with in Toilboht; wich letter purported that my Lorde Governor recommendit hym to all the Lordes, and thanket tham of ther monyfaild kindnes, that za had steyket and bedding at his way, as he haid lefte tham; and preit tham so to contenewe. For be the sam contenewanse thaire is mych honor spoken of tham throwghe throwghe all reilmes; and that za should causse ye Kinge be kepit styll in Sterlenge, and not to comme furth; for he was all rede command in all haiste, taret off nothenge bot for a secrete thenge for ye weill off Scoteland and distruccion of England; and said his broder, Richard Delapoill Duke off Suffolke, was all rede to com furth with a narmy to invaide the reilme of Englande; and said he loke bot when the Governour shuld chop at the doire. And so he hait putte all Scotelande in beleve the Governour comes in all haiste, for owt dowte with mone fer wordes in the sam letter. And when he haid said that he walde, the Inbassitour off Fransse stuyd upe, and asket a instrument off ye Lordes, that ye King of Fransse hais done all thenges that he promessit to ye reilme off Scotlande; and, wher it wanted, he

[1] Holograph. From the British Museum, Caligula, B. VII. leaf 9.

was

was ther to fulfille it; wherby yer shoulde na failte be fonde for breken of the alde leige and bande betwen yaim and Fransse. Also ther stuyde upe the Lorde Arskene, and he asket off the Lordes a instrument that he haid delyverd the Kinge haill and feire, and haid kepit hym 15 dais longer nor he haid command. Wher unto the Lordes maid na answer to nowder parte, bot haith determynet that ye Erle of Castels, the Lorde Fleming, the Bushop of Galloway[1], the Abbot of Campskenne[2] shall have the keping of the King, and rid with hym wher he will; say that za breng hym in to Sterlen at ye neight. Wher with the Franshe men is vara evell content.

And in the mein tyme ther comme a poste fra the Weste See with certen letters, shoing that ye Duk was sheppit in Pekerdde, and yat ye poste sawe 200 bardet horsse sheppit, with mych oder geir, and to the nowmer of 10000 men with hym. This poste it is said is bott a fanzet poste be the Frenshe men; for za will causse 2 or 3 of thes to comme to the Lordes on a day, to abbusse tham of his commenge.

The Lordes hait giffen the Duk na day off his hame commeng, bot hait potte the King this leberti, as is afore rehersset. It is thought that be the consell of the Qwene seing the King at his leberty, the King shall comme off his own heid to Edenburge, and ther to set hym downe in ye Toilleboith as Kinge, and cheisse his consell and sett up his howsald: wher throwge nane off the Lordes shall have blame of this, bot za all to be glad off it, and to abba his Grace as yer King. For za all wald fane have hym furth, bot za der not mell yerwith with owtt it comme efter this way. This wa wilbe, yff the Duk tarre away to efter Mechaemes, with Godes grace. And asse unto the Erlle off Angosse, Gailter sais he commes not hom with the Duk; and yff the Duk come, George Dowgles, the Larde of Wedderborne, and their frendes, lukes to com, and seik supple off the Kinges Grace of England, my Lorde Tresorer, and your Lordship; besseken your Lordship to be goode solester to my Lorde Tresorer for thame, as za shalbe glaid to do his Lordeship the beste servyce za cane for yer lyffes, and follow your Lordships consell in every thenge to yer smaill power.

Certen off the Lordes sperret the King, what he wolde doy with ye Fransshe men nowe when the Duk come not home; and he maid answer he wald delyver tham to Dave Homes[3] keping; wher with the Franse men is wonder evell content.

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[1] David Arnot. [2] Alexander Myll.

[3] David Home of Wedderburn in 1517 slew De la Bâtie, a Frenchman, Warden of the East Marches, and styled Albany's Deputy.

He

He shawes me he spake with the Qwenis Grace of Scotland, who is right mere and weill lyken; and trestes to God to oppetend his causis right weill. A steikes at hir paizon steill.

Upon Sonday the 6 day of yis moneth yer comme in a Scottes mane furth off Flanders, who haith oppenly shewet that ye Engelisse army is lyeng abowt Bollen, and ye Emperors arme to; and sais off trowet the Venicianes, Swichis, and the lansse kneightes hait lefte the King off Fransse, and commet to the Emperour; for joy yer of he sawe fyers sett furt throwe all Flanders, or he comme away.

And asfor aeyd or supple to the Borders, he sais to, he heres off none that shall comme asse zet.

My Lade Priores off Caldstreme recommendes hire to your Lordship, and sais for all my Lorde Tresour wrettenge, and your Lordships instense to them off Wark, za doy play ploke at ye crawe with hire; for I was ther when hire servandes comme and complenet to hire affor me that za off Wark haid taken fray hire on a day 40 threffe of attes, bessyde hire tennands, and oder tyms; and, when I comme to your Lordship, I shall show your Lordship ther off; for God wott, yff she have meech commer with them for hir owne geire. Upon Sonda I porporse to comme to your Lordship with all suche newes as I gitte in the mene tyme; for Sande Trotter is zet uncommet home. And thus the Blessit Trinty have your good Lorde in His keping. At Caldstreme, this Sonday the 13 day of September, with the hand of Your Lordeship hummel servant to his poire power,

(*Signed*) XP̃OFER THRELKELD.

(*Superscribed*)

To my Lorde Dacre, and in his abcensse to my Lorde off Sorre, Tresorer and Hye Admyrall off Englande, Levetennond of the North parttes, Warden of ye Este and Middill March of England fornempste Scotland, be this delyverd in haiste; haiste, poste, maik haiste with this beill.

IX. QUEEN MARGARET *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

DERYST Brothar the Kyng, in my most hwmblyst vyss I can I recommand me to Your Grace. Plesyth you to vyt that I have resaywed your vryteng vryten

[1] Holograph. From the British Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 236.

the

the second day of Septembar[1], the vylke I thynke ryght gwd, and thankys Your Grace ryght hwmbly, and for my part schal cawse your gwd mynde to be knawne for the wel and swrty of the Kyng my son. Deryst Brothar, it vol plez you to ondarstand in vhat cass and poynt the Kyng my son standyth, as I have vryten devarz tymez to my Lord of Sowray, vhom me thynke hath dwn hys part and delygens to avartys Your Grace in syk thyngs as I have vryten to hym, as I parsaf wel be my answars. And now, to schaw Your Grace playnly, the tyme that Ze may best helpe the Kyng my son is now, and to put hym owt of hys enymys handes, and that hys Parson may be in swrty.

The furst thyng is to send to the Lordys, to se gyf thay vyll leffe the Gowarnors vays, and do that thay schwld dw to thayr Prynce, and to pwt the Raulme to gwd rewl, that Your Grace for your part vol be contentyd to gyff them pece, that ther may be gwd concord betwxt your sayd Rawlme and thys, and to helpe them, and soply thys Rawlme agayns ony that vol dw it ony trobyl ony othar vays that may be fwnd; and thay that vol not regard to the wel and swrte of the Kyng and hys Rawlme, that thay schal haff all the ewel that Ze may do to them. And thys I pray Your Grace to vryt to the Lordys, and desyr thayr answars. Secundly, I haf spokyn vyth the Lordys, and ondarstandys thayr myndys, vylke I fynd dar not dw no thyng for feer that thay haf of the Gowarnor, nor dar not dysplez hym; vylke is a hevy cass to the Kyng my son, and a gret danger that hys Parson and hys Rawlme is in. Vharefor, deryst Brothar, it is of force that Ze most cawse the Lordys to leff the Gowarnors vays, and be fayr terty, or be varay force. And thys most be dwn in all hast, or ellys Kyng my son vyl be dystroyd; consyderyng now that the Dwk is fwrth of thys Rawlme, and the Lordys ar not bownd to hym sen Owr Lady Day of the Asmpcyon, that vass hys promes to com. Now seing that thay ar on bownd, now is the tyme to charge them, and to caws them to lef the Gowarnors vays; and thys I besche Your Grace that it may be dwn in all delygens, for your honnour, and the wel and swrte of the Kyng my son.

Also, deryst Brothar, it vyl plez You to vyt that I vass in be foor the Lordys, vhan thay var sytyn in Parlment, and prayd them, on the Kyng my sons name, to do the thyng that myght be best for the wel of hym and hys Rawlme, and to lay by all othar ways, and be no langar abwsyd vyth fayr vordys of France, as thay vald answar to God and thayr Kyng; and allsoo that he desyrs to be fwrth at hys lybarty, and not to hald hym a prysonar. To thys the Lordys sayd thay schwld awys; and hath ordand the Kyng to paz

[1] This letter has not been discovered.

forth a mylle abowt Styrlyng, vyth thyr Lordys to kype hym, that he paz ne farar bowndys; that is, the Erl of Cassylys, the Byschop of Galowvay, and the Lord Flemyng, vysche I promez you lofyth the Gowarnor betar than he doth the Kyng. Vharfor I thynke that hys Parson is in dangar, and for that cause I haf desyrd hym to be remofyd. Thus, deryst Brothar, I besche You to consydar what danger he is in, and to pwt remedy hastyly to the sam. Towschyng the Lordys, I fynd the Chanslard[1], my Lord of Aberdyn[2], and the Erl of Argyl, best myndyd, as thay say in thayr wordys; but I se ne gret dedys as zet: bot, as far as I can fynd, thay desyr to be sykar of You and your helpe, and to haf pece betwxt thyr tway Rawlmes, vharby that thay myght haf cawse to leff the vays of France; and vyth owt the swrte of that, and to help them to bere it forth, thay var ryght gret fwlys, thay say, to do it. Vharefor, deryst Brothar, it standyth all in your hand now at thys tyme, and gyf Ze vol not dw it at thys tyme, I promes You, I vol newer vryt moor in thys matar, nor Your Grace vyl newer get so gwd a tyme. And towschyng my selfe, I haf gotyn so gret dyspleswr of the Gowarnor for thys that I do, that he vol dw me all the ewel he may, and all Frencemen. Wharefor I pray Your Grace gyf me your lycens to com in your sayd Rawlme vyth syke as ar my trw sarwandys, that getyth ewel for my sake, and that thay may be resayved vyth me, as my trast is Your Grace vol dw to me your systar, and that Ze vol avartys me your mynde in thys, and all othar things aboffyn vryten, vhat I schal trast to. Also I promes Your Grace, Ze doyng at thys tyme as I vryt to Youe towschyng the Kyng my son, helpyng hym forth of hys enemys handys, and put hym in swrte, Ze vol haff all the hartys of the comon peypyl in thys Rawlme; for they vald newer se the Gowarnor. Sen it is thws, owr loke not your honnowr, and the vel of your systars son, vylke is narest to You nexst your awne chyldar, and vyl be most kyndly to Your Grace; and it is a ryghtous qwarel that Ze haf. I pray you, deryst Brothar, to pardon me that I vryt so playnly, for now it standyth apon the poynt; and whar not that thys berar is my trusty and trw sarwand, and ewer hath ben to the Kyng my husband, vhom God pardon, and to me, I dwrst not haf vryten se playnly; vylke is calyd Patryk Synklar. Vharefor I besche Your Grace hwmbly to be hys gwd Prynce for my sake, and that Ze vol gyff commandment to the Erl of Sowray, and the Lord Dakars, that he may be resayved and vyl intretyd in your said Rawlme, gyf he hath nede; and thys Your Grace vyl dw for my request, and lat me be avartysyd in all hast of your mynd and pleswr, and I sal

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[1] James Betoun, Archbishop of St. Andrews. [2] Gawin Dunbar.

labor

labor here at the Lordys handys that Your Grace schal be content. As God knawyth, vham presarf You. Vryten, 13 day of Septambar, at Edynburg.

(*Signed*) Your hwmbyl

Systar, MARGARET.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Hy and Myhty Prynce, my deryst brothar, the Kyngs Grace.

X. QUEEN MARGARET *to* SURREY.[1]

MY Lord, I haf vryten my mynde at length to you and to the Kyngs Grace my brothar; vysche I pray you to hast me the answar in all hast posybyl, and to desyr the Kyngs Grace to send some sarwand of hys vyth hys mynde to the Lordys, that he may ondarstand playnly thayr mynde; and I desyr to vyt the Kyng my brothars mynde, gyf that he vyl that I caws the Kyng my son to come forth, for I knaw wel that, and he com not fwrth or the Gowarnor com, he vol not be latyn forth aftar, bot haldyn par force, vylke vol be utar dystrokcyon to hym. And thys I know vylbe trev. Ther for se remed now in tyme. And vyll His Grace lat you make helpe, gyff any vyl ryss agayn hym, he may com forth saffly; and otharvays I can do ne thyng, for it vol be dangeros to hym. Also I wald that the Kyng my brothar vald asay to breke the Chanslar from the Gowarnor, and promes hym to dw hym pleswr, and allsoo to the Erl of Argyl, and to the Byschop of Abardyn, for be thyr at hys vay, I set not by all the othar Lordys; for thyr ar the gretyst men and may do most, and as I can fynd, sobar thyng vol dw it. Vharefor caus thys to be dwn in all hast, and lat me haf answar agayn. I inswr you that I can cawse the Kyng to com forth, and charge hys Lordys to com to hym ondar payn of tresson, bot than I am not swr vay vol take part vyth hym, and that I thynke dangeros. Therfor I can dw ne thyng, vhol I get answar from you; and thynke wel, and the Gowarnor come in the meen tyme, that I vol not haf so gret powr of the Kyng my son. Therfor do as ze thynke, and lat the Kyng Grace my brothar se thys my letar; for I dyd forget to wryt in thys behalf to Hys Grace. Vharefor I pray you, my Lord, make my excws to Hys Grace, and pray His Grace to remembar that I do that is in me to avartys hym of all thyng, that ther be no fawt fwnd in to me here aftar. As God knowith, whom kype you. Vryten the 13 day of Septembar.

Yours,

(*Signed*) MARGARET R.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord of Sowray.

[1] Holograph. From the British Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 274.

XI. Surrey *to* Wolsey.[1]

Plesith it your Grace to be advertised that this present oure I receyved this letter herin closed fro my Lord Dacres servant, steward of his howse, whom I have cawsed to remayne at Norham this 5 wekes to advertise me off newes out off Scotlande fro dyvers off my Lord Dacres frendes, who dare not disclose any thing to any other then to hym. Besechyng your Grace that I may know the Kynges plesure and yours, how I shall ordre me, iff it fortewne that I shall here that the yong King doth take upon hym, and peradventure shall come to Edenborough by that tyme that I shalbe redy to invade Scotlonde, wich, God willing, shalbe to morow come sevennyght. There is dyvers thynges wherin I am desirous to know, how I shall do iff lyke chaunse fortewne.

Furst I know assewredly the Scottes shalbe advertised, that I woll invade, 3 or 4 days beffore. And then, iff they put the Kyng to libertie, and cause the Qwene to send, or peradventure come her selff, to entreate me not to do any hurt unto the realme off Scotlonde, consideying that the Kyng is at libertie, and peradventure shall sey that the Lordes woll abandon the Duc without offryng me any ostages or othis to be sworne to performe the same; whether I, being redy entred or nere entring Scotlonde, and being off gode puissaunce to do gret hurt, shall then forbere so to do; and upon what condicions the Kynges plesure and your Graces shalbe that I shall so forbere?

Also he that is called the Lord off Wederborne is Davy Home, and he that is called George Dowglas is thErle off Angwish brothir. And, where I am determyned, after I shall have distroyed Gedworth and Tevydale, to come to Howme Castell, and so in to the March to borne the corne, and to cast downe the holdes there, iff vitell woll serve so long; I wold know the Kynges plesure and your Graces, whether I shall procede in doing hurt in the March (wich doth all belong to the Howmys), iff the seid Davy and George woll promes to come in to Englond, iff the Duc come in to Scotlonde, as I thynk they woll do; and upon what condicions I shall conclewde with them, and forbere the seid distruccion? Thes causis be off gret importaunce; wherin it is very requesite to know the Kynges plesure and yours; most humble besechyng your Grace to cause such hast to be made in retournyng

[1] Holograph. From the British Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 317.

answer

answer of the premyssis, that the same may be with me at Berwik upon Sonday next. I feare that, iff I shall reffuse such offers as peradventure the Scottes woll make me, that they wold say hereafter, that I was causer that no gode way was taken betwene both realmys. And iff I shall forbere to do them hurt when I myght so do, and then they brake promes after, I feare what our owne nacion woll say. Wherfor, being advertised off the Kynges high plesure and your Graces, I shall have a gode sewer staff to stande by. Scribbled, the 14 day off September, at Newcastell, in gret hast, with the ill hande off

Yours most bownden,
(*Signed*) T. Surrey.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates goode Grace.

XII. Surrey *to* Queen Margaret.[1]

Pleasith it Your Grace to bee advertised, that this Wedonysday at 8 a clok at nyght I received Your Graces letter, directed to the Kinges Highnes your brother, whiche letter I have oppened and seen, having commaundemente of His Highnes soo to doo, with all letters that shall come fro Your Grace, or any other oute of Scotland.

Madame, where I perceive by Your Graces seid letter that ye have received His Graces letter, dated the 2de daye of this moneth, and hath shewed the same to the Lordes, suche as ye trust doth love the Kinges Grace your son, and that the seid Lordes have put hym to some libertie, and not to take great journeys, being not mete for hym soo to doo, as they think, for his welth; and also that Your Grace dothe desire His Highnes to bee good to His Grace, and the realme of Scotland; soo that good peace and concorde maye bee had bitwene bothe realmes; and also that His Highnes shuld bee the bettir to that realme for Your Graces sake; and that the fault shuld not bee put in His Highnes, but rather in the Lordes of that realme, who Your Grace doth think wold not refuse any reasonable waye: Madame, I have incontynent, within one houre aftir the receipte of your seid letter, sent the same to His Highnes, trusting right breifly to receive His Graces aunswer to you of the same. Notwithstaunding, Madame, undoubtedly I

[1] From a copy written by Surrey's Secretary, and entitled by his Lordship, "Copie off my lrẽ to be shewde to the Lordes off Scotlond." From the Chapter House, Miscellaneous Letters, Vol. VI. leaf 27.

have

have soo often bee advertised of His Graces determynate pleasure consernyng thaffaires of Scotland, that I beleve shalbe noo nother in effect than herafter shall ensue.

Madame, I knowe assuredly His Highnes shalbe full joyfull to here of the prousperous astate of the King his nephue, estemyng his welth no les then if he were his naturall son. But agayne I am assuredly he shalbe as sore discontented and displeased to here, that his seid nephue is welth and suertie is no bettir regarded with the noble men his subjectes, thus contynually to bee content to suffre their King and theymselfes to be kept in subjection by the Duke of Albany: who with all his part takers can doo no displeasure, if they list to have assistence of His Grace; whiche I am here redy to gif unto all thos, both with men and money, that woll, like trewe noble men, help their naturall Soverain Lorde oute of the danger of the seid Duke. And in likewise I am redy to doo suche displeasures unto the favourers of the seid Duk, that God they shall repent the same.

And as touching peas and concorde to be had bitwene bothe realmes, Madame, undoubtedly that woll never bee, unto the tyme the noble men of Scotland doo abandon the seid Duke, and take upon theymself the rule of the realme, and sewe to the Kinges Highnes for peace.

And wher your Grace doth desire that His Hieghnes shalbe bettir to Scotland for your sake; Madame, wher Your Grace wrote to His Highnes so to doo, at your contemplacion His Grace commaunded me to desist fro doing any hurt; and soo I have doon a long season, trusting that the Lordes wold have shewed theym more naturall loving subjectes to their Soverain Lorde then it doth nowe appere, the daye prefixed to the seid Duke for his commyng being expired, and his Royall Person in noo bettir suertie, ner more out the Dukes danger, then it was before.

And wher Your Grace wold the faulte shuld rather be founde in the Lordes of Scotland then in His Highnes, trusting that they wold refuse no reasonable way; Madame, I doubte not all the world shall knowe the fault to be in theym, and not in His Grace, considering that His Grace doth desire nothing, but the suertie of the person of his nephewe the King, their naturall Soverain Lord; whiche never can bee out of mervelous great daunger, as long as the Duke of Albany shall have any rule and governaunce in Scotland. And, undoubtedly, it doth evidently appere that they woll refuse a reasonable waye, when they woll not put hym out of the realme that wold distroy the King, to were the crowne hymself; as all the wise men of Christendome doo think the seid Duke woll doo at last: whiche God deffende; as the Kinges Highnes woll doo for his parte, too the best of his poure.

Fynally,

Fynally, Madame, I assure Your Grace, the Kinges Grace woll never dissist to make war unto Scotland, unto the tyme the seid Duke shalbe clerely abjected and abandoned by theym, and that they wold take upon theymselfes to governour and rewle the realme, and sewe to His Highnes for peas, as affor: whiche by theym doon, I have not onely ample and full auctorite to treate upon the same, but also to gif theym assistence of men and money, as largely as of reason they can demaund. Beseching Your Grace not to bee discontented, though I doo nowe displeasures to suche as do more favour and obey the seid Duke then their Soverain Lord. And as shortly as I shall receive aunswere fro the Kinges Highnes, I shall with all diligence send the same to Your Grace.

XIII. Surrey *to* Queen Margaret.[1]

Madame. With this letter Your Grace shall receive a nother fro me to be shewed to the Lordes; assuring Your Grace upon my poure honour that every article conteyned in the same is of truthe. And where Your Grace wold knowe the Kinges pleasure if ye shuld cause your sone to come furth, and whether His Grace wold let me to helpe suche as wold take His Graces parte, if any wold arise againste hym; Madame, I think aftir my poure myend that nowe, when I shalbe doing hurt in Scotland, ye can not bettir doo then to cause His Grace too bee taken forth, saying that he woll not suffre his realme any lenger to bee distroyed, and too comaunde all the Lordes upon their aligeance to take his parte; and then to send to me to desiste of doing any more hurt, and tappointe some noble men to comone with me for the concorde and peas of bothe realmes. Whereupon, His Grace being thus at liberte, and all the Lordes sworn, or a good nombre of theym, to take His Graces part, and to abandone the Duke of Albany, and to send awaye the Frenchemen, I shall desist to doo any more hurt, and shal mete with suche as shalbe appointed; and if any wold disobey His Grace, I shalbe redy with men and money to assiste His Grace and his parte takers againste theym too the uttermooste; whiche to doo I have ample poure and commyssion.

[1] From a copy written by Surrey's Secretary, entitled by Surrey himself, "Copie of my letter sent to the Qwene, to be shewde but to her selff." In the British Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 196.

And

And where Your Grace wold the Kinges Highnes shuld assaye to breke the Chauncellour, thErle of Arguyle, and the Busshop of Aberdene fro the Governour, whiche Your Grace think wold bee doone with a sober thing; Madame, the Kinges Grace can fynd noone that maye bring that thing soo well to pas as Your Grace; and ye shall not nede abide thaunswer of the Kinges Highnes; for loke what Your Grace woll commaunde shalbe doone, soo that good suertie may be made that they shall perfourme their promys; and at all tymys the money shalbe redy.

And where Your Grace doth write, that ye can cause the King to come furth, and to cause hym to charge his Lordes to come to hym under payne of treason, but then ye knowe not who woll take part with hym; Madame, me thynk ye can doo no bettir then to cause hym so to come furth, and to come to Edenburgh, and commaunde the Lordes gentilmen and commons, upon their aligeaunce, to take his part; whiche if he doo, I doubte not the moost part woll soo doo, and specially the commons, who with a good practise maye soone bee stirred to rise upon the Frenche men and drive theym to Donbar. And, the same brought to pas, I shalbe redy with men and money to gif all the assistance that can bee of reason desiered. Assuring Your Grace that I think it not possible that the seid Duke shall come either with men or money. For assuredly the realme of Fraunce was not in noo suche danger in noo mannys days leving, as it is at this day; and in that case the Frenche King maye neither forbere men nor money, as within 8 dayes I trust tadvertise Your Grace soo of the circumstaunce of the same, that ye shall bileve and think as I doo.

Madame, God knoweth there is no man leving that can bee more joyfull than I am too see Your Grace, thus like a noble naturall Lady and moder to your son, and like a loving sister too your noble brother, too ordre yourself. And assured ye maye bee, that His Grace woll soo loke upon you, that ye shalbe contente with the same. As God knoweth, who send Your Grace thaccomplishmentes of your noble hertes desires. Written at Morpath, the 16th of September.

XIV. SURREY *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLESITH it Your Grace to bee advertised, that yesternight at 8 a clok I received a letter directed to me, and two letters to the Kinges Grace, fro the Quene of Scottis; and of the one of theym she sent me a copie written with hir owne hand; and as for thoder, she sent me word by the bringer that I shuld gif no credite thereunto, for it was devised by the Lordes, whiche letter I was soo bold to breke up. And bifore my going to bed, I made aunswer bothe to hir letter sent to me, and also to thoder, as shall appere to your Grace by the copies whiche your Grace shall receive with this. Mooste humble beseching the Kinges Highnes and your Grace to take the same in good part, and not too bee discontented, that I soo aunswered the same; thinking very requysite with all diligence soo to doo, considering howe nere the tyme doth approche that I shall invade, and also in what state the affaires bee nowe of Scotland.

Also this nyght I have word fro the Lord Home, David Home, and George Douglas, that they woll come into England, if the Duke come into Scotland; and never, for noo promys, to retourne into Scotland, unto the tyme the King bee at his owne rule; and that they woll put me in the best hostages they maye, too perfourme the same. Beseching your Grace tadvertise me, howe I shall ordre myself therein. If they maye bee thus brought in, the Kinges Grace shall maye spare moche money; for having theym, all the Merche is sure too doo noo hurt to this Border; and then the Est Merche is without daunger. Whereby moche money maye bee spared, that muste have bee spent for deffence of the same. And asfor Tevidale, whiche lieth to hurt the Mydle Marche, I trust, or long, soo to handle the same, that they shall not bee able to doo no great hurt, and the seid Mydle Marche with a small garnyson to be diffended. And, aftir myne opinion, if the seid Duke shuld come into Scotland, and have the rewle he had bifore, yet, if the seid Homys and Douglas maye bee made sure, the seid Duke shall never attempte any great invasion into England. Wherefore, all thinges well considered, me think, if they maye bee suerly wone, they shuld not bee refused. And upon Sondaye at nyght I think they woll mete with me secretly in Berwike; with whom I woll conclude nothing, unto the tyme I shalbe advertised fro your Grace, but in

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. XI. Part 2. No. 52.

the meane tyme content theym with good wordes. Beseching your Grace that with diligence I maye bee advertised of the Kinges pleasure and yours, consernyng the premysses. Written at Marpath, the 17th daye of September.

Yours most bownden,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) T. SURREY.

To my Lorde Legates good Grace.

XV. QUEEN MARGARET *to* SURREY.[1]

MY Lord, I command me hertly to you. And I have resayved your writeng this Fridaye from Patrik Sinkler, and understondyth at lenght, wiche me thynkyt right gud and well devised in always. And thar sall bee ne faut in it that I maye doo possible. And, as touching the taken forth of my son, he shall bee furth Monday or Tysdaye, and come to Edenburgh, or he shalbe holden parforse; and than ye shalbe advertised in hast. And, as to your commyng into Scotland, the Lordes is advertised of yt, but me think they set nought by it; for they say that ye dare not come inward narer theym, then ther border; and that they saye they set not by, for they woll doo asmykyll yll hereafter. Therfore, my Lord, if ye think at this tyme to cause the Lordes to leeve the Governour waes, and the part of France, ye most come narer Edenburgh, orels to the same; for I ensure you, gif ye woll doo it, that the Lordes woll doo what ye woll desire, bothe for the taking of the Kyng furth, and for pece. And, gif ye doo not, ne narrar then the Marce or Tevidalle, all the great expences and coostes wolbe for nought; for the Lordes set not by the hurt of the pore foulkes, but lawhis at the same: and this is of truthe. Wherefore, my Lord, other come to Edenburgh, or nare about it, and I shall take upon me that the Lordes shall send to you, and make offre theymself, and pout forth the King; for I ensure you that 1000 men, with artylyry, maye doo with Edenburgh, and the Lordes in the same, as they woll, whithout any ympedyment, and thay come sodenly, as nowe ye maye. And failing of this, ye woll neyther get the King furth, nor yet the band of Fraunce distroyed, whilk wall be other distruccion to the King my son and his Realme. Therfor nowe it is in your hand, doo as ye woll, and ather goo to yt shortly, or let yt bee; for, and ye forst distroy the poure commons, ye woll tyne all theyr

[1] Printed from a Copy written by Surrey's Secretary, in the British Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 293.

hartes,

hartes, and the Lordes woll not set by you: but farst put the Lordes in feer of this towne, but I wald ye ded noo evill in it, but that I maye get it asswred for my sake, soo that the Lordes woll doo any gude waye. For be any ways I wald they left the Governour ways, orels it wolbe owter distrukcyon to the King my son and his Realme. And this is the narest waye to mend it. And I ensure you that of great tyme ye woll not get a contrary. Think well, my Lord, that I wald not saye this to you, and if it were not of veryte. And, if I faile at this tyme, I wol never truste to have good to me and my sonne. Wherefore, my Lord, I praye you, failing of this, to let me come into that realme with my trewe servauntys; for I woll come awaye, and I shuld stele owte of it. Wherefore I praye you, my Lord, lat me bee advertissed what ye woll doo in to this in all hast with this berer Patrik Synklar; for I dare not truste to no nather, and he woll make great diligence. Praying you to bee gud Lord to hym for my sake, and to doo for hym when he desire you in his nede. Al soo, my Lord, I thank the Kinges Grace my brothar humble of the great kyndnes that he shawys to the King my son and me, whilk We can never desarf; but We ar his owne, and shalbe at his commaundement. And, my Lord, for your part, I thank you hartely, for my son and I is greatly behalding too you for the great labour ye make for Us: wherefore I praye God that I maye doo you stede and pleasure.

XVI. Queen Margaret *to* Surrey.[1]

My Lord. Thys tothar letar[2] that I send now, is be the counsel of the Lordys, vylke me thynke in a part is not ewel, for thay desyr to have you wryt to them your mynde playnly, vhareby that thay may have the mare cawse for them to take the matar playnly, and to make you a gwd answar; and I wald ze vret playnly to them, sayeng, that the Kyng my brothar desyrs the wel and swrte of the Kyng my son, as ze have wryten to me befoor, and that it is a suspycyws thyng to thynke that the Dwke of Albany schuld be Gowarnor and Twtar to hym, consyderyng that the sayd Dwk haldyth hym next the crown haftar the Kyng my son, and thys all the varld vol thynke, bot thay that vald have the dystrokcyon of the Kyng. And therfore seyng that he is the Kyng your mastars

[1] Holograph. From the British Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 181.

[2] In the same volume, leaf 180, but of little interest.

systars son, he hath gret sospycyon in that, and therfor he vol have it amendyd, or ellys he vol not desyst fro makyng of var, and doyng dyspleswr to them that doth asyst to the sam, wyth all syk othar clawsys as ze dyd vryt in to my letar that ze sent last, vyche vas ryght wel and kyndly; and I thynke thys to be dwn in all hast posybyl. And say in your sayd vryteng to them, that I have desyrd you ryght hartly to vryt to the Lordys your mynd, that ze may haf thayr answars, and that thay dw it wyth hast, and faylyng that, thay take not forth the Kyng and descharge the Gowarnor betwix this and Vedynsday; and thay to send you a playn answar. I vald cownsel you to do forth on the scharpyst mannar, as I dyd vryt off befoor; for ellys it is dwn bot to abuss you, and to cawss you to forbere to do ewel. And ther for I pray you, my Lord, to hast thys letar to the Lordys vyth your answar to me, that I may schaw the sam for my excwse, and that I do my part; and in the meen tyme to be the soberar, and doo the lees ewel; for it volbe the moor ocacyon to the Lordys to gang to gwd agrement; and that I wald var no stop, se that I myght bryng it to any good vay. And God have you in Hys kypeng. Wryten thys Sonday.

I dyd not schaw the on of the letars that ze sent last, for it vas not needful to schaw.

(*Signed*) Yours,

MARGARET R.

My Lord. I send you here in closyd the insterment[1] that I twke yestarday befoor the Lordys for my dyscharge, and thys I sayd myne awne mowht to them; ther for I pray you kype it, for I have the prynsypal.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord of Surrey.

XVII. SURREY *to* WOLSEY.[2]

PLESITH it your Grace too bee advertised, that yesterdaye at noone comyng to this towne, I received a letter fro the Quene of Scottes, the copie whereof your Grace shall receive with this, aunswering my letters that I sent hir last, whereof I sent your Grace the copies. And where her desire is to have me drawe towardes Edenburgh, it is not possible for me soo to doo for dyvers greate causes. One is, I can by noo meanes get sufficiente cariage in all this contre too serve my company of vitell, skant for one daye; and, but that I have caused

[1] A copy is in the British Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 184.
[2] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 292.

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the souldiours to cary their vitell in walettes and their drink in bottellis, it shuld not bee possible for me taccomplisshe thenterprise, whiche I have determyned to doo. Undoubtedly a journey to Edenburgh woll not bee perfourmed, oneles the provision of cariage bee made beyond Yorkshire; and at this tyme I am enfourced to get asmany carte horses out of Yorkswold, as I maye convenyently get, withoute whos help I could not cary myne ordynaunce artelery and munycions.

Also, where my Lord Dacre hath promysed me to come to me with 3000 men, I can by noo meanes enduce hym, but that he woll come the next waye thorowe the waste contre of Scotland; whereof I feare shall growe some displeasure, the Scottis being warned of my commyng, and gathering for the same, as some espies doo advertise me. And, if they set upon hym bifore he joyne with me, I feare he shall have moche too doo; but I cannot turne his opinion. He shewed your Grace bifore the Counsell he wold come that waye, and therefore it is not possible nowe too altre his myende. And, when he and I shalbe joyned, we shall not bee in nombre 9000 men, good and bad; whiche is noo sufficient nombre too goo with unto Edenburgh, without I wold put all my chardge in more then extreme daunger. Notwithstaunding, if I maye bee advertised that the gathering that shalbe againste me shall not bee soo greate but that I maye gif theym batayle, I entend, if my vitell maye any thing serve, to goo to Mewrus Abby, whiche is but 20^{ti} myles fro Edenburgh, and to set a good face as I wold goo thidder. But in this case I muste bee ordred aftir, as I shall knowe the puyssaunce of thennymys, and as vitell woll serve; and, though we faste with water one daye, we shall not spare any thing ondone therefore.

Also I beseche your Grace to considre that my Lorde Dacre, bringing with hym the best part of the West Border, having no vitell but that is caried at the sadill bowe, will not bee contente to condessend too soo fer a journey, leving his contre ungarnysshed of men, and redy to bee distroyed by the Lord Maxwell, Warden of the Scottishe Border. And in likewise I, for my part, am not a litle a feerd that the Scottes shall envade within my Wardenry, though I goo noo further then Gedwourth: againste whos invasions I knowe not howe to make sufficient provision, if I shulde envade soo fer as the seid Quene wold have me to doo, onles I had a fer gretter power. Assuering your Grace that I am advertised by dyvers wayes, that the Quene hath noo credight nowe amonges the Lordes, considering that they looke every houre to here of the Dukes arryvall. And aftir myne opinion, her desire to have me come towardes Edenburgh is more to thentente that she myght come awaye with me, then for any good effecte shall ensue of all her advertismentis. Whereof the truthe woll appere within 3 dayes; for if she cannot by Tuysdaye cause the King

come

come to Edenburgh, then I beleve she doth evidently see that she cannot bring her purpoos well to pas, and therefore wold bee out of Scotland bifore the Dukes comyng: whiche she cannot well bring to pas, onles I fet her at Edenburgh. And, aftir myn opinion, the same doth some thing appere by her letter, considering that she doth make noon aunswer nor mencion of the Chauncellour, thErle of Arguyle, ner of the Busshop of Aberdene; but in this, and all other letters, she is very desierous to come into England. And with this your Grace shall receive the copy of my letter[1], whiche I sent to her incontynente upon the receipte of her letter at Belford, whiche I doubte not shalbe with hir tomorowe at nyght; and I truste to have aunswer thereof by Tuysdaye, within Scotland; for I lak noo sure conveyours of my letters, ner plenty of good espies. And by my seid letter your Grace maye perceive I doo put hir in good comfort; soo that, and she can doo any thing, it woll nowe appere. And for my part though I can not doo somoche as I wold doo, I shall doo the best I can; not refusing any reasonable adventure.

Fynally, though it shall not bee in my poure taccomplisshe the seid Quenes desieres, nor other thingis that I am desierous too doo; yet, God willing, I shall doo asmoche hurte in Scotland at this journey, as the Duke of Gloucestre and thErle of Northumbreland ded[2] with 40000 men, and more, or I shall have a fall therein. And, God willing, tomorowe bifore daye I woll set forward, and woll ly within 2 myles of Gedwurth. Written at Berwike, the 21th daye of September.

Yours most bownden,

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Legates good Grace.

(*Signed*) T. SURREY.

XVIII. SURREY *to* QUEEN MARGARET.[3]

PLESITH it Your Grace to bee advertised that this present houre I received your letters. And, wher your pleasure is that I shuld write to the Lordes, what is the Kinges Graces desire that they shuld doo; Madame, I beseche Your Grace to hold me excused, for undoubtedly I woll not write to theym herein, considering that the Kingis Grace hath of late written his myend to Your Grace, whiche I doubte not ye have shewed to theym, and also by Clarenseaulx

[1] This does not appear to be extant.

[2] In 1482, when Richard Duke of Gloucester and Henry Earl of Northumberland made an expedition into Scotland, which is described in Hall's Chronicle, 22 Edw. IV.

[3] From a copy written by Surrey's Secretary, in the British Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 182.

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the harald His Highnes declared his pleasure long tyme past, bifore any great hurt was doon, whiche then was litle regarded. And, Madame, at your request I have forbourne to doo any hurt sith Mydsomer, trusting that upon the reapoorte of Your Graces letters, if the Duke had not come at the day prefixed, the Lordes wold have left his wayes, and doon the best for the suertie of their Soverain Lord: of whiche I see nothing folowed. Wherefore, Madame, I beseche Your Grace not to be discontented, though I doo nowe some displeasure too suche as I knowe doo bere their entier favour to the Duke, not like no good Scottishmen. And if the Lordes woll shewe theymselffes too bee good and loving to their Soverain Lord, I doubte not they woll leve the Dukes wayes, and rule the land theymself. Whereof if I maye bee in good suertie upon Wedonysdaye next at Gedworth, where I entend, God willing, then to lodge, I shall desist to do any great hurtes: and if not, I shalbe enfourced to hurt his subjects, that I and all good Englishe men love best, next our Soverain Lord, of all Princes leving; as we ar bound to doo, considering howe nere he is of blod to His Grace. Madame, if it shall like Your Grace to shewe this letter to the Lordes, if they meane not to have me lose my tyme, they woll doo asmoche, as though I wrote to theym. Moost humble beseching Your Grace, noon oftener to write unto me to forbere doing hurt, unto the tyme the King your son be accepted as King, and the Duke of Albany clerely habandoned, and the Lordes contented to rule the realme theymselfes. Written &ca.

XIX. SURREY *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLESITH it Your Grace to be advertised, that this nyght at mydnyght came to me 2 Scotishmen myn espies, with twoo letters fro the Qwene off Scottes, wich your Grace shall receyve with this; and by the same your Grace may perceyve that the Kyng shall not come forth; and all this, that the Lordes doth cause her to wright, is only to dryve off the tyme, to thentent I shuld do the les hurt, and that their hole poure myght be assembled, and so to take their advantage upon me: and so one off myn espies hath warned me is their entent; saying, the Lordes be in such feare off the Duc, lokyng every houre for hym to arryve, that, and they had layde 4 off the best off their sonnys in hostage to forsake hym, yet, iff he came, they would breke their covenant.

[1] Holograph. From the British Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 179.

Wherfor,

Wherfor, with Godes grace, I shalbe doing. And with this your Grace shall receyve the copie off myn answer sent to the seid Qwene, wich she shall shew to the Lordes. The Chansoler went hym selff upon Saturday in Edenborow, and made proclamacions in thre places, that all men, that myght wer harnes, shuld be this day redy to come forwardes; wherwith the French men made moch joy. Sewerly I feare they do moch abewse the Qwene; but though they do so with her, I entende not they shall so do with me; for at the closyng hereoff I woll go to horsbak, and do the most hurt I can. Scribled this 22 day off September at 3 aClok after mydnyght.[1]

Yours most bownden,

(*Signed*) T. SURREY.

XX. WOLSEY *to* SURREY.[2]

MY Lorde, I commende me unto you in my right harty maner. And have receyved your letters dated at Morpathe the 17th day of this instant moneth, with 2 letters of the Quene of Scottes directed to the Kinges his Highnes, and other 2 letters of hers addressed unto you; to the whiche ye, for the more breve expedition, have made suche answere as is mencioned in 2 copyes of your letters sent to the Quene of Scottes, the doubles wherof I also receyved with your said letters. All whiche letters and copies I, incontinently upon the receipt of them, sent unto the Kinges Grace with my poore opinion and avice in and upon the same; and His Highnes, geving unto you his right herty thankes for the grete travaile diligence and payne, whiche ye contynually do use and take in his affaires there, hath willed me to ascertain you his pleasure, as hereafter folowith.[3]

Firste, His Highnes is right glad and joyeows to perceyve and understonde that the Quene of Scottes, like a natural and kynde moder, and a most loving sister, dothe bothe discretely and prudently and also constantly and entierly persever and contynew in making al the labour and meanes to her possible for the erecting, taking furthe, and brynging the yong King her son unto

1 Surrey must at this time have been before Jedburgh, which he captured on the 24th. His account of its capture is printed by Ellis, 1st Series, Vol. I. p. 214. Henry's observations on this letter will be seen Vol. I. of this work, p. 142.

2 From the British Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 456.

3 See Vol. I. p. 140.

his

his auctorite royal from the captivite, wherin he now is by reason of the tutele of the Duke of Albany and the Frenche governaunce; soliciting and persuading the Lordes of Scotland to abandonne the Duke of Albany and the Frenche faccion, which matier, as apperith by her said letters, is in somwhat better trayne then by reaporte of your espialles it semed to be; trusting that by your good dexterite, wise handeling, and diligent procuring, somme good effecte may nowe ensue therof. And, to the intent that the more credence auctorite and reputacion may be geven unto the contentes of your said letters and answer made unto the Quene of Scottes, aswel those whiche were to be shewed to the Lordes of Scotland, as the other to be reserved unto her self; the Kinges Grace dothe, at this tyme, sende unto your handes 2 letters directed to the said Quene, the on semblably to be shewed to the Lordes at her pleasure, and the other to be also reserved to her self. In whiche letters His Grace, though by other wordes and sentences, and with som more addicion, yet in maner to oon effect, dothe conferme al suche thinges as were bifore writen by you unto her; like as by the copye of the Kinges said letters, whiche ye shal receyve herewith, ye, examynyng the oon with the other, shal perceyve more at large. Ascertaynyng you that, for the better avauncement of this matier, the Kynges mynde and pleasure is, that ye, sending unto the Quene of Scottes by sure and secrete meanes the Kinges said letters, do also by your oun writinges, and al other wayes to you possible, comforte encorage and exhorte her to persist and firmely to contynue in this honourable and vertuous purpose, assuring her that for the grete effectes whiche be like to ensue therof to the weale and suretie of her said son; whom the Kinges Highnes, ye may say, highly tenderthe and singulerly favoureth, as to nature and proximite of blood dothe aperteyn, and also the pacification of the discordes and variances bitwene bothe the realmes, nowe being in warre and discencion oonly in defaulte of the Scottes, by adhering unto the said Duke and Frenchemen, putting the yong King their Soveraigne Lorde therby in extreme daungier and peril; she shal deserve grete merite of Almyghty God, singuler lawde honour and praise in al Christen regions, and therby be assured to fynde the Kinges Highnes, as His Grace is, and always hathe ben, her most loving and tender brother; mynding so to shewe his gracious favour and entier mynde unto her, by the way of correspondens, as the natural love and her good merittes in this cace dothe requyre. And, for her more comforte in this behalf, ye may also write unto her, that if after her grete labour and travail taken in this matier the same can in nowise be brought to the Kinges and her desired ende and intent, yet, whensoever it shal stonde with her commodite to repaire unto the Kinges realme, and that she can not

demore there without extreme daungier and peril, she shalbe most hertely welcome to the same, and have suche entertaynement as to her astate and honour dothe apertayn. And, albe it that the Kinges Grace dothe not at this tyme write unto suche personages as she desyreth, making them suche assurance and promyse as in her letters is conteyned, to whom it shold not be honourable that His Highnes, in maner by way of sute or desire, shulde more largely declare his mynde, then at sundry tymes hathe ben done hertofore; yet neverthelas ye shal write unto the said Quene, that, by suche letters as His Grace hertofore hathe sent, and nowe dothe sende unto her, they may take sufficient grounde to make them selfes assured of His Highnes not oonely firmely and effectuelly to assist defende and maynteyn theym against al persones in this good querel, but also so to loke provide and helpe for their rewardes exaltacions and promocions, that they shulde be joyeows and glad to have taken that way. Wherin also the Kinges Highnes wolde, ye, seing them to procede sincerely, shuld aide and supporte them by al the meanes and wayes to you possible; not sparing, if ye may see it shal assuredly do good, to employe onwardes som money amonges suche of them as wol not faile to stikke stedfastly herunto, according to your former instruccions, and like as ye have ascertayned the Quene by your letters: allecting, encoraging, and drawing them unto this purpose by al suche policye as ye can divise. In whiche cace ye knowe howe to ordre your self, either in making werre, or in forbering, as in my former letters to you sent was mencioned, and as your wisedome shall, uppon knowlege of their sincere or fayned proceding, lede you to do. To the suretie wherof, as nighe as may be possible, the Kinges Grace desireth you to have vigilant respect, so as by any fayned dryftes or crafty demonstracions they cause you not to lose the opportunyte that nowe may be taken for destruccion of their bordres, as the Kinges Grace and I doubte not but that you wol do accordingly. For, as ye wel do knowe, the Scottes be subtile, crafty, and not accustumed to kepe any promyse that they do make. Wherfore ye must the more circumspectly have regarde to their proceding, lest that by shewing they wol set furthe their King, abandonne the Duke of Albany and Fraunce, they wol so passe colourably over tyme, til the covenable season nowe being at hand for annoyances by you to be done, in brennyng their housys and corne, as afore, shalbe overgone; and than afterward litle or nothing to set by the King, but more fastely to leane to the Duke of Albany, then they did bifore.

And as to George Douglas and David Home, inasmoche as they shew them selfes mynded to geve you good hostages never to retourne in to

to Scotlande for any promise, til suche tyme as the yong King be at his own rule; if ye may perceyve that mo good effectes may ensue of their receyving in to England, and forbering the distruccion of their houses, then by the contrary, it shalbe well done, that, upon suche bonde promyse and hostages, ye admyt them. But herde it shalbe to geve any grete trust unto folkes of so light faithe and credite as they be; forasmoche as they have brokyn their othe and promyse with the King in tyme past, and it is to be suspected that this their commyng in to the King is only for the saving of their houses and landes, the destruccion whereof they can not withstonde; and peradventure more good shal ensue unto the Kinges realme and bordres by the total subversion of their houses, then by any taking parte with the King against the Duke of Albany. Wherfore the more circumspeccion is to be used; and special regarde is to be had, whither their houses and quarters saved, whiche nowe may be distroyed and made sure from doyng any annoyaunce to the Kinges borders hereafter, their commyng may be so beneficial and profitable to this realme, keping their promise, as, their houses remaynyng, they may do hurte and dommage to the same hereafter, breking their promyse. To the whiche thing the Kinges Grace doubteth not but ye wol have good respect, as the importance of that matier dothe require.

Finally, the Kinges Highnes commytteth to your wisedome and discretion the conservation and keping of the Quene of Scottes in her good mynde and disposicion; the attaynyng and wynnyng of the Lordes by her named, and suche other as shalbe mete, with money promyse and giftes reasonable, so it may be done surely and without fraude deceyte or illusion; the assistence of suche as woll come to the Kinges mynde and devocion, and repressing of those that shal obstinately remayne in the Duke of Albanys and Frenche faccion; with the rodes and excourses divised, to be made or not made, as ye shal se the cace to requyre. So alwey, that onles ye see perfite suretie in their proceding without any long tract or delay, ye forbere not to prece them therunto with violence, whiche undoubtedly is the perfite way to bring them unto good conformyte; and at the lest, they failing, the surest and most beneficial way for the weale of the Kinges Marches. In whiche matiers the knowlege that ye have and dailly shalhave there, with your wisedome and good forsight, shalbe your best conduytour guyde and leder, more then eny instruccion whiche may be geven unto you from hens; specially the grounde of the Kinges mynde and the determynacion, being aswel by mowthe as by writinge, largely declared unto

you hertofore. Praying you that from tyme to tyme ye wol advertise the Kinges Grace and me of your successes in the premysses accordingly.

And, to the intent that the Scottes may the better perceyve in what calamyte the Frenche King, in whom they somoche trust, now is[1]; it shalbe wel done that, aswel by your letters to the Quene of Scottes as otherwise, ye eftsones geve knowlege in to Scotland of suche newes touching aswel the Duke of Burbon and that enterprise, as also the armye of Italye, the invasion of thEmperour in Guyen and Langedok, and the proceding of the Kinges armye with the Burgunyons being in their company; according to suche advertisementes as by a post scripta I gave you in my last letters[1]: whiche not only shalbe a comforte unto al those that wold favour the Kinges desire, but also an abashment and grete discorage to al those that be of the Frenche faccion. And therby the Lordes of Scotlande, except they be blynded in wilfulnes and obstynacie, may of their wisedome considre, whither the Frenche King, invaded by the King and thEmperour with armyes royal, having the Duke of Burbon in his bosom with 800 men of armes of his oune and suche as take his parte, 10000 fotemen of his oune power, and 10000 launce knyghttes waged by the King and thEmperour, redy to pursue hym to what place he shall divert, being for his tyrannye hated in al his realme, and having also most parte of his armye passed in to Italy, where they shal fynde substancial and notable resistence, be able either to withstonde the said powers, or to geve the Scottes any profitable aide or assistence; but by likelihode shal rather not dare contynue in his realme, no more than the Duke of Albany dare repaire in to Scotlande. And thus Jhesu preserve you. At my manour of More, the 25th day of Septembre.

Your lovyng frende,

(*Signed*) T. Carlis Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)

To myne entierly beloved frende the Erle of Surrey, the Kinges Lieutenaunt in the North parties, Treasourer and Admyrall of England.

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[1] See Vol. I. pp. 133—140. Wolsey's letter, to which he alludes, has not been discovered.

XXI. Surrey *to* Wolsey.[1]

Plesith it your Grace to bee advertised that of trouthe the Duke of Albany is arrived, and the saing is that he hath brought 8000 men with him, as I am enfourmed by moo then 20 dyvers espies; notwithstaunding, I beleve not the nombre to bee soo great, for me think they shuld not bee carried in soo fewe ships, onles they were gretter than any maye bee brought into that havon. He hathe brought, as they saye, 600 horsis, whereof 200 barded, and doth say that Richard Delapole, calling hym his cousyn the noble Duke of Suffolk, departed from hym upon the see with 30 sayle of great ships full of men, and shuld have landed in Ingland upon Mondaye last, where he shuld have somoche helpe of Englishmen, that he shuld not bee resisted. If any part of his saying bee true, your Grace is advertised thereof, or nowe; but I neyther bileve that he is landed, nor that he shalhave any assistence. It is not to bee doubted but that the Duke woll envade this realme. Wherefore tomoorowe I woll towardes Newcastell, and this daye shall send newe letters to all the noble men and gentilmen in the shirys conteyned in my commyssion to bee redy to come forewardes upon one hourys warnyng. I came out of Scotland upon Fridaye to this towne at 10 at nyght as wery as ever was man; and the next mornyng I went and sawe your Graces castell at Noreham; where I found your Chauncellour of Duresme[2], and Sir William Bulmer, and there I have suerly vewed the hous round about, leving noo thing on loked upon, and have devised dyvers platformys rampaires and mending of broken places with turvis and yerthe; whiche maye bee doon within six dayes. And the same being perfourmed, as Sir William Bulmer hath promysed, I doubte not, God willing, if the Duke come to laye seege there, he shall not opteyne the same within 8 dayes, by whiche tyme I truste to bee redy tencountre with hym. And asfor your uttir ward, it woll not bee holden one daye aftir the ordynaunce bee layed: wherein can bee no remedy at this tyme. Also I went frothens to Wark, and visited the same, where I have caused Caundishe to make suche newe bulwarkes and other diffences with turvis and erth, that aftir

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[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 313. The last paragraph is in Surrey's own handwriting. In the Catalogue this letter is stated to have been dated at Newcastle, which is clearly erroneous. The contents point out Berwick as the place from which it was written, and this accords with another letter written on the same day by Surrey to Wolsey, containing the details of his attack on Jedburgh, which is published by Ellis, Vol. I. p. 214. There seems also by the King's letter of the 5th of October to have been a third letter of this date addressed by Surrey to the King himself.

[2] William Frankeleyn.

myne

myne opinion it is tenable for 10 dayes against any seege; but the uttir warde wolbe lost within 2 dayes, and they nothing the nere the dongeon; whiche is the strongest thing that I have seen; I wold the kyp at Guynes were like it. And I have soo trymmed the same with ordynaunce and artelery, and all other thinges necessary, that I wold the Duke wold come thidder, where I think he shall consume tyme without doing any great hurt to the contre. I have also well perused and vewed this towne and castell, of the whiche I have more feare then of any of thoders; for undoubtedly aftir my poure opinion it is not tenable against a seege royall, furnysshed as it is, having noo bulwarkes ner fawsbrayes, ner other diffence but the wallis rampayres and dikes. And as for the castell, if the Duke knowe howe feble the wallis bee, and howe thyn, he wold not fayle tassaye the same; whiche wold not hold the batre of 6 cortowtes 8 houres. There is noo remedy to kepe the same, if he lay seege thereto, but onely with fource of mennys handes, and to have somany within the towne, that they maye bee able to diffend the brechis in the same, and the castell; whiche aftir myne opinion woll not be doon under 6000 men, the towne being aboutes one myle and thre quarters, as Caundishe doth say, who hath met the same. Also the towne is soore enfected with the great sikenes; and in the hous, where I laye 2 nyghtes bifore my going nowe into Scotland, one dyed full of Godes markes, before my retourne. If it were not to serve the Kingis Grace, and the great nede that it is to have me here to put ordre in all thies places, how they shalbe kept if nede bee, I wold for no good byde the danger in this towne. And the moost doubte of all is, that I knowe not howe to get men to come into this towne, they feare the great sikenes somoche in thies parties. But I shall doo my best.

Alsoo I beseche your Grace that 100 gonners maye bee sent hither with all convenyent diligence, for I have but 36 to shote my ordynaunce in the feld, and to put in Werk and Norham, whiche bee too fewe to put in thos twoo houses. I wrote to your Grace to have thies gonners in arredynes long tyme past, trusting they soo bee.

And, tadvertise your Grace of my poore opinion what I conject the seid Duke woll doo, I feare mooste that he woll sodenly gather all the poure of the Merche, Tevidale, the forest of Etrik, the West Border, Lowthian, and all the contres nere adjoynyng unto Edenburgh, and with theym all, and with the Frenche men, make an invasion in this land for 2 dayes or 3; whiche if he doo woll not bee resisted. For he maye well gather above 30000 men, and all Northumbreland maye not make 2500 good men; which wolbe to fewe tencountre hym with the garnyson here. And also a good nombre of theym muste bee put in this town and Norham, for feare of wynnyng theym with a soden

soden sault. This is that I mooste doubte; and se no remedy for the same, onles I shuld send for many moo men; whiche chardge I dare not put the Kinges Grace unto, onles I were assuered of his commyng, and had auctorytie soo to doo. If he come in to doo any suche exployte, I think he woll come in bifore Satirdaye next.

Also I beleve he cannot this mone light, whiche is waned 3 dayes, gather his poure with vitell to laye a seege; onles he come to this towne, thinking sodenly in the derk nyght to skale the same; orels to come to Wark, thinking too wyn the same within one daye or twoo; as I knowe it shalbe reapoorted to hym by the gentilmen of the Border of Scotland, he maye doo; for the best of theym have sayd to me that they wold have it within 3 houres. Whiche I pray God they make the Duke bileve, and that he enterprise the same; for assuredly, God willing, he shall fayle thereof.

Also, where in my last letters I wrote to your Grace for more money to bee sent; I beseche your Grace to remembre the same, and tadvertise me of the Kingis pleasure and yours in the premysses with all possible diligence, and also of the contentes of myne other letter dated in Scotland. I see noo great likelihode that the Homys and George Douglas woll fall to our partie, if they maye have any good waye with the Duke. Wherefore, God willing, or long unto they shall have some displeasure, onles they put in good pledges to me this nyght.

Also most humble I besech your Grace to be a meane to the Kynges Highnes that at Alhalowtyde I may depart hens; and iff my Lord Percy shall not entre then in to the office off Warden, me thynk my Lord Dacre myght well occupie for the tyme as his deputie; wich I dout not by the Kynges commandment he wolbe content to do, consyderyng the nere aliaunce they be now off.[1] And thogh thes contre people be not the best content with hym, yet I dout not so it be knowen that my Lord Percy shall come shortly after, they wolbe content with hym for the tyme. And sith the Kynges plesure and your Graces is that my Lord Percy shall succede me, I trust His Highnes and your Grace woll not commande me any lenger to remayne here then Halowtyde; for then it shuld appere that myn abode shuld be but only as to fullfyll his rome for a season; wich I wold be loth to do: and by that tyme the yere shalbe so fer ron, that it shall litle requyre my lenger abode for any hurt the Duc off Albany shall do with any mayne invasion. Iff it shall lyke your Grace to further this matier, I dout not my desired purpose shall take gode effect. Scribled, this 27 day off September, with the hande off

Yours most bownden,

(*Signed*) T. SURREY.

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[1] They were brothers-in-law, having each married a daughter of George Earl of Shrewsbury.

XXII. SURREY *to* QUEEN MARGARET.[1]

MADAME. Plesith it Your Grace too bee advertised that yesterdaye I received Your Graces letter by Patrik Synkcler, with his instruccions written with your hand; the copies whereof I have sente to the Kingis Grace[2], and I doubte not Your Grace shall with all expedicion have aunswere of the same, too your contentacion and pleasure. Also I have delivered unto the seid Patrik, the letter I wrote of the last daye to Your Grace, whiche I durste not send you then[3]; by the whiche Your Grace maye perceive, howe kynd and loving brother His Highnes is to Your Grace, and howe well he doth accepte your demeanour for the welthe of the King your son. And, Madame, at the reverence of God, for any thing that the Duke and Frenche men can saye, truste theym nothing the bettir, but contynuelly persist in the noble and vertuous myend ye bee in, and I am and shalbe your assured servaunte to the beste of my litle poure. As God knoweth, who send Your Grace thaccomplishment of your noble hertes desires. Written at Newcastell, the furste day of October.

XXIII. SURREY *to* WOLSEY.[4]

PLESITH it Your Grace too bee advertised that this Thursdaye bifore dyner, within twoo houres came unto me 3 dyvers espies out of Scotland, twoo Scottishe and one Englishe, by whome I am advertised that the Duke of Albany hath assembled yesterdaye all the Lordes at Glasko; and all the seid espies saye he hath brought with hym 8000 fotemen, 200 men of armys, and 300 light horsis; and that he dothe prepare all that he can, to invade England; and proclamations bee made for every man too bee redy to come forwardes

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[1] Printed from a copy in the handwriting of Surrey's Secretary, and entitled by his lordship, "Copie off my letter sent to the Qwene off Scottes," in the Chapter House, State Papers, Scotland, p. 278.

[2] This paper is in the Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 287; in the Catalogue it bears the false date of 6th October.

[3] This must be the letter written in pursuance of Wolsey's directions (supra p. 33).

[4] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 284. Among Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. XI. part 2. leaf 42., is a private letter of the same date from Surrey to Wolsey, urging that he may be relieved of his command by All Souls Day, and recommending Dacre as his successor.

upon

upon one dayes warnyng, without any daye prefixed at their comyng oute of Scotland.

Also this daye at 2 at aftir noone is come to me Patrik Synkcler, and hath brought me a letter fro the Quene of Scottis, and an instruccion, the copies whereof your Grace shall receive with this, and also the copie of my letter nowe sent unto Her Grace; wherein I have referred all the Kingis aunswer, perceiving by the seid Patrike, that she can not shortly get awaye, and that of fource she muste remayne lenger than thanswere maye come from the Kingis Grace.

Also, considering that I see noo proufigthe shuld come of hir being here, but great costes and chardgis; wherefore under the Kinges high correccion and your Graces me think it were as proufitable, and more good shuld come thereof, to have hir remayne in Scotland than too come into England, if she maye bee soo content with good perswasions. And where 3 or 400£ in a yere shuld pleas hir well, being there, peradventure 1000 markes or 2000 shuld skarsly doo soo, being here. The Kingis Highnes and your Grace can a thousand tymys bettir ordre this matier then I can devise, notwithstaunding that I am soo bold too write my poore opinion.

Furthermore I am advertised by the seid Patrik, that undoubtedly the seid Duke is clerely determyned tenvade this realme with asmoche diligence as can bee used; saying, that of fource he muste soo doo, orels retourne his Frenche men home; for the realme of Scotland is not able to susteyne theym long. And the seid Patrik doth think that he woll rather goo towardes Carlizle, then too this Borders; notwithstaunding that my Lorde Dacre dothe think contrare. Also the seid Patrik doth saye that of trouth the commons doo grudge marvelouslye againste hym, and that dyvers wise men doo think he woll send the yong King into Fraunce to marye the Frenche Kingis doughter, and too bring hym up there, to thentente he maye have a love to the Frenche men, unto whome at this houre he hathe noo favour nor fantasaye.

Fynally the seid Patrik at every tales ende doth byd me provide sewerly, for without doubte the Duke woll envade this realme shortly. And tadvertise your Grace, what provision I have made to kepe hym asmoche as I can for doing hurte upon thEst and Mydle Marches: furste, as I wrote to your Grace in my former letters, I have doon asmoche as I can to the fortifycacion of Norham and Wark, and have soo furnysshed theym of every thing necessary, that I am in hope, by that tyme he shall have won any one of theym, his vitell shall not onely bee consumed, but also his men wery of lying in the feld. And assueredly he shalbe fayne too fetche his forage within Scotland; for he shall fynde noone nere too noone of thoos places in England. For I

 have

have commaunded Sir William Bulmer to see all the corne within 5 or 6 myle of the border of the Este Marches too bee throsshed, and caried further into the land; giffyng warnyng to all the townys and villagis, that, if the Scottes come too laye seege, I woll cause the same too bee brente; and soo assueredly I woll doo, rather then it shuld doo good to our enemys and hurt to ourselfes.

Also I have caused becons to bee made to warne the contre, and have had all the gentilmen of the contre with me at Anwike, and by their advyses have appointed the places where our men shall assemble, accordingle as he shall make his entre. Alsoo I have commaunded Sir William Bulmer and Sir Richard Tempest to see all the foordes of the watir of Tyll too bee caste; soo that, and if he wold entre thorowe Tevidale, or over Twede bitwene Tilmouth and Wark, the seid foordes being so cast, he shall consume one hoole daye in passing that watir. Alsoo Sir William Bulmer is of the opinion, that the foordes bitwene Tylmouth and towardes Barwike maye bee in likewise dammed and stopped with as litle chardge as the watir of Tyll. Whereupon I have commaunded hym too assaye one foorde, and if the casting of Twede cost nomore then the casting of the watir of Tyll, I truste the chardgis wolbe under 100£, and peradventure not half the money. And, the same well doon, the Scottis shall at noo tyme, with noo light poure nor with stelth, doo any hurt in Eland shire, Norham shire, Bawmborowe shire, ner Glendale. Beseching your Grace tadvertise me, whether I shall see the seid waters cast or not. My Lord of Wynchestre hath many tymys devised too have had theym caste; but thies contremen wold never consent thereunto, or nowe, thinking it shuld let theym too ron in Scotland; and nowe, thanked bee God, they have noo haste too make any maner of ronnyng or invasions withoute greate instaunce made by gentilmen of the garnysons.

Alsoo I have doon asmoche as I can for the fortification of Berwik, whiche is in more danger, then any of thoder, too bee skaled sodenly in a derk nyght, being within the seid towne but 300 of the retynewe. Wherefore I have commaunded the Captayne too take in a crewe of 200 or 300 men, too thentente that bettir watche maye bee kepte. Alsoo I have caused Sir Thomas Clifford, with 500 of my Lorde Cliffordes men, too ly in the towne, whiche they doo with an evill will, considering the greate sikenes raynyng within the same. There is yet 2 greate brechis in the wallis, whereof the one wolbe made within 6 dayes, and thoder not thies 14 dayes: the lest of theym is 80 fote long; and there a man myght leade an hors up into the towne, but that I have caused a litle fortification too bee made of turvys within upon the rampayre. I am more aferd of Berwike then of Norham; for

for in all the towne there is not one man, that knoweth what meaneth to defend a towne, nor too make any fortifycation, but Caundishe; who hath more to doo then 5 men can well furnyshe, for all fortifications at Berwike, Norham, and Wark, is doon by hym.

And thus I have advertised your Grace, what I have doon to diffend the Dukis malice, not knowyng what too doo more then is devised. Mooste humble besechyng the Kingis Highnes and your Grace, tadvertise me what I shall doo in sending for more poure, according to my last letters sent fro Berwike; and if the Duke shall fortune to come in, and doo any hurt by rennyng into the contre, or by wynnyng any of the forteressis, that the same bee not arrected too my defaulte. For I have devised the best I can; and if there wer an other Lieutenaunte ande Warden here, too bring the great poure aftir, I wold truste with skyrmyshingis upon the daye, and alaroms upon the nyght, and keping thennymys fro having forage, too doo theym great displeasure. And whether it shalbe the Kinges pleasure that I shall tary here, and bring with me the mayne poure of Yorkshire, and thoder shiris conteyned in my commyssion, or that I shalbe redy at his entre too doo hym displeasures, I, being advertised of the same, shall with good will doo as I shalbe commaunded; soo that, where I shalbe present, I truste to doo my devour, and where I shall not bee, I shall gif my best advyse. Beseching your Grace, that I maye bee advertised of the Kingis pleasure in the premyssis.

This nyght aftir mydnyght Sir William Bulmer and Sir William Euers, Lieutenauntes of the Marches, with all the garnysons, shall invade the Merche, passing thorowe Berwike, and they shall have with theym all the Northumbreland men nere adjoynyng to theym: and at the same tyme Sir Rauf Fenwike, with all Tyndale, and his frendes shall invade Tevidale in one quarter, and Sir William Heron and his frendes, with all Ridsdale, in a nother quarter. God send theym all good spede; for I am in good hope, being advertised that all the principall gentilmen of Tevydale bee goon to the Duke.

And, where I wrote to your Grace in my laste letter for 100 gonners too bee sent hither with all diligence, at the reverence of God make haste therein. And also I beseche your Grace tadvertise me howe long this newe crewe of Berwike, whiche shalbe all fotemen, shall contynue there. All the laste wynter there was 1700 men left at Calais and Guynes, and neither of theym bee in the danger, that Berwike is in.

Fynally, I advertise your Grace that I see no remedy, but that the Duke shall and maye doo some great displeasures, and retourne withoute

great los, onles the army bee redy assembled againste his comyng; whiche I dare not enterprice to doo, nor woll not, without the Kinges high commaundemente. And, aftir my poure opinion, his entre shalbe bitwene the 18th daye of this moneth and the 28th of the same. And what proclamations soever be made in Scotland for 20ti dayes vitell, I beleve he shall not tary within England above 5 dayes, the tyme of the yere considered. And if the Kingis army bee comyng forewardes, when he shalbe entred England, by that tyme we shalbe assembled nere unto the Borders to gif hym batayle, he shalbe retourned, and we not able to do any hurt unto Scotland, aswell for lak of cariage of vitell, as for ther is nothing to bee doon nere the Borders. This article, aftir my pore mynde, is moche too bee considered, and soo too bee debated and concluded, that I maye bee with all convenyente diligence advertised of the Kingis high pleasure, howe I shalbe ordered therein; whiche I shall accomplisshe with as good will as any man leving. Written at Newcastell, this Thursdaye at mydnyght.

Yours most bownden,

(*Signed*) T. SURREY.

XXIV. SURREY *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLESITH it Your Grace too bee advertised that, where in my laste letters I wrote too your Grace, that I had caused the garnysons and Northumbreland men tenvade Scotlande in thre parties, as yesterday bifore daye; I have this presente houre received a letter from Sir William Bulmer and Sir William Euers, whiche your Grace shall receive with this, rehersing what they have doon. Whiche, notwithstaunding that it is not soo as I purpoosed the same, nor cowde not by reason of the greate waters that was rysen with this rayne that fell thies 3 dayes paste, yet they have made a right good journey. I entended they shuld have throwen downe Downce and Langton. I have alsoo knowlege by men of the contre, but not as yet from the captaynes, that Sir Rauf Fenwike on his quarter, and Sir William Heron on his quarter, have made twoo very good roodes, and have gotten moche insight, catall, horse, and prisoners, and bee retourned withoute los: of the circumstaunce whereof I have no knowlege as yet, from them.

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. XI. Part 2. No. 44.

And,

And, where I advertised your Grace yesterdaye, that the Duke entended tenvade this realme with all diligence, the same is howerly renewed by my espies; not doubting that with all possible diligence I shalbe advertised of the Kinges pleasure, howe I shalbe ordred in assembling the poure conteyned within my comyssion, as I have at lengthe written too your Grace in my former letters; wherupon dependeth the effecte of this matier.

And, where I am enfourmed, my Lorde of Northumbreland, Sir William Gascoigne of Yorkshire, and other gentilmen, bee nowe going towardes London, I doubte not your Grace woll soo provide that suche greate men shall not bee absente from this greate journey; considering that the presence of some one of theym shalbe wourthe many others. And nowe the tyme woll shortly come, that hath bee long loked for, that is to saye, the invasion of the Duke of Albany with the helpe of the Frenche men; the good resistence wherof shall moche encreace the Kingis reputation, and dymynyshe the Frenche Kinges and his adherentes: whiche cannot bee withoute spedy setting forewardes of a sufficiente poure tencountre hym.

Furthermore, I beseche your Grace too send commaundement to your retynue in Yourkshire too bee in arredynes too bee of the furste that shall come forewardes, whiche shall not onely bee a good ensample to thoders, but alsoo they shalbe very welcome to me; for in theym consisteth a greate part of the poure that I shall have.

Furthermore, I am enfourmed the seid Sir William Gascoigne dothe entende too bere my Lorde of Westmerlandes armys, pretending title too thErldome of Westmerland. If he soo doo, it woll tourne to greate busynes amonges our selfes; for thoder will not suffre hym soo too doo; nor no more woll none other doo, that were able to resiste the same; nor, as I beleve, he ought not too bere theym, considering that my Lord of Westmerland, and his father, grant father, and many others, hath enjoyed the land without interrupcion; and noo man maye beere the armys of his antecessours withoute difference, onles he bee possessed of thenheretance. I beseche your Grace to speke with the haraldes in this matier, and too write unto Sir William Gascoigne for the refourmacion therein; that I have noo busynes too doo therein, when it shalbe tyme too loke upon our enemys. He hath, or nowe, attempted to have bourne the armys, but, the Erle of Westmerlandes father not being contente with the same, he hath layed downe the same.

Also if I durste, and knowe to whome, I wold complayne of the Kinges Highnes and your Grace, that doth leve me thus barayne of counsaill in thies causes of soo great ymportaunce; but, and God deffende me withoute shame

shame this journey, asmoche as I dred you bothe, ye shall never cause me to medle with soo great a chardge withoute more help. Beseching Almyghty God too gif me suche grace, too doo that thing at this tyme that maye bee too the contentacion and pleasure of His Highnes, your Grace, and all the Realme. Written at Newcastell, the 3de daye of Octobre.

Yours most bownden,

(*Signed*) T. SURREY.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates goode Grace.

XXV. KING HENRY VIII. *to* SURREY.[1]

RIGHT trusty &c. Geving you knowlege that We have this day receyved and red, aswel your letters directed to Our self, dated to our towne of Berwyke the 27th day of September last passed, as also your letters directed directed unto the Moost Reverend Fader &c. my Lord Legate; by the contynue wherof We perceyve, aswel the goodly valiaunt exployt of our armye under your wise and politique conducte accomplisshed at Gedworth, with the arracyng and destruccion of the same, as also the wynnyng of the castell of Ferneherst, the devasting and wasting of the cuntrey aboutes: which your honourable service, doone unto Us in your so highlye well acheved entreprise, greatly redounding to the losse confusion rebuke and shame of our ennemyes, with the prouffite suretie honour and good renome of Us and our Reame, is to Us especiall pleasure and contentacion; for which We geve unto you and all other our Lordes gentlemen and good subgiettes there, for thair labour, payne, travaile, and faithfull devoir under you, our right herty thankes, and very joyouse bee We of your and thair sauf and prosperouse reatourne. And, asfor the losse misfortuned among my Lord Dacres horses, albeit that, for the tendre favour We bere hym, We bee ryght sory that any harme shulde in any wise comme to hym; yet, considering that the same grewe but by mere chaunce, wherof our enemyes can clayme noon honoure, We reken your comendable exployt nothing blemmished therby: which chaunce also might well have happened, though they had been in the campe, not without gretter commotion and more

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 302.

subdayne

subdayne affraye. And, sith also the adventures of the warre seeldom passe without som mishappe, We bee well contente and right glad that it is rather fallen upon the horses than upon the men; of whose retourne so hoole, with so few of our welbiloved subgiettes loste, We right hertely thanke God, your and thair valiaunt acquitaill, with your good and prudent conducte. And We desire you to geve on our behalf our right especiall thankes to the Lord Dacre for his valiaunt faithfull diligent and paynefull service, aswel at Gedworth as at Ferneherst. Furthermore We very well allowe and specially thanke you for your wise and prudent diligence used aswel in Norham as in Warke, being by your politique oversight set in so good trayne as is in your forsaid letters mencioned.

But astouching Berwyk, surely We cannot but mervaile that it shulde now bee of so litle strength, considering that it hath ere this holden ayenst grete puissaunce, long bifore moche cost doon theron; which our derrest Fader and Our self have misspent theron, if it bee not now hable to withstande as grete force, as it hath doon, before We spent so moche upon it. Wherof We mervaile yet the more, by somoche that We have not of the feblenes therof been by you, my Lord, advertised before this, in suche convenient tyme, as We might ere this have provided for the more sufficient fortificacion therof. Howbeit We doubt it not your wisedom will see to the saufgard therof by the moost politique waye that maye bee divised; which doon, We trust, God willing, it shalbe right well hable to resiste the malice of our enemies.

Where as ye desire to bee sente unto you with all celeritie 100 gunners, We have communed with our welbiloved servaunt William Gonson, being here presente with Us at the receipt of your letters, by whoyse communication We very certainly perceyve that, considered the nombre of gunners which We must nedes occupie for our shippes, aswell for garding of the sees as of the fysshing, with convenient store reserved for our towne of Portesmouth, We can in nowise take thens above the nombre of fourty, and scantly well so many, and from other places We bee not as yet sure to take up any. Wherfor We must praye you with these, if mo cannot be goten, to make the best shift ye maye, which shall, as We truste, metely well furnisshe you, for so moche as they bee not of a meane sorte, but men in that feate of greate experience; by whoys good helpe and counsaile, by your policie distributed and devided, We suppose that many of your souldeours shalbe founden hable to stande in stede of gunners, metely well for a shyfte. Howbeit We have unto our welbiloved servaunt John Weston, who shall of those fourty cummyng from Portesmouth have the conveyaunce unto you,

geven

geven powiar and authoritie to take moo in London in his wey; so that We truste ye shalhave with hym foure score, wherwith We thinke ye shalbe fournisshed wel and sufficiently.

Moreover, where it is your conjecture and opinion, that the Duc will subdainly gather up thirty thowsand men of the contreys next adjoynyng to our Bordres, and with theym so rered, and with the Frenshemen, make an invasion into our land for twoo or thre dayes, and therupon subdainly departe, and that he were likly thus to do before the Saturday next after the said date of your letters; albeit this thing was by you right wisely dowted and forecast, yet We verailly think that ye have by this tyme fownde it otherwise. For We cannot suppose either that he can well come with his company, see beten, from Dunbritain so far of, so sone, ner with so greate celeritie reise so moche people, and marche on so fast, ner woll hym self comme in person to that invasion that shold hold so fewe daies. But for the doubte of all subdein invasions, wherof is not unlikly diverse at sundry tymes to bee made, our advice and counsail is, that our subgiettes the Borderers, as moche as they conveniently can, shold convey farther up from the Borders all suche thinges as by subdain incursions might bee byrefte theym or destroyed. And, if ye shall perceyve grete gadering toward, and assembling of moche people, and mighty puissaunce rered, We wote it well We shall not nede to admonisshe you to strength your self with substanciall nombre according, out of the shires within your commission. And elles We doubt it nat We shall nede as litle to put you in remembraunce to spare our charges, to the good husbanding wherof ye have, and have had, in all your doinges, a right viligelant ighe.

Finally, my Lord, astouching your request of reatournyng to our presence at All Hallontyde, and that either my Lord Percy might than entre into thoffice of Wardeyn, or my Lord Dacre as his deputie for the while to occupie the rome; surely, my Lord, We have not as yet determine dour pleasure upon any that shuld occupie that office. And if We had been ere this inclined toward any, peradventure at suche tyme as it was thought the Duke shuld not comme; yet, sith he is now arryved, and as yet unknowen what shall succede and ensue therupon, We cannot conveniently resolve Our self in this point as yet, considering that for your wisedome prowesse and experience no man is more mete to matche hym: requiring you therfor to take pacience in our service there, till We shall have seen and proved sumwhat ferther. And, assone as We conveniently maye, We shall geve you further knowlege of our pleasure; wherin We shall, as farforth as shall stande with the good state of our affayres, have as tendre respecte

respecte unto your ease and comforte, as We knowe well that ye will agayneward have high regarde to our service and prouffit. Yeven under our Signet, at our manour of Woodstok, the 5th day of October.

XXVI. Surrey *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleaseth it Your Grace too bee advertised, that this daye at thre a clok at after none I have received your Graces letter, dated at your place besides Westmester the 16 daye of this moneth[2], with a comission to my Lorde Marques[3] to be Warden, and also a letter to hym; mooste humble thanking your Grace for the seid letter, mooste to my comforte of any that ever I red. And where in deede I am not, nor never shalbe, able with my poore service to recompence the hondred parte of the same to the Kinges Highnes and your Grace; ye maye bothe bee assured, as long as I shall lyve, I shall do my beste in all thinges that I shalbe commaunded too doo service in. Mooste humble also thanking the Kinges Highnes and your Grace for the sending of thies noble men gentilmen and money, with whos helpe, if the Duke of Albany contynue in his purpoos, I truste the Kingis Highnes shall have suche service doon, as His Highnes, your Grace, and the realme shalbe contente with the same. For in my lif, never hard I of men bettir willed, than unyversally every man is, tencountre with thennymys; fearing nothing, but that they shall not dare joyne in batayle.

I have at this tyme two Scottish espies here with me, who sawe the seid Dukes commyng into Edenburgh, and sawe his ordynaunce set oute of the towne; and saye assewredly he woll not faile tomorowe to set forewardes; but no man knoweth to what Border. But I have at the leeste 20 dyvers espies in his company, to bring me word assone as it maye be knowen possible. And upon Wedonysdaye I entende to goo to Morpath, where I shalbe indifferentely to answere to thEste or Weste Marche; soo that it shall not be possible for hym to laye seege to no place, but that I shalbe shortly with hym, aftir that he shall begynne to shote his ordynaunce. And, if he wold prevente the tyme by

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. XI. Part 2. No. 50. This must be the letter which Surrey states (Ellis, 1st Series, Vol. I. p. 228) to have been written by him on the 18th of October.

[2] Caligula, B. VI. leaf 218.

[3] Thos Marquis of Dorset, who appears by Surrey's letter of the 23d (Ellis, p. 229.) to have arrived at Newcastle on the 20th.

 sending

sending any poure to make any invasion to over ryn the contre, if my Lord Dacre for his parte, with thos of that Border, and Sir William Bulmer and Sir William Euers[1], two good Knightes, with their Border and garnison, observe the order I have commaunded to bee kepte; I truste thennemys shall fynde litle corne or catall to do hurte unto. And yet they maye fortune to paye derely for their invasion; for they shall fynde good nombre to resiste theym.

Thies espies nowe come, and others, that every daye doth sende me advertismentes, doo al agree in one tale, not one knowing of a nother; that assuredly aboutes Fridaye or Satirdaye the Duke woll invade this realme, assuering the Scottes with his wordes, that neither Warke nor Norham dare shet the gates againste hym, and that Berwike woll not hold hym 6 houres. Wherein he shalbe disseyved, God willing. And contynuall boste he doth make, that Richard de la Pole woll either come too joyne with hym, orels not to faile too lande in England, by that tyme he shalbe come to the Border of England. And he hath the Scottis in suche awe drede and feare of hym, that no man dare fynd faulte in the ill whether; whiche can be no worse, with contynuall snowe and rayne, then it is.

Also mooste humble I thanke your Grace, for that it hath pleased you to write to my Lady of Savoy[2] for my busynes, not doubting but that by your Graces good meanes, I shall recover my goodes.

Finally, mooste humble I thank your Grace for your mooste comfortable letter, praying God, that with my poore service at this tyme I maye recompence some parte of the same; whiche to doo there shall lak noo good will. Written at Newcastell, the 19th daye of October.

Yours most bownden,

(*Signed*) T. Surrey.

Post scripta came to me thre letters, one fro my Lord Dacre, one fro Sir William Bulmer, and one from Sir William Euers; whiche letters, I send to your Grace with this. And as any more certentie shall come, which waye the Duke woll take, I shall advertise Your Grace of the same. Suerly either the seid Duke doth mervelously dissymell with Scotland, orels Richard de la Pole hath 6 or 7000 men redy to invade this realme.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates good Grace.

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[1] Sir Wm Eure, Lieutenant of the Middle Marches.

[2] Margaret, Governess of the Netherlands.

XXVII. SURREY *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLESITH it Your Grace to bee advertised, that at this tyme I have advertised the Kingis Highnes of the shamefull journey made by the Duke of Albany, and howe cowardly he fled this daye, when I came to presente hym batayle. Whereof I shall forbere tadvertise your Grace, having noo litle busynes to doo. Mooste humble beseching your Grace to send money hither with all diligence possible, orels I shalbe uttirly undone for ever, as your Grace shall perceive by my letter nowe sente to the Kingis Highnes. Also I beseche your Grace to haste the sending hither of good thankfull letters according to my requeste in the Kingis letter. Undoubtedly the noble men and gentilmen and others hath served the Kingis Highnes at this tyme the moste paynefully, and with the best will that ever I sawe men doo. And for my parte I shall never bee able to recompence the 100 parte of the favour and love they have shewed me at this tyme; whiche they did, to thentente the Kingis Highnes shuld bee the bettir served. Written in the Campe besides Wark, this Tuysdaye at night.

After the wrytyng off the premyssis this Wedynsday I have writon a letter to the Kynges Highnes fro this towne, and shall forbere to wright to your Grace off the contentes thereoff, aswell for lack of leysour, as for lack off paper, havyng no more here, my cariage being not come. Most humble besechyng your Grace, accordyng to your promes made to me moch to my comfort, to sende me a discharge off this paynfull besynes; and, after myn opinion, the Lord Dacre shall serve best in the office unto the commyng off the Lord Percy, and may at all tymes with litle charge have 4 or 5000 men off his owne, to help to deffende the invasions off thenemys; which I know no man can have, but he. And iff the Kynges Highnes and your Grace wright curtously to hym, offryng hym 40*s* a day, I thynk he woll not reffuse it, so his patent be sente with the letters. Most humble besechyng Your Grace that by the next post I may here som tydynges hereoff, to my comfort.

Yours most bownden,

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates good Grace.

(*Signed*) T. SURREY.

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[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. XI. Part 2. No. 33. The last paragraph is in Surrey's hand. That part of it which relates to Lord Dacre and Lord Percy is referred to in the King's letter of thanks to Lord Surrey of the 12th of November (published by Ellis, 1st Series, Vol. I. p. 236.), as if it formed part of Surrey's letter to the King of the 4th of November. The latter letter is supposed by Pinkerton (Hist. Scotl. under House of Stuart, Vol. II, p. 230. Note 9.), to be lost; but it exists in the Cottonian Collection (Calig. B. II. l. 169.), and is faithfully recited in the King's answer, except in the particulars above mentioned. It is erroneously catalogued as a letter to Wolsey. Surrey's letter to the King, alluded to in the first paragraph, has not been found.

XXVIII. SURREY *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLESITH it Your Grace to bee advertised, that this daye I perceived my clerk had forgotton the sedule of the noble mennis and gentlemen is names, whiche I send your Grace with this[2]; beseching your Grace that with all convenyent diligence the seid letters of thankes maye be sente; for withoute doubte never men toke more payne, withoute grodging, then they have doon; mooste humble beseching your Grace, that more money maye be sente with all possible diligence. This daye bifore son rising camme one of myne espies unto me, who confermed the shamefull departure of the Duke fro thAbbay of Eccles at mydnight upon Tuysdaye, and saithe, upon payne of his hed to be striken of, he was presente, when the gentilmen of the Merche and Tevidale seid too hym, when was going to horsbak, thies wordes ensuyng: "My Lorde Governour, "ye have remayned in our Borders a long season, so that all, that thErle of "Surrey hathe lefte undistroyed, ye and your company have clerely wasted "and distroyed the same; and by the seid Erle our Border is for ever "undone; and ye promysed us to gif hym batayle, whereby we might recover "us, and never by other meanes. Wherefore we beseche you tabide, and gif "hym batayle, as ye have promysed." Whereunto the seid Duke answered angerly: "I woll gif hym no batayle, for I have noo convenyente company so "to doo;" and with that wente towardes his horse. With whiche wordes the seid gentilmen being evill contented said with one voise, "By Godes blod we "woll never serve you more, nor never woll were your bagis again;" and tare theym of their brestes, and threwe theym on the ground, saying, "Wold to "God we were all sworne Englishe;" and so departed fro the Duke in greate angre. I do not advertise your Grace that the premysses is true, but I beleve the seid espie wold not have seyde thus, onles he had herd the same. And within thre dayes I truste to bee advertised where he is, and whother he hath caried his ordynaunce: assuering your Grace that I think his estymacion is goon in Scotland for ever. And he hath doon the moste hurte that ever was doon in Scotland at one journey, and wonderfull many of their horses loste and fretished. And at the assaulte of Wark the captain of the furste band of Frenche fotemen, that came into Scotland, was slayne with 9 moo with hym, and the same night died 22 moo, and 8 score sore hurte. I assure your Grace never

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[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. XI. Part 2. No. 66.

[2] Not extant.

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men ded better, than they within the castell ded, whiche were but one hondred, and ther was within the bas courte above 1000 Frenchemen and 500 Scottis.

I think long unto I maye knowe the Kingis plesure and yours, what ordre I shall take for the garnysons to bee kepte here this wynter. I have this daye doon as moche as I can to get men too remayne here, and cannot yet bee assewred of the nombre that shuld be convenyente. Notwithstaunding that, I truste to have 200 of your Graces retynue. I never sawe men so lothe to tary, in no garyson; and no mervayle, considering the ill lodging, the skarsty of vitell, and the ill will of thenhabitantes to entertayne theym well. Mooste humble beseching your Grace, that I maye shortly knowe the Kingis pleasure and yours therein, and in the meane tyme I shall make the beste shifte I can. Also I truste, or this tyme, your Grace hath sente money for the contenting of tharmy, and alsoo for payemente of the garnysons; and for my parte I have and shall make all the shifte to borowe asmoche as I can, unto the commyng thereof. Written at Anwike, the 5th daye of Novembre.

Yours most bownden,

(*Signed*) T. Surrey.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates good Grace.

XXIX. Surrey *to* Wolsey.[1]

Plesith it Your Grace too bee advertised. That this mornyng bifore daye I received your Graces letter, by the whiche I perceive that your Grace hath commaunded your officers here in thies parties to send to me 2000£ of your Graces owne money; for the whiche in my mooste humble maner I thank your Grace. It doth well appere that ye do asmoche as ye maye to furnyshe all thinges according to the Kinges honour. And with the seid 2000£, and suche other money as I truste to borowe in thies parties, I dout not tharmy shalbe full payed. But nowe is expired upon Tuysdaye laste the

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[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. XI. Part 2. No. 73. The apostiles are in the handwriting of Brian Tuke, and probably formed the basis of Wolsey's answer to this letter, which is not found.

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Money for the garnisons shalbe provided, and sent with diligence accordingly.

wagis of the garnysons, and I knowe not howe to paye theym, and withoute payemente they woll not abide. And with moche difficultie I have gotten 900 fotemen to ly in garnyson; for, asfor horsemen, it was not possible to get any but of the contre men. And if any horsemen wold have taried, there is noo horsemete to serve theym upon the Border; and it is thought for defence of the contre the fotemen shall serve aswell as horsmen. And with theym I have appointed 600 horsmen of the contre of Northumbreland, which bee bownde, upon forfaiture of their wages, every fourtnight two tymes too invade Scotland. So that I truste the seid 600 shall doo more hurte in letting of sowing and taking awaye of their catall, then 6 tymes so many souldiours of other countreis, not being horsed, tenvade fer and come agayne. And I doubte not, the forteresses nowe being throwen downe, that the seid 600 shall suffre no catall going bitwene thEste Marche and Lammermore, ner betwene our Border and Gedwourthe. For they knowe the contre so well, that, when the nightes bee mooste derk, then they woll doo mooste hurte. Mooste humble beseching your Grace that money maye bee sent with all diligence to paye theym, orels they cannot tary. And if the Duke of Albany shuld knowe the Borders to bee unfurnysshed, it were the nexte waye to gif hym courage, nowe this nexte mone light to make some invasion to recover his name agayne; who is at this houre, as I am advertised by dyvers espiallis, the worste spoken of man, that ever was in any contre. I have sent dyvers espiallis to Edinburgh, to knowe what he entendeth to doo; and I have caused the Priores of Caldstreme too goo thidder; who shall not faile tadvertise me of the certentie. I praye God he attempte no newe interprises this mone light; for, and he doo, I see not possible where any people maye bee assembled to resiste hym, onles your Grace appointe my Lorde Dacre to be Warden here; and then, if he be, I thinke, to save his honour, he will bring oute of his contre 2 or 3000 men, whiche he maye doo when it shall pleas hym, and so can noone other man doo. And within two dayes they wolbe upon thEste Border fro the Weste Border.

My Lorde Admyral hathe taken a right good direccion in this matier. And right expedient it is, that a good and substancial garnison be contynued upon the Bordre, aswel for defence as offence.

And not withoute cause, for his grete foly and cowardnes.

True it is, that there is no man so mete as the Lord Dacre is, aswell for his grete wisedome and experience, as for his power redy at hande to withstande excourses to be made by the Scottes from tyme to tyme. And I doubte not, the King being so contented, to induce hym to be agreable for the accepting of the said rome with convenient entertaynement and wages.

Mooste humble beseching your Grace to helpe for my discharge hens, for on my faithe I see not what good shall come of my tarying here. For, and I shuld remayne thees 7 yeres, it is not possible to bring this contre in better ordre then it

is

is nowe; for here is les thefte at this houre, then I think is in any other contre of England; and, if any invasions shuld bee made by thennymys, I truste the Kinges Highnes and your Grace wold not have me to goo to the resistence thereof, onles I might be furnyshed of a nombre sufficient to gif theym batayle, and not to loke upon theym as a skirmysher. Also, if my Lord Dacre be well written too by the Kingis Highnes, and your Grace, and his commyssion sent therewith, I doubte not he woll occupie as Warden for 40*s* a daye; and I having of the Kingis Highnes 5£ a daye, 3£ maye bee saved, and also the wagis of 100 horsmen, whiche I have contynually with me. Whiche twoo somes woll fynd 12 score men to ly upon the Border. I beseche your Grace not to think that I am desierous to come awaye for that I wold take my pleasure in other parties: but I assure your Grace, that the cause is, that bothe I see I put the Kingis Highnes to greate chardgis, and from hensforth shall doo little for it; and also, upon my trouthe I bere to God and the King, I am mervelously afferd that I shall consewme and waste awaye: for, as Sir Nicholas Carewe, Sir Fraunces Brian, and thoder gentilmen here can saye, the litle flesshe that I had is clene goon; and yet I am not sike, but in maner I ete very litle, and thies 5 wekes daye, I never slepte one hole houre withoute wakinge, my myende is soo troubled for feare that any thing shuld frame amys: whiche lak of slepe doth take awaye the stomake, and for lak of sustynaunce the flesshe doth goo awaye. But I knowe myself too bee as a wasshing hors is, that sone woll lose flesshe, and soone recover it agayne; whiche I feare I shall never doo, aslong as I have this great chardge and contynuell busynes. Wherefore eftsonys mooste humble I beseche your Grace to helpe that shortly I maye departe hens, and I shall think me more bownde to your Grace for the same, then and ye gave me all the plate your Grace hath.

It shall be well done, according to my former letters, that my Lorde Admyrall retourne, after the garnisons shall be established upon the Bordres, and the Lorde Dacres hathe taken the rome of Wardeyn upon hym.

Also, this daye I am advertised by twoo espiallis, that the Duke of Albany, in his retournyng fro Werk, made proclamations that all Lordes and gentilmen shuld come to hym to Edenburgh, there to hold a generall counsaill; for what entente, as yet I knowe not, but shortly I truste to doo. And withoute doubte the Tevidale men, and they of the Merche, and of the West Marches have taken fro his company of the inland men a great nombre of their horses; soo that Tevidale men doo reken, that, in recompense of the hurtes whiche they ded to theym, they have 300 good horses, and never men were so evill contented with

Not daring to abide batail, he nowe intreateth with the Lordes of Scotland, howe he maye flye in to France; with no les shame, then with presumptuosnes, he, making bost he shulde do merveiles, arrived in Scotland.

with a captain, as they bee with the seid Duke. And as other newes shalbe occurrante, I shall advertise your Grace fro tyme to tyme. Written at Newcastell, the 7th daye of November.

Yours most bownden,
(*Signed*) T. SURREY.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates good Grace.

XXX. QUEEN MARGARET *to* SURREY.[1]

MY Lord of Sowray, I command me to you. And ze remembar I dyd wryt to you of befoor, to se gyf I myght hafe made an pece betwxt thyr raulmyz, and zet I vol contynu in the sam mynde; for I vald thynke my selfe hapy, gyf I myght brynge the sam to good poynt, consyderyng the gret trobyl that is lyke to be, and hath bene, betwxt ther rawlmys; and I being so tender to both the sydyz, me thynke of resson ther schwld non be so vel hard in the sam, as I schwld. Vharefor, my Lord, I pray you hartly to helpe to labor for your part and for my honnowr; for it vold be ryght gret to me, gyf I myght do it. And at thys tyme, my Lord, I vald desyr you and pray you, for my sake, that ze vald gyff an abstynence of veer, for thre or fowr monneth, vhol that ther be a good vay labord betwxt thyr rawlmyz. As farthar thys berar my sarvand vhol schow you on my name, to wham I pray you gyf credenz. And I have sent to you wyth thys berar a letar[2] to be sent ope to the Kyngs Grace my brothar to the same efekt, the vylke I pray you to caus to paz vyth delygenz, that I may have answar; to the vylke I trast the Kyngs Grace my brothar vylbe wel myndyd, for the Kyng my sons sake and myne, and to stope the gret trobyl and dystraktyon that is abyl to folow. And thys, my Lord, I pray you to forthar thys mattar, and send me answar. And God kype you. Vryten the 10 day of Nowember.

(*Signed*) Yours, MARGARET R.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord of Sowray,

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[1] Holograph. From the Chapter House, Royal Letters, Vol. V. leaf 52.
[2] Caligula, B. I. leaf 189.

XXXI. QUEEN MARGARET *to* SURREY.[1]

MY Lord of Sowray, Vhan I had vryten all thyz letarz that I send to you wyth thyz, there cam a byl to me thyz Twsday owt of Edynbrowh, that had rydyn all nyght, warnyng me of the nw rewll that the Gowarnor and the Lordyz hath mad at thyz Parlement, and hath concludyd, that is to say, thay have ordand that the Erl of Cassyllz, the Lord Flemyn, the Lard Borthyk, thyz fowr, to be quarterly vythe Kyng my son, and the Erl of Mowray to be dayly vyth the Kyng, and I to com and se my son, and not remayn vyt hym.[2] Thuz, my Lord, I se gret aperanz of ewel and danger to the Kyng my sonz

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[1] Holograph. In the British Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 279.

[2] In the same Volume, leaf 309, is the original letter from the Lords to Queen Margaret on this occasion:

Madame, Ples Zour Grace understand yat forsamekle as the estat of the keping of the maist noble personne of the King our Souverane Lord hes bene sa changit, yat na securite is yairintil; quharfor we al heyr in Parliament thinkis expedient and necessare abun al uyer thingis to put order in this behalf, specialy weir standand betuix ws and Ingland; and hes avisit yat my Lord Erle of Murray sal remane continuelly vitht His Grace, and attour the Erle of Cassillis, the Lordis Flemyng, Borthvik, and Erskyn to be vitht His Hienes, every ane of yaim thre monetht the zeir; quhilkis vil nocht tak ye charge of His Grace keping vithtout condicions folloing. Heir for, Madame, we beseyk Zour Grace for the weile of this realme, and sickyrnes of our Soverane Lordis maist noble personne, gif it ples Zour Hienes yat he remane in the castel of Striveling, yat the samyn vil be content and applesit to cum in the said castel, and spek vitht His Grace at certane tymes, and nocht remane yairintil, bot gif it ples Zour Grace for tua nychtes or thre, vitht zour ladyis and uyeris zour familier secret servandis; and richt sua, gif His Grace remanis thayr, yat the Bischop of Gallouay abyde to do him service in the kyrk. Uyer wayis, Madame, yat Zour Hienes be applesit yat His Grace pas to Allouay, and remane thayr, and the Erldome of Fyffe for his pastemps, quhar Zour Hienes sal cum at tymes, to vesy and common vitht him, nocht changeand nor innowand his garde, the estat yerof, nor his maister, as at mair lencht my Lordis, Erle, and Bischop of Murray, Monsr de Gonzolles, and the Abbot of Glenluce, quhilkis cummis to Zour Grace at this tyme for the information ample of ye samyn, wil schaw; to quham ples Zour Hienes gif credence. Of Edinburgh, the 24 day of Novembre.

Be zour humble chapellanis
and oratouris,

(*Signed*) JAMES ERL OF ARRN̄.

(*Signed*) JHON ERL OF LENOX.

(*Signed*) W. L. BORTHVIK.

(*Signed*) G. ERLL OF CASSILLIS.

(*Signed*) JH. L. FLEMYNG.

(*Signed*) JAMES CHANSELLO[R].

(*Signed*) GAWAN BYSCHOP OF AB[R]DN̄.

(*Signed*) ROBERT BYSCHOP OF [*Ross*[1]].

(*Signed*) P[A]TOR OF SANTTAND.[2]

(*Signed*) GE STE CRC[H].[3]

(*Superscribed*)
To the Quenis Grace.

[1] Blotted. [2] Patrick Hepburn. [3] George Crichton.

parson,

parson, whan that thay, that ar trw Lordyz to the Kyng my son, be pwt fro hym, and them, that lufyth the Gowarnor, pwt tyl hym, and that I know parfytly vhald have my son dystroyd for pleswr of the Dwke; and most swspecyon of all, thay wol not that I remayn vyth hym, bot to com and go. Bot as zet I am here vyth my son the Kyng, and schal remayn in the dyspyt of the Gawarnor wyth owt that he take me avay parforce. And ther for, my Lord, for Godyz sake, loke wel apon thyz mattar, for now is tyme, vhan sych rwlyz is begon for the utar dystrokcyon of my son, and that ze vol se som remedy to thyz, and tyl avartyz me vhat I schal do; and, gyff I and the Gowarnor dyscordyz, vhat schal be your part to me, and vhat helpe I schal get to bere me forth; for he and I schal not agre apon thyz. I set not by no thyng in Scotland, and the Kyng my son be not wel. My Lord, I pray you loke wel a pon thyz matar, and hast me your mynd vyth all delygenz; and, gyf it hapyn that I be pwt from the Kyng, as they have ordand in the Parlement to do, what can my bydyng here do to the Kyng my son nor to my selfe? For from that I be pwt from the Kyng my son, ther vyl non set by me here; and ther for, my Lord, I pray you lat me com to that raulme, and devys the best vay for me and the Kyng my son, as my trwst is in you. And be not blynded no more vyth the Dwkyz fallsed, and make no trwss nor abstynenz, vhol thyz be remedyd, for no sendyng, wyth owt that I send you a tokyn. And hast me your cownsel, I pray you, and cawse the Priorez of Calstrame to send suerly the answar to me of thyz byl, and send her vord that ze vol do for her and kype her from trobyl, so that sche vol be trw to me. For thayr is non, that may do it so wel and swrly as sche may, to convey letarz betwxt; and, gyf sche fayllyz to do it, that ze vol caws her place to be brwnt. And thys I pray you not fayl to do, and God kype you, and send you grace to helpe the Kyng my son owt of hys enymyz handyz; vyche he vol dayly be in now wyth thyz parsonz that thay pwt to hym. For the Lord Flemyng, for ewel vyl that he had to hyz vyffe, causyd to poysson thre systarz, and on of tham vaz hys vyffe[1]; and thys ys knawn of trowth in all Scotland. And gyf thys be gwd to pwt to the Kyng my son, God knowth. And a nothar thing I know parfytly, that he vald haf my son ded, for the Gowarnor, and the Erl of Mowray sych lyke, for the Gowarnor hath hyz systar now to hyz paramarz. All thyz is of trowth that I vryt to you, and

[1] Ladies Margaret, Euphemia, and Sibylla Drummond, of whom the first was mistress of King James IV., and the second wife of Lord Fleming. The event happened in 1502. See Tytler's History of Scotland, Vol. V. p. 15.

therfor

therfor I pray you, my Lord, se the best remede, as my trust is in you. Vryten in all hast posybyl, thys Saynt Katyrynz Ewen, in Styrlyng.

Also the Capytayn of Atyllarye is on abowht the Kyng.

Yours,

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord of Sowray.

(*Signed*) MARGARET R.

XXXII. QUEEN MARGARET *to* ALBANY.[1]

MY Lord and Cusing, I recommend me humlie to zou. I haif resaiffit zour lettir be Mons. Gozolis[2] wyth ane letter of ye Lordis; ye quhilk hes schawin me ye ordinance yat ze and yai haif maid, and how yai have prait and ordand me yat I sall nocht abide wyth ye Kyng my sone, bott tocum quhilles and se hym. My Lord, I thynk it rycht strange, yat yis is zour will, seing ye gud and trew part yat I haif kepit to ye King my sone, and to zou, and to yis Realme, and ye displesure yat I haf had of ye Kyng my broyer, my frendis, for zour part. Thynkand fermly to haf bene assurit of zour gud will toward me, as zour letteris dos schaw be zour fare wordes; ye quhilk yat I haif hoip yat sic ane Prynce, as ze, will nocht forzett, nor cause me to tyne my gud ville for zour auyne honour, seing yat samonye Princis knowis how I haif done for zou, and haith never falzed to ye Kyng my sone, nor zou. Quharfor, gif yis be zour plesure, lat me wytt it, and I sall do ye best I may for my self, quhill yat I may fynd ane better tyme. Bot I salbe continewally in gret feir of ye Kyng my sonis person, as I sall gar it be well knawin; and ze sall knaw, my Lord and Cusing, herefter, yat it is and salbe in my power to do gud and honour to zou and yis Realme, giff I wor weill intrettit; and ane trewar yan me, ze sall never fynd, and haif sa evill ane revard as I. I thynk alswa yat for ye gud part yat I haif kepyt to ye Franch Kyng, yat I suld nocht be yis intrettyt; as I will ask, giff it be his plesure. For, my Lord, ze said to me yat he commandit zou to do for me and to treit me well; quhilk had bene to his honour, and zouris. It is forse yat I speik for my self, quhen I ame put fra ye thing yat I luff best in ye warld. As God knawit, quhay gif zou better consall for ye gud of ye Kyng, and zour auin honour. Written 26 da of November.[3]

(*Signed*) MARGARET R.

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[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 159.

[2] Gonzolles was a French adherent of Albany. He had the command of Dunbar, and was sometimes styled Captain of Milan.

[3] On the same day she wrote a letter of remonstrance to the Lords. Caligula, B. II. leaf 268.

XXXIII. WOLSEY *to* SURREY.[1]

MY Lorde, I commende me unto you in my most herty maner; perceyving aswel by tenour of your letters dated at Newcastel the 17th day of this moneth, as also by suche letters of the Quene of Scottes, and memorial of instruccions, as ye sent with the same[2], the request and desire of the same Quene, being moved therunto by the Duke of Albany, for a trieux or abstinence of werre to be made with the King and noble men of Scotland, not making eny mencion therin of the said Duke; and what answer ye have made therunto, with the opynyon of you, my Lorde Dacres, and others of the Counsail there towching that matier. Al whiche your letters and wrytinges, being the Kinges Highnes here at my poore house, I have shewed and declared unto His Grace; who after good and perfite debating therof by the deliberate advice of his Counsail, hathe willed me to advertise you his mynde and pleasure, for answer unto the premysses, in maner and fourme folowing.

First, it is to be considred and remembred by His Highnes and his Counsail, that in all writynges and intymacions made unto the Scottes in this tyme of the werres, it hathe ben plainly declared and shewed unto them, for a fynal and resolute answer, that the Kinges Grace, who makith warre unto that countrey, not for any displeasure of the yong King, but to compelle those, whiche favour the Duke and the Frenche faccion, suspect unto the life of the said yong King, to abandonne the same, wolde never graunte unto theym any trieux or peace, onles the said Duke wer first expelled and removed from the governance of the said yong Kinges parson and realme. Whiche thing, by your answer nowe lately made unto the Quene of Scottes former letters, was again largely confermed; by meanes wherof, as it is thought, the said Duke, who, having up his said armye, supposed with a visage to have had his trieux at his pleasure, was clerely disapointed of his purpose; and, contrary to his hope, thinking, the trieux ons attayned, to have retourned with glory, was com[*pelled*] to recule and flye with shame. Wherfore, if the Kinges Highnes shuld nowe, contrarye to the former playn answers made, consent unto a trieux with Scotland, the said Duke remaynyng in the same as Governour, it myght be thought that either His Grace were

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[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 11.

[2] None of these have been found.

fatigate

fatigate and weryed by the Scottes, or elles not able longer to contynue the werres in justifying his ferme resolucion, and answer ofte tymes made to theym, as is aforsaid.

Secondly, the saying and affirmacion unto you of Cantlowe[1] is wel to be noted, who confessyth that the Dukes desire to have trieux is for on of the 2 causes mencioned in your said letters; sounding both to his grete and singuler benefite commodite and advantage, and wherby he shulde muche increase his strenght auctorite and reputacion bothe in Scotland and elleswhere.

Thirdely, albe it in suche trieux to be nowe concluded no mencion wer made of the said Duke, and that the same was not concluded, but denyed unto hym, he beyng in the felde with his armye; yet neverthelas the demonstracion and apparence therof to owtward Princes and regyons, where the dailly circumstances of those affaires be knowen but in generalities, shulde seme to be as a thing done, bothe with the Duke, and also in the tyme that he was in the felde. And, howe so ever it shulde be outwardly taken, it myght wel be thought, that a trieux, taken with the yong King, being in tutele, and the Lordes of Scotland, withoute mencion of the Duke, he being Governour and in the realme duely obeyed, wer either of non effecte; or, if it wer effectuel, it shuld playnly be noted as a matier coloured, and finally in folkes jugementes taken as the thing wherin the Kinges Grace was fayn and glad to condescende.

Fourthely, what commodite myght be geven unto the said Duke, a trieux so attayned, to convey with hym in to France the yonge King, or to do som other notable acte sounding to his daungier and destruccion, and to the Kinges dishonour; and semblably, what hynderaunce may ensue unto hym, lakking the trieux, he being in universal hatred and indignacion of the people of Scotland, is facile and easy to be considred. Wherfore, the premysses with many other thinges concernyng the same wel pondred and remembred, the Kinges resolucion and determynacion in nowise is, that by this meanes or fashion, any trieux or abstinence of werre shalbe graunted or taken with Scotland, ne that it shal be thought, either by them or eny other, that the Kinges Highnes wolde be glad or inclinable to sende his Lieutenaunt, or eny other noble men or Commyssioners, to mete by way of a diete to be kept in any place within his realme or withoute, for treate to be

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[1] John Cantelay, Archdeacon of S[t] Andrews. It appears by a letter from Sir John Bulmer to Sir William Bulmer (in the Chapter House A $\frac{9}{1}$.) that Cantelay was suspected of being in Albany's interest, though professing the contrary.

made

made with the said Scottes. But, in cace they, expellyng the Duke of Albany from the said governaunce, shal fortune, in the name of the said King, being ons established in his auctorite royal, and the Quene, with consent of the Lordes of Scotland, to sende unto the Kinges Highnes an honourable ambassiate, or at the lest some good personage, to require or desire trieux peax or abstinence of werre; His Grace, fynding ons his yong nephieu oute of daungier and peril of the said Duke, and the Scottes inclyned and disposed to leve in good rest tranquilite and love with England, shal make unto them suche benigne and gracious answer, as shalbe for their weale, and as they shal have cause to be contented therwith. Whiche fynal resolucion His Highnes wol ye intymate and notifie by your letters to the Quene of Scottes accordingly.

And astouching his repaire in to this realme, verily the Kinges Grace ne his counsail can see any thing wherby the same myght be profitable or beneficial, either unto the King or to her, but rather she shal do good stede and moche socour the suretie of her son, by her demore in Scotland, then otherwise. Wher fore the Kinges pleasur is, that ye, by suche good reasons and persuasions as ye can make, exhorte her so to do, specially for that she can in nowise departe oute of Scotland, but that she shal put her person in extreme daungier and peril, not like to be escaped or avoided. And, to the intent she may be the better comforted to remayne in her good mynde and disposicion, the Kinges Grace can be contented that ye advaunce unto her the som of 100 markes for this tyme; writing those matiers so unto her, that she may neverthelas shewe the rest concernyng the trieux unto the Duke of Albany and Scottes, as shal appertayn.

Fynally, the Kinges Grace writeth at this tyme to the Lord Dacres according to your desire; to whose handes also money is sent, like as by the copye of the letter, being herwith, ye shal mowe perceyve. Praying you, that after the garnyson established in no gretter nomber then shalbe necessarily requisite, Robert Lorde with other folkes being in wages there, whiche nede not, also being discharged, and al other thinges left and put in as good stay as may be to the Kinges honour, the suretie of those parties and the salvacion of the Kinges charges; ye, aswel for recoverye of your helthe, as of your good counsail and avice to be geven unto the Kinges causes and affaires here, wol retourn at your pleasure; like as I have writen to Mr Magnus also, to retourne hither accordingly. And fare ye hartely wel. At my place besides Westminster, the 26th day of November.

Your lovyng frende,

(*Signed*) T. CAR^{lis} EBOR.

XXXIV. Surrey *to* Wolsey.[1]

Plesith it Your Grace to bee advertised, that this mornyng I have received letters sent from the Quene of Scottis unto Master Cantuly, who was departed from me two dayes past, whiche your Grace shall receive with this. Your Grace maye perceive by the seid letters, and by Sir John Bulmers letter rehersing the wordes of the Quenes servaunte, that she is put from contynuall abiding aboutes the King hir son. And also your Grace maye perceive what personagis bee appointed too attend upon the seid King, of whome dyvers bee suche as the Duke dothe moost truste of all others in Scotland. Undoubtedly, aftir myne opinion, the seid Duke woll shortly departe into Fraunce, and it is to bee feared that he woll take the yong King with hym; and, if he doo not, I think he shalbe, or long to, poysoned and distroyed; the whiche to bee letted and provided for hath bee asmoche doon to, as can bee devised. I beseche your Grace hold me excused, that I send not to your Grace the copie of my letter sent too the Quene of Scottis by Master Cantuly, whiche my clerk hath sent forthe bifore, with my cariagis, trussed in my coffers; notwithstanding, theffecte was accordingle to your Graces last letter sent to me. And tomorow, with Godes grace, I woll take my journey towardes London, and at my commyng shall shewe your Grace further of my pore myende in the premyssis.

Furthermore I send your Grace with this, one other letter that came from Sir John Bulmer, and a nother from the Captain of Berwike, whiche I received yesterdaye.

And I think your Grace shalhave moche to doo to rede the Duke of Albanys letter, written with his owne hand, sent to the Quene of Scottis. Written at Newcastell, the 2de daye of December.

Yours most bownden,

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legatis good Grace.

(*Signed*) T. Surrey.

XXXV. Dacre *to* Wolsey.[2]

My Lorde. Pleas it Your Grace, where as in my last letters, addressed unto your Grace, I advertised the same of certein message, whiche the Duke of Albany sent unto my Lorde Treasourer by a Scottes Purcyvaunt, whiche

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. XI. Part 2. leaf 2.
[2] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 1.

Purcyvaunt

Purcyvaunt I have hidderto reteigned with me, and yete dothe, according as I declared in my saide letters, unto suche tyme as I shulde knowe your Graces pleasure. And forasmoche as it is past 14 dayes sens the sending furthe of my said letters, I mervell moche, that I have noon aunswere of the same; trusting that the postes have not done their duetie in the conveing therof.

And, where also I advertised your Grace in my said letters, I was enformed by myne espials, that the Duke of Albany was at the point of his departure frome Scotland; so it was, the said Dukes shipps was all redy dekt, lieing at Dunbrattein, and hym self all in arredines, and his gere pakt and trussed, to go awaye; and in his going he appointed with the Lordes of Scotlande to have a counseill in Striveling for licens to departe, thinking that he shulde have no stopp therby. And so, when all the said Lordes was gathered and sett in counseill there, he desired licens to passe into Fraunce for 5 monethes, and deasired also that they wolde not condescend to take peas with England without comprehension of Fraunce. And the said Lordes made the Bushop of Aberdene attourney to speke for theim all. Which Bushop, in oppen audience, made aunswere to the said Duke, saing that they wolde geve hym no licens to passe, and if he wolde passe without their licens, he shulde be clerely exempted frome all his auctoritie in Scotland: and besides, that he shulde not depart unto siche tyme as he had delivered in the Kinges handes the castels of Dunbar and Dunbrattein, wherin he had put Frenchemen, and all the ordinance and artilarie of Scotlande. Wherupon the said Duke, being in a mervellus grete angre and fome, sore against his will is stopt, and so at this tyme doith not departe, as I am credibly enformed. The said Duke is retourned to Edenburghe, and has appointed a new counseill of all the Lordes upon the morue after 12 daye. And what they shall then conclude, your Grace shalbe advertised. The Frenche Ambassadour, that was there, is departed, and all the Frenche men with him, save 50^{ti}. I am surely asserteigned, aswell by dyverse myne espies, as also by some grete men of Scotland that knowethe moche of the said Dukes counseill, that he woll not remaigne in Scotland, for neither his hert nor his mynde is there; and so tares for nothing, but oonly unto syche tyme as he maye, by his fals and feaned perswasions, induce the Lordes of Scotlande to geve hym licens to departe. Whiche licens he trustes yete to opteigne of theim, forbecaus that heretofore they have not bene accostumed to stik long at one pointe. And for that purpose his shippes, wherin he purposes to pass awaye, lieth yet at Dunbrattein, redy crossed for sailing, when as the said Duke shall come to theim. Also the said Duke hath demanded of the Lordes half of the spiritualtie of Scotland for manteignyng of warr against Englande; whiche I think they woll not graunt

graunt hym, and rather, or they do so, I rakin that they woll condescende to his departure.

And, where also I advertised your Grace, shewing what nomber of men I fand in garnyson here upon thes Bordours at myne entre as Wardein; and how I had dischargied 500 fotemen, parcell of the said garnison, with myne opynyon furder how many of the said garnison I thought mete, undre correccion of your Grace, shulde be dischargied, seing that they were all Northumberland men, and howe many shulde remaigne still upon the Bordours; as more plainly is expressed in my said writing: pleas it your Grace, aftre the receipt of siche letters as I received frome my Lorde Treasourer, conteignyng that his Lordship wolde not at this tyme retorne in thes parties, I discharged a grete parte of the said garnyson, that is to say, asmany in nomber as the wagies of theim in a monethe with the 500 fotemen ammonted to 1100£ and more; and there is yet remaignyng asmany as woll drawe unto 500£ in a month, and more. And so when I entred I fande in garnison in thole asmany as the wagies of theim in a month drew to the some of 1600£ and more. And your Grace knoweth that I had no more money but 2000£, bereason wherof, if the said hole nomber shulde have contynued, the said 2000£ wolde not have sufficed for their wagies unto this daye. And, notwithstanding that I have dischargied so many, there is spent and gone a greate part of the said 2000£; and so the residue remaignyng woll not reteigne the small nomber that is left unto Candilmes. Wherfore, if the said garnyson shulde remaigne, your Grace must, afore that tyme, aither send downe more money, orels send commandement where more shalbe received. I see not but the Bourdour is now aswell kept as it was before, bereason of a watche, whiche I have lade and established along all the Bourdours for warnyng of the countrey of the incommyng of the Scottes.

Pleas it your Grace also, where Richard Candishe, who has the charge of the Kings ordinaunce in thes parties, is capitein of 100 gonnors in Berwik, and has his wagies for the same aftre 4^{s} by daye, like as other capiteins has; the said Richard Candishe cannot be content without that he have wagies for 5 personnes horsemen, to adwate upon hym, besides the said 100 gonners, like as he has had by my Lorde Lieutenaunt warraunt at his pleasure; as appereth in the book whiche Robert Lorde delivered unto me at his departure. And so there woll no lesse pleas hym for his entertaignement then 8^{s} 4^{d} by daye. And when I dischargied many others, I dischargied the said 5 personnes, thinking that 4^{s} by daye shulde serve hym, seing that the last yere he was content with 18^{d} by daye. And so the said Candishe has made me plein aunswere that without that he have, aswell wagies for his said 5 men, as for

hym self, he woll not remaigne here. Wherfore I beseche your Grace, that the said Candishe maye knowe your pleasure in writing by expresse wordes. The said Candishe calles sore upon me for money for reparacion of the ordinaunce, and I have made hym aunswere agein that I have none to deliver unto hym. The said ordinaunce is all lade up in suertie, albeit a parte of it is not covered; wherfore 2 chades, like penteses, must be made for covering of the same. Undre correction of your Grace I think it good that your Grace shulde sende downe one substanciall clerk to take thaccomptes, aswell of the said Candishe and of Mr Pawne for the Kinges vitales, as also for vieuyng off all the gonnours that is in Berwik: and for thes reasons ensueing:

Furst, the said Candishe has received 7 or 800£; and if his accompt be takin here, it wolbe for the Kinges advantage; remembring that here, where the warkes is done, they maye be sene, and he chekt; and above, can no man chek hym; wherby he may maike his book as he woll.

Secondly, in likewise Mr Pawne for the vitales hym self is a mervellous substanciall man, and good forenone, and warse aftre noone, and his childer is rakles, and not so good as he haithe bene. If his accompt were takin here, where all thinges is past his handes, your Grace may wele conscider that it were prouffitable and grete advauntage. Assuring your Grace, if the King be not aunswered, for every sevin pens that is lade out, ten pens again, all maner of chargies deduct, His Highnes is deceived and has evill servauntes; remembring by what price the said Pawne has aswell solde at all tymes his bere and brede, as corne, which is at a mervellous grete price. All whiche thinges maye here be laide afore hym to his charge. And if it like your Grace, that the said clerke shalbe sent downe, I shalbe content for the Kinges advauntage to joyn with hym; and so your Grace may direct the commission out to the said clerke, George Lawson, and me.

Thirdly, for the gonnours in Berwik; furst, the King is chargied with 24 gonnours of the ordinary, and in a crew 50^ti^, every of theim at 6^d^ by daye. And besides all this, there is now a hundreth gonnours. Wherfor, in myne opynyon, undre correction, I wold think it good that furst the 24 gonners were vieued; and if they be good and sufficient gonners, to remaigne still, and where there lakes any, to take of the said 100 to fulfill the nomber; and in likewise where any of the said fyfty is not good gonnours, to take of the said 100 to fulfill the nomber. And so the said 24 of the ordinary and the fyfty of the crew, being fulfilled with good gonnors, then the residue of the said 100 to be and remaigne in wagies asmany of theim as is good. For bettre it is, to fulfill syche nomber, as must remaigne when the warr is done, with good gonnors, now when they may be had of this 100, then to suffre the said 100 to depart,

depart, and let thos that be no gonnours to be in gonnours wagies; and the King to be chargied with no moo but good gonners. And furdre the King is chargied with double charge of 2 maisters of thordinaunce in Berwik; which in myne opynyon were good to be looked upon.

Pleas it your Grace, Sir William Bulmer, Lieutenaunt of the Est Marche, who has charge of your Graces castell of Norham, and Sir William Eure, Lieutenaunt of the Middle Marche, is now departed of the Bordours; and also the Capitein of Berwik: and so I am left here sole alone, thoff I wold have bene as gladly at home in myne owne countrey, as they. And I thinke it shuld be come theim to take pain aswell as I. Wherfore I beseche your Grace that ye will send them commandement to retourne to the Bordours, and to remaigne upon theim, wherby that they with there retynues may do som enterprises in Scotland, where now they doo no good. The said Sir William Bulmer departed within 4 dayes aftre that my Lord Treasourer departed, and promised to have commen again afore this Cristmas, and now he haith sent me word that he wold goo up to London to your Grace. And the Blissed Trinite preserve Your Grace. At Morpeth, the 27 daye of December in the mornyng.

Youers with hyes serves,

(*Signed*) THOMAS DACRE.

XXXVI. DACRE *to* ALBANY.[1]

MY Lord of Albany, I recommend me unto Your Grace. And where ye sent Carrik, Purceyvaunt, with good honest wayes to my Lorde Treasourer, the King my Soverain Lieutenaunt, for the weale of peas aswell betwene thes 2 realmes, as for a good waye for an universall peas; whiche I sent up to my said Lorde, and reteigned the said Purceyvaunt with me to tarie of aunswere. And now the said aunswere[2] is comen frome my said Lorde and above, whiche I send unto youe at this tyme by the said Purceyvaunt; praing God to geve youe grace that ye maye so ensue in the same mattier, that it maye be pleasure to God, and for the weale of thes two realmes, whiche ar so nighe nighbours, and the Princes therof being so nighe in proximitie of blode. For

[1] Copy from the Chapter House, State Papers, Scotland, p. 322.

[2] This is not found.

the furthering wherof I shall not oonly preye, but also put my effectuall indevour, as a pore subject maye, to help therto, with the grace of God, who &ca. At Morpethe, the 27 daye of December, anno 15° Hen. VIIIvi.

XXXVII. Albany *to* Dacre.[1]

Mon Cousin. En enssuyvant ce que vous ay rescript par Carrik, jay presentement depesche Jehan de Barbon, lun de mes Secretaires, instruict de mon intencion, et responce[2] de ce que par ledict Carrik mavez envoye de la part de Monsr de Surrey; ausquelles choses, et ad ce quil vous dira de par moy, je vous prye luy adjouster foy et donner credance. Et surce je voys prier nostre Seigneur vous avoir en Sa saincte garde. A Edynbourgh, le second jour de Janvier.

Vostre bon Cousin,

(*Signed*) Jehan.

(*Superscribed*)
A mon Cousin,
Monsr Dacres.

XXXVIII. Dacre *to* Albany.[3]

My Lord of Albany. I have received your writing by your servaunt John de Burbon, dated at Edinburghe the secunde daye of this moneth instant, undrestanding therby that to it, that I have sent to youe by Carrik Purcyvaunt, of the parte of my Lorde of Surrey, ye have depatched the said John de Burbon with your entencion and aunswere; to whome ye deasire me to geve credence in the premisses, as furdre your said writing purportes. My Lord, I have aswell herd the credence of the said John de Burbon, as also sene his instructions signed with your hand. Asunto the furst point therof, where ye deasire me to conclude a treux with your said servaunt to endure unto Mydsomer next, with comprehension of frendes and alies; surely ye knowe,

1 From the Chapter House, State Papers, Scotland, p. 325.

2 This must have been a letter from Albany of the 31st of December, in which he expresses himself to be well pleased with Dacre's letter. It is in the same volume, p. 320.

3 From the same volume, p. 323.

by

by the aunswere that ye had fro my Lord of Surrey, what auctoritie is commytted to me, whiche woll no striche therunto. For I have no auctoritie to conclude a treux for any shorter space, then for the minoritie of the yong King of Scottes, if ye do deasire any siche, without comprehension of Fraunce; and the same comprehension to be referred to Ambassadours to be sent to the King my Soverain owne presence, and I to geve theim sufficient saufconduct, if they com out of Scotland, surely and quietly to com and goo.

And where as I perceive, aswell by your said servaunt, as also by the Quenes Grace of Scotland letter[1] which I have received this daye, that ye deasire to have a saufconduct in blank for honorable personaiges to pass up to the King my Soverain for treating of the same peas, and to have an abstinence of warr, to endure during the tyme of the said saufconduct, that is to say, unto the last day of May next commyng, with comprehension of freindes and allies; my Lord, inasmuch as I have no power to grant the same my self, I shall with all deligence advertise my said Soverain of your said deasires, so that within 12 dayes ye shalbe advertised by me of his highe pleasure in that behalve; and for that purpose I have received of your said servaunt a copie, how ye wold have the said saufconduct made. And Jesu preserve your Grace. At Morpeth, the 8 night of January.[2]

XXXIX. DACRE *to* WOLSEY.[3]

MY Lorde. Pleas it Your Grace. I have received, upon Sonday at night last past, a pacquet of letters directed unto me frome your Grace, aunswere of my letters last sent unto your Grace. Upon whiche aunsuer a Scottes Pursevaunt called Carrik remaigned here with me; and also John de Barbon, one of the Duke of Albanys Secretaries, remaigned at Caldstreme upon the same[4]. And upon Mondaye last I delivered the said Carrik with myne

[1] Caligula, B. I. leaf 234, is a letter from the Queen to Dacre dated on the 3d of January, in which she anxiously recommends peace.

[2] On the same day Dacre wrote to Wolsey; and Wolsey's answer, dated 22d January, is printed in Hearne's Edition of Whethamstede, p. 586.

[3] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 5.

[4] Very impatiently, as appears by two of his letters of the 23d and 25th of January, the former Caligula, B. VI. leaf 448., the latter in the Chapter House, State Papers, Scotland, p. 23.

aunsuere

aunsuere[1] unto the said Duke according to your Graces instructiones in your said last letters, and sent with the same Carrik a secrete servaunt of myne owne unto the said John de Barbon, with certein instructiones as of myself.[2] And, or the said Carrik and my servaunt cam to Caldstreme, the said John de Barbon was departed the said Mondaye, leving there behinde hym a letter to me directed, whiche I sende unto your Grace herin inclosed.[3] Wherupon my said servaunt hath written a letter unto the said John de Barbon, and sent it with Carrik to hym, shewing therin that he woll remaigne still at Caldstreme, unto the said John de Barbon retorne hiddre again, where as he may shew and declare unto hym my said instructiones.

The principall cause of my writing to your Grace at this tyme is, I received in your said pacquet, a letter directed unto me frome my Lorde Treasourer, wherin he willith me to get sure knowlege what tyme of liklyhode the said Duke of Albany woll depart out of Scotland, and what nombre of shippes, and of what portage, be prepared to goo with hym, and therof to advertise your Grace, or his Lordship, with all possible diligence. My Lorde, pleas it your Grace, the said Duke is utterly determyned to departe, and lieth at Glasgue; and his shippes, whiche ar to the nomber of thre and a bark, lieth at Dombretan, and tariethe of nothing but of winde and wether, as I am credibly enformed.[4]

Asfore newes out of Scotland, thErle of Huntlie[5], whiche was gretest Lorde within Scotland aswell of name as of aunciantie, is lately deceassed, and his sons son, whiche is his heir, is but of thage of 10 yeres.

A parte of the Frenchmen, that the said Duke depatched home again into Fraunce, were founde in the out Isles of Scotland, drevyn with stormy wether, and many of theim were famished for lak of vitales, and the residue of theim maide warr in the same out Isles for gitting of vitailles to susteigne theim with; and so there were famysched and killed of theim there to the nomber of 4 or 500.

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1 By this answer, of which a copy is in the Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 447, Dacre acquaints Albany that he had received a safe conduct for Ambassadors for a truce, but no comprehension of France.

2 Caligula, B. VI. leaf 444, is Dacre's instruction to John More, dated 23d January, in two parts, one for Albany, the other, in case of his departure, for the Scottish Lords.

3 It is in the Chapter House, as above stated.

4 Caligula, B. III. leaf 201, is a letter from Albany to the Duchess of Angoulême, dated at Dumbarton, January 22, in which he states that he is ready to sail, but is willing to tarry some time longer at the desire of Francis I.

5 Alexander, third Earl of Huntly, on whose death George, son of John Lord Gordon, became fourth Earl.

And

And so, as further newes shall occurre, your Grace shalbe advertised therof with all possible diligence. And the holy Trinitie preserve your Grace. At Morpath, the 28 daye of Januarij.

Yours, with hys serves,

(*Signed*) THOMAS DACRE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Legate is Grace.

XL. DACRE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

MY Lord. Pleas it Your Grace, according to your commandement and instructions dated at your place besides Westminster the 22 daye of Januarij last paste[2], whiche I have received to gethers with two saufconductes in French, incontinente aftre the receipt therof I wrote a letter to the Duc of Albany, theffect wherof is according to your Graces said instructions, like as ye may perceive by copie of the same sent unto your Grace herwith; and with the same letter, which was sent by Carrik a Scottes Pursevaunt, I depatched a servaunt of myne owne with credence to breke the matier (touching the said Dukes comyng in to this realme) unto John de Barbon, Secretary to the said Duke, who was at Caldstreme; and so he conveyed my said servaunt unto the said Duc is presence. Bireason wherof my said servaunt oppynned his credence hym self to the said Duc, copie of which credence is written in a book[3], which I sende unto your Grace at this tyme. And in the mean season, or my said servaunt met with the said John de Barbon, the said Barbon wrote a letter to me, shewing that the said Duc was passed to the weste See, and that if he were past awey before aunswere cam to hym, he had lefte his mynde with the Chauncellare and others Lordes of Scotland toucheing the matier, wherfore the same shuld not cum invane.

Wherupon, in case the said Duc had bene departed, seing that it was not mete nor convenient that suche good matiers, as were in labouring, shuld be kept secrete from the Lordes of Scotlande, I sent unto my said servaunt new instructions, to have bene shewed to the said Lordes of Scotlande for that purpose; copie wherof your said Grace shall receive herewith, to geders with the same letter that the said John de Barbon then sent unto

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. IV. No. 9.
[2] Printed in Whethamstede, p. 586.
[3] Part of the same series.

me.

me. Howbeit the same did no good, bireason that the Duc was and is retourned. And because the said Duc was at the west See, my said servaunt was 14 dayes in Scotland, or he was depatched. The said Duc herde his credence, and so depached hym, and sent by hym a letter to me, which I sende unto your Grace in likewise herewith. And also with my said servaunt the Duc depatched the said John de Barbon, his Secretary, with credence by instructions signed with his hande unto me, conteynyng the said Dukes full and ample mynde, aswell toucheing the credence by instructions that I sent unto hym by my said servaunt, as also touching my letter sent unto hym by the foresaid Carrik Pursevaunt, in which letter I advertised hym of the salveconducte; like as your Grace may perceive by the letter which the said Barbon brought unto me, and by copie of the said Barbonnes credence by instructions, which in likewise I sende unto your Grace at this tyme, written in the said book.[1]

Your Grace may perceyve by the said instructions, that the Duc wold that his said Secretarie Barbon shuld repare unto your Grace, to thentent that he mought obteigne a saufconducte to passe into Fraunce, to shew the Frenche King of his doinges, to thentent that, if he woll not accept the surseaunce of warre, that he might accept it, and sende up Ambassadours to the Kinges Highnes.

And, forsomoche as there be diverse poinctes in the said instructions touching the commyng into this realme of the said Duc, wherin he deasireth to have aunswere; and moreover bicause that the said Barbon shewed unto me a letter of credence directed unto your Grace from the said Duc, which causeth me to truste that he hath some prevey instructions to shew unto your Grace from the said Duc, though I know nothing therof, for it becam not me to demande any such thinges of hym; and over this, to thentent that the said Dukes mynde may be by the said Barbon shewed unto your Grace, wherby your Grace woll have better knowlege therof then I can ascertein you by my writinges, if he be substancially handled in the declaring of his credence; I have geven unto hym a saufconduict to passe unto your Grace, and retourne home agane into Scotland, if he go no further; to thentent that, whan ye have herd all his erandes, your Grace may (as ye like the same) furthre ordre hym, as it shall stande with your Grace is pleasure.

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[1] Caligula, B. VI. contains two credentials in favour of de Barbon from Albany to Dacre, leaves 445, 446; Albany's answer to Dacre in French, leaf 325; and an English Translation of it, leaf 441, all dated on the 5th of February at Edinburgh.

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The said Duc of Albany is retourned to Edinbrough, where he doth remaigne; and, or he made forward to passe awaye he gatt licence of the Lordes of Scotland, and also gat a bande of them that they shuld take no peax nor treux with the Kinges Highnes without his consent.

There is a mervelous grete derth in Scotland, for a quarter of whete is at 26^{s} 8^{d} sterling, a quarter of mault at 24^{s} sterling, a quarter of otes at 16^{s} sterling. And semblably, if there cam in no shippes with corne at the havyns and crikes of this cuntrey, there shuld be almoste as grete a derth here. And the Blissed Trinite preserve Your Grace. At Morpethe, the 8 night of Februarij.

Yours with hyes serves,

(*Signed*) THOMAS DACRE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Legates Grace.

XLI. DACRE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

MY Lord. Pleas it Your Grace, I received your writing by John de Barbon broder, the 24 day of Februarij, dated at your place besides Westmyster the 18 daye of the same. Perceiving by the same that, upon your declaracion maide to the Kinges Highnes of my letters and instructiones sent with John de Barbon the Duke of Albany Secretary, it is thought unto the Kinges seid Highnes, your Grace, and Counsale, no litel mervale, that I, being amply instructed by your formour letters[2], sent with the saufconductes, how I shuld have proceded in making aunsuer to the Duke of Albanye overtors, wolde sodenly open and disclose unto the seid Duke, by a servaunt of myne, the hole effect of myn instructiones; wherin diverse thinges were of greate importaunce, requisite to have bene long stikked upon, before I shulde have commen to the new; as the lenger saufconduyt, geving of hostagies, and otherwise; and also seing the hault and unfitting mattiers and requestes, couched in the said Dukes instructiones, sent with his said Secretary to your Grace, suche as it was, miche mervailed I wold suffer the same Secretary bring unto your Grace, specially I geving before no manner advertisment

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. IV. leaf 21.

[2] The letter referred to is dated at Westminster, the 18th of February, and printed in Whethamstede, p. 592.

 therof

therof by post or oder wise, as your said writing purportis: My Lorde, pleas it your Grace, the breifnes of the date specified in the said save-conductes remembred, specially for knowlege to be had of the haisty repare aither of the seid Duke in this realme, or of the Kinge of Scottes Ambassadours, according to the request of the seid Duke, seing I coulde not have mutuall communicacion my self, wherby I mought have tracted the tyme, and have shewed, by litle and litill, as of my self, theffect of myne instructiones; I coulde no lesse do then send a servaunt of myne own to hym with instructions of my mynde and opynyon; wherin I neither declared or shewed unto hym, so largely as in your seid letters to me sent I had in commandement to do, but by my best studie and policie wrote unto hym, so as I might by my seid servaunt have the more spedie and diligent aunsuer again. Whiche aunsuer he sent with his owne Secretary, and not by my servaunt, like as I wrote unto your Grace by hym, supposing vereyly your Grace shuld the rather be more largely certefied, by mutuell communicacion with the same Secretary, aither of the seid Dukes entended purpose, or the sending of Ambassadours, then he wold notice unto me by writing or message of my servaunt, seing that he had writinges of credence unto your Grace. And over that, in myne opinyon I thought it more mete and honorable, that siche mattiers as he had in message were sent with hym, then with any post. But in that where I did not advertise your Grace, by post or otherwise, of the seid Barbons commyng, before his presence to your Grace, I knowlege me to be a faultour.

Furthermore, upon the sight of your last letters to me sent, and according to the same, I wrote a letter to the said Duke[1], like as your Grace may perceive by the copie of the same sent unto your Grace at this tyme, to giddres with his aunsuer[2] agein to me delivered here this daye; and also a pacquet of oder letters whiche he sendeth your seid Grace herewith.[3]

And, because I wele perceive neither the said Duke entendeth hym self, ne any Ambassadours, haistely to come in, but, by all the knowlege that I can haif, he purposes to goo away and not remaigne in Scotland; therfore, according to your commandement, I have sent of my servauntes to the frountours all along the Est and a part of the Middle Bordours requisite for garnysons to be lade in, to the most annoyaunce of our auncyent ennymes

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1 Caligula, B. II. leaf 382. Morpeth, 25th February. 2 Ibid. 380.

3 Caligula, B. III., contains a letter of the 1st of March, from Albany to Wolsey, leaf 70, and another of the same date to Barbon, leaf 74.

the

the Scottes, and to know the certein places, and for how many persons rowm and provision may be had; whereof a book is, by my cousin Syr William Eure, Lieutenaunt of the Middle Marche, and Sir John Bulmer as Deputie, and, in the absence of my cousin Sir William Bulmer his fader, Lieutenaunt of the Est Marche, made in the presence of my said servauntes; the copie wherof I send unto your Grace at this tyme. Whiche book, in myne opynyon, undre your correccion, I think is not possible to be fulfilled; as my Lorde Treasourer knowes.

Certefieing your Grace at the commyng in of the seid Wardeins to the burnyng of Cornell and Branxton, being waist houses, not thekt, ne inhabited, as my said Lorde Treasourer saw, knawes, and can shew; and also to the byrnyng of a parte of towne of Furde fro the castell downe to the watter of Till, the seid Sir John Bulmer cam to theim, and in his company under 30 personnes of the garnyson of Norham, and 24 personnes of Woller and Fenton besides. Thinhabitantes of Glendall, and others of the Est Marche, roose not, ne wolde com to the resistaunce of the Scottes, albeit the fire was reised in the midd tyme of the day; the same inhabitantes saing and allegieing to the seid Lieutenauntes, thay wold do no service, ne com to any affrey, without thay had wagies now in the tyme of warr, lyke as they had the last yere. Wherfore, if the Kinges Highnes and your Grace be mynded to send downe any garnisons to thes Bordours, my pore advice is, and in myne opynyon, undre correccion, I think, that no fewer can be sent then 1000 men, wherof there is alredie now lieing in garnison and in wageis 472 persons; that is to say, in Berwik 100 gonners, in Norham 170, in Wark 60, and with Sir William Eure Lieutenant of the Middle Merchies 100: for which nomber I assure your Grace I have no money to paye their wagies withall, nor yet had this monethe, which shall expire upon Tewisday next commyng, the 8 daye of this present moneth. Wherfore I beseche your Grace that I may know your pleasure, where as I shall receive money for payment of the said wageis past, and hereaftre not to be driven as it has bene in tymes past; considering as I wrote to your Grace for the same diverse tymes, and specially be my letter dated the 27 day of December[1], whereof as yet I had no maner of aunsuer.

My Lorde, the souldeours forsaid has advertised me, that if they have not their waigies paied in all diligent haist, surely they woll not abide, seing that they have not bene accustomed to be paied their waigies at thending of the monethe, but at the begynnyng, so that they had alway a moneth wagies

[1] Caligula, B. I. leaf 1.

aforehand unto myne entre. Ther exclamation for lak of the seid waigies is mervellous sore, and grevous to abide. As the Holy Trinitie knowethe, who preserve Your Grace. At Morpethe, the 4th daye of Marcij.

Yours, to hys serves,

(*Signed*) THOMAS DACRE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legate is Grace.

XLII. SIR WILLIAM BULMER *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace. Thare come ane Observaunt, the Father of the Observaunt Frears of Jedworth, and desyert of me that he myght come over and say the word of God in your chyrche of Norham; and so he come over, and preytched, and mayd a good sermount. [*But*] yet I suppose it was not his erand, for he [*seemed*] desyerus to have communycacion wyth me; [*and the ef*]fect there of was, that if I thought that the Kynges Highnes wold doo for his nevey the Kyng of Scottes. And I answered hym, as me thought the Kynges Highnes had doyn verey much for hym, but wheder the Scottes Kyng dyd conseder yt, or war of obedyte to consyder yt, or not, I know not. And the sayd Observaunt said, the Kyng dyd consedyr it, and cowld conseder as much as was possyble to be consydered of any person beyng of his age; with many greyt prasez that he gaff on to his Kyng, sayng on to me that, if it pleased the Kynges Highnes to wryte a letter to his nevey the Kyng of Scottes, that, and if he tuyk upon hym to rewle hym selff and his realme, that he wold be good unto hym and to thaym, that tuyk his payrt; the said Observaunt trustes, that he wold upon the saym tayk upon hym to rewle both hym selff and his realme. And I asked the said Observaunt, yff yt pleased the Kynges Highnes to wryet a letter on to his nevey the Kyng of Scottes, wheder the Scottes Qwene myght know it, ye, or nay. And he said, nay, for she and the Duyk was all one. And I asked [*hym w*]heder he durst tayk upon hym to convey [*the said*] letter, or not. And he said, ye, he wold tayk upon his consyaunce to do that thyng, whych myght be for the well of his Prence and his realme. And so, if it please the Kynges Highnes, and your Grace, for to wryete to the yong Kyng, I trust he will convey it; for I suppose it was his erand. The said

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1 From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. I. No. 150, and 149. The original is mutilated by damp.

Observaunt

Observaunt sayth that sens the provynse of Scottland dyd [*shew*] unto the Lordes of Scottland the commaund[*ment of the*] Kynges Highnes and your Grace, [*they would*] never fovor thaym nor suffer thaym to comme w[*here*]as he was; but the yong Kyng ever sens hath specyall good favor to thaym. And for newes, such as is here, I do send your Grace herein closed. Frome Norham, the 24th day of Maij, by your homble servaunt, as God knowyth, who preserve Your Grace,

(*Signed*) W. Bulmer.

Pleas it Your Grace. The said Observaunt shewed me that the Duyk had had the Lordes of Scottland be fore hym, the Sperytuall men in one howys, and the Temporall men in a noder howys, and dyd meve thaym that they wold be contented that he myght depart and goo in Fraunce; and thay assent there to, wyth good wyll. And when he saw that they where contented, he desyerd of thaym that they wold tayk no peax wyth England unto such tyme as he come agayne. And they stak long, and wold not promyse hym that; but at the last they promysed hym, to the intent that they wold have had hym goyn: and so the Lordes byleved that he wold have departed. And now he hath sent for thaym agayn, and sayth that he can not depert, except they wold help hym wyth thrytty thowsand mark, to bere his charges for his passage. And the sayd Observaunt sayth, that thare ys sume of the Spirituall men, that hath offerd hym a thowsand mark of Scottis money.[1] The said Observaunt thynkes, and he be ons goyn[2], that they wald never pay hym, nor never sofer hym to come agayn. He ys not obbeyed, ne loved, nor dred, in Scottland, as he hath beyn; so the said Observaunt sayth that he trustes, and he goo not wyth his good wyll, they wyll dryve hym furth, yff the yong Kyng tayk any thyng of hand.

(*Signed*) W. Bulmer.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Cardynalles good Grace.

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[1] A letter from Lord Dacre to Wolsey of the 20th of May states that Albany had demanded aid, which had been refused. Caligula, B. III. leaf 6.

[2] Maitland says that Albany sailed for France on the 14th of May. In the "Diurnal of Occurrents," printed by the Bannatyne Club in 1833, it is stated that upon the 20th of May he departed with his company to France, there to remain three months, having the consent of the King and the Lords, and promised to make no peace with England during the said space, and that he came never into Scotland. p. 8. It is further stated that on the Sunday following, (that is, on the 22d of May,) the Lords made their homage and oath of fidelity to the King in the Palace of Holyrood House. p. 9. But these dates are all inconsistent with Dacre's letter to Wolsey of the 31st of May (printed by Ellis, 1st Series, Vol. I. p. 241.) from which it appears that Albany took leave of the Lords at Edinburgh on the 27th, of the King and Queen at Stirling on the 29th, and probably embarked on the 31st of May.

XLIII. BULMER *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace the 17th daye of Junij I resavyd the Kynges Highnes most honorable letter and your Gracys, one frome the Kynges Highnes to the Kyng of Scottes, and the cope off the same; also a letter frome your Grace on to the Observaunt Frear, wyth the cope off the same, and a noder frome your Grace dyrected on to me dated the 11 day off Junij, whych, as God knowys, ys not a lytyll to my comefurth; and accordyng to your Grace commaundment, gevyn thankes on to your garryson off Norham, wyche doth comefurth thaym well, besuchyng Almyghti Jhesu that they and I may doo that thyng whych may be to your Grace pleasor. As for the deth off Davy Hume, I dyd assertayne your Grace before. And accordyng to your Grace commaundement I dyd delyver the Kynges Highnes letter and your Gracez to the Observaunt Frear the 23 day off Junij, and the said Observaunt Frear hath promysed to mayk answere agayne wyth delygence; but as he sayth yt wyll be a 8th or ten days, or he can come to mayk delyveraunce. Accordyng to your Grace commaundement I dyd shew hym in all thynges, as far as my reason wold serve me. As God knowyth, who preserve Your Grace. Frome Norham, the 25th day of Junij, by your homble servaunt,

(*Signed*) W. BULMER.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Cardynalles good Grace.

XLIV. BULMER *to* WOLSEY.[2]

PLEAS it Your Grace. This day I dyd resave a letter frome the Qwene off Scottes, dyrected on to the Kynges Highnes frome the Qwene off Scottes, wyth sertayne artakyllez, whych letter and artakyllez I doo send on to your Grace.[3] The berer thareoff shewed me by credence, that the Qwenys pleasor

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1 From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. I. No. 145.

2 From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. I. No. 146. This letter appears by an indorsement to have been received on the last day of June.

3 Caligula, B. I. leaf 174. is catalogued as a letter from the Queen to Henry VIII. of the 24th of June 1524, but does not answer the description of this letter, and probably belongs to the preceding year.

was,

was, that I shuld convey the said letter and artakyllez in all the hayst possyble, and that I wold wryet on to your Grace, and besuch your Grace to tayk no dyspleasour wyth hyr, that she dyd not wryet on to your Grace, sayng that hir besynes was so great abowt that mater, whych she dyd wryet on to the Kynges Highnes upon, that she had no leasour to wryet on to your Grace, but she was sure that your Grace shuld know hyr myind by the letter whych she sendys on to the Kynges Highnes; besuchyng your Grace that she myght know the Kynges Highnes pleasour and answere off the saym. Also the berer heroff shewed me, that on cause, whych she dyd not wryet on to your Grace fore, was, at she must meyt sertane Lordes in Galaway by the way off pylgramage in secrete maner, whych Lordes she trusted wold tayk the Kyng hir sons payrt and hirs, and wyth the helpe off the Kynges Highnes wold sett hir sone at lybertty. And hir servant ys verrey desyerous to have spedy answere frome your Grace. As God knoweth, who preserve Your Grace. Frome Norham, the 26 day of Junij, by your homble servaunt,

(*Signed*) W. BULMER.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Cardynalles good Grace.

XLV. GARDYNER *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEASITH it Your Grace to understande, that yesternighte I shewed unto the Kinges Highnes such resolution as your Grace hath taken with thErle of Anguish[2], which liked His Grace very wel, and specially in the maner of delyvering them such money as His Highnes geveth them for ther entertenement, that is to say, to be delyvered without mention of yerely entertenement with a certain some, as your Grace had devised; with that also that your Grace delyver the said money unto them there, bifore the repare unto His Highnes, to thintent they maye geve thankes unto His Grace therfor. But to augment the portion of Archebolde that it shulde be a hundred powndes, the Kinges Highnes cannot be by me persuaded. His Grace is content to sende

[1] Holograph. From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. V. No. 93.

[2] It appears from Wolsey's letter to Dacre of the 6th of July, (Hearne's Whethamstede, p. 617.) that the Earl of Angus and his brother William had then lately arrived out of France, which renders it probable that the date of this letter was on Thursday, the 7th of July. In the Museum, Caligula, B. III. leaf 305, is a holograph letter from Angus to Henry VIII. dated at Paris on the 8th of May 1524, from whence it appears that Angus was proceeding to England at Henry's suggestion.

a gentilman;

a gentilman; and, not resolvyng himself, ne directly denying, to sende the Capitain of Barwik, thinkith Master Ratclyf a very mete personage. I had noo convenyent laysour to speke therof at lenght.

As towching the cummyng of thErle to take his leave at the Kinges Highnes, His Grace wolde that this daye by none the said Erle shulde repare to the towne of Barnet; and there bayting in sume inne, which to be here appointed, I have spoken to Master Controller, my Lord of Norfolk[1] shal geve knowlege unto him, where he shal repare unto the Kinges Highnes.

I shulde have cume myself, but the Kinges Highnes specially commaunded me to tarye.

I shewed and communicated al thing to my Lord of Norfolke, who liked al thing very wel.

Thus I pray Almighty God to preserve Your good Grace. At Barnet, this Thursday.

Your Graces most humble
and dayly bedeman,
(*Signed*) STEVEN GARDYNER.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates good Grace.

XLVI. QUEEN MARGARET *to* KING HENRY VIII.[2]

DERYST brothar ye Kyng. In my mast humblyst vyss I can I recommand me to Your Grace. And pless You to vyt, that I have resayved Your Grace vryteng the 7 day of July vyth a vryteng of my Lord Cardynal, vylke I ondarstand at length. And as to Your Gracyz wryteng I thanke you humbly of your kynd and luffyng vryteng, and that now Your Grace doth consyder my gwd mynd, vylke hath ben ever on my part. Sopoz that my onfryndyz hath gyffen Your Grace othar vayss to ondarstand for evel of the Kyng my son and me. Also, deryst Brothar ye Kyng, I besek Your Grace to remember well apon my last vrytengs sent to Your Grace, and to make not lange delay in helpyng of ye Kyng my son to pwt hym to hym to fredom and owt of danger of hyz enymyz; for now is ye tyme. For Your Grace sal ondarstand that there is many Lordyz wel myndyd to ye sam, and vol be betar, so yat thay may have your asystanz and helpe, vhareof Your Grace pwtyz me in gwd belyfe, sayeng

[1] Lord Surrey became Duke of Norfolk in May 1524.
[2] Holograph. From the British Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 211.

yat

yat ye Dwke of Norfok salbe here ryght schortly vyth your mynd and pleswr; vham to Ze byd me gyff credenz. Wharefor I besche Your Grace to do substancyaly and kyndly, so yat thyz raulme may have cawse to do for You, and leff othar wayz; and do Your Grace ye contrary, the Kyng my son volbe the longer fro hyz lybarty, and hyz parson yn danger. And as to my part, Your Grace sal fynd no fawt; bot I am a vhaman, and may doo lytyl, bot fryndyz.

Also, derest Brothar, I have sen your vryteng towshyng my Lord of Angus, vysche, as Your Grace vrytyz, is in your said Rawlme, and yat Ze porpoz to send hym schortly here, and yat Ze fynd hym ryght vyss, and hath reulyd hym wel, and that he hath desyrd that ther may be a pece labord betwyxt thyz tway Raulmyz, and yat he vol dw hyz labour and dylygenz to the sam vyth hyz helpe, wyth many othar gwd vordyz of hym; and prayeng me to have hym in my fawor, and that he is wel myndyd to me, and beryth me gret luff and favar. Deryst Brothar, as to my Lord of Angws and me, vhare Your Grace desyrth me to take hym in my favor; as to yat he hath not schaun, sen hys departyng owt of Scotland, that he desyrd my gwd vyl and favor, nothar be vryteng nor word; bot now that he hath desyrd Your Grace to vryt to me, knowyng wel that ther is non that I vol do so mykyl for as for Your Grace, bot I trwst, deryst Brothar the Kyng, that Your Grace vol not desyr me to dw no thyng that may be hwrt to me your systar, nor that may be ocacyon to hald me from ye Kyng my son, both for hyz wel and myne, and now Your Grace onderstandyth in vhat stat I stand in, and how the Kyng my son is, and vol be rewlyd be me, and yat I have labord and brokyn mony Lordys fro ye vayz of ye Dwke of Albany to hyz vay, that he may be pwt out of danger, and that he and hyz Lordyz may reull thyz raulme vyth the helpe and asystanz of Your Grace, vhare in is all my trast. Vharfor, seing all mattars standyng on thyz sort, I vald not Your Grace gaff any ocacyon in the contrar to pwt it a bake, bot erar to fwrdar it. And as to my Lord of Angus comyng here, it is not onknown to Your Grace, that ther is gret brek and dysfavor betwyxt hym and gret Lordyz of thyz raulme, vysche vol not be contentyd vyth hym, nor vyth me, gyf I gang hyz vay, bot all utarly be contrar me, and do that thay can to have me fro the Kyng my son, and vol pwt them fro the gwd porpoz thay ar in now, vylke vol be gret danger to ye Kyng my sonz parson, and thyz tyme be owr lokyd. Vharefor I beseke Your Grace humbly to consydar my part in thyz behalfe, and byd me not now do the thyng that may dystroy the Kyng my son and me, seing that I schow Your Grace playnly as it is. And vhan Your Grace hath helpyd to bryng the Kyng my son owt of danger, and that he and hyz Lordyz

may rewl thyz raulme, and that there may be gwd pece betwyxt your sayd Raulme and thyz; than Your Grace sal fynd me redy to doo any thyng that may be plesur to Your Grace. And vhol that I see thyz com to a gwd end, I can say no more, for Your Grace most pardon me to lwke for the wel and swrty of the Kyng my son afour the plesur of my Lord of Angws; for vhan I am pwt fro the Kyng my son, he vol not be the mare set by, and I sal not desyr to byde in Scotland, vhan I am owt of the company of the Kyng my son.

Thwz, deryst Brother the Kyng, I besche Your Grace to lwke wel a pon thyr matarz, and nou, sen thay may be browht to a gud end, lat it not be ondon for Your Gracyz part; for I inswr You that the Kyng my son hath gret ope in Your Grace and in your helpe, and specyaly sen he sau Your Gracyz vryteng to hym, and sayth on hyz part he sal not fayl to take apon hym as Your Grace vol that he do, Ze doand to hym for your part, and as your vryteng beryth to hym; and for my part I aswr Your Grace, that I may and vol cause hym to dw your cownsel afoor any othar, Your Grace doyng for the wel of hym and hyz raulme as my trast is Ze vol. And thuz it is in Your Gracyz hand, and I refar it to the comyng of my Lord of Norfolke, as Your Grace hath bydyn me dw; and therfor I can say no mare. Bot, towscheng a poynt that is in Your Gracyz sayd vryteng, sayeng that my Lord of Angws hath labord for the pece, and that he vol helpe vyth is atouryte; as to that, me thynke, deryst Brothar the Kyng, me thynke that he nor no nothar suld be hard in that matar, so well as I your systar, nor that Ze may get so mykyl honnor to dw for thayr reqwest, as for me. And therfor I besche Your Grace that syk thing be not in your mynd, bot that it be I that dwz it, for the luf and favor that Ze bere to the Kyng my son and me. And gyf it be throu otharz, I trast I sal not be so thankfwly takyn here. Pray Your Grace to pardon me that I vryt so playnly to You; bot I vryt no thyng bot as Your Grace vol fynd. I besche Your Grace to pardon me of my ewel hand, for I am som thyng not wel dysposyd, and therfor I have cawsyd my hand to be copyd[1], in aventwr, gyf Your Grace can not red my evel hand. And God presarve you. Vryten the 14 day of Jwly.

Deryst Brothar, plese Your Grace, towschyng my Lord of Angws comyng here, I vald beseke Your Grace to be wel awysyd in the sam, as I have vryten of be foor; and as towschyng to my part, gyf he vol pwt hand to my gonrouffe, I vol not be contentyd therevyth, for I have bot ryght sobar thyng to fynd my

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1 This copy, signed by Queen Margaret, is in the same volume, leaf 283, which contains also a holograph letter of the same date from the Queen to Wolsey, leaf 223. On the preceding day she wrote a letter to Dacre, in which she complained of the sharpness of his style, which she ascribed to his interest on behalf of Angus. Hearne's Whethamstede, p. 625.

selfe

selfe vyth, and hath schawn Your Grace yat dyvarz tymez, and gat bot lytyl remed. Vharefor, now, and I be troblyd vyth my Lord of Angus, it is Your Grace that doth it, and than I volbe constrayned to seke othar helpe; for I vol not lat hym trobyl me in my lyffeng, as he hath don in tymez past.

(*Signed*) Your humbyl Systar,

MARGARET.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Hy and Ryght Excelent Prynce
my deryst Brothar the Kyng Grace.

XLVII. DACRE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

MY Lorde. Pleas it Your Grace to be advertised, according to your Graces commandment to me geven in your letters bering date the 6 daye of this moneth [2], I did send the King our Soverain Lordes letters and your Graces to the Quenes Grace of Scotlande, and this daye received aunswere of the same, whiche at this tyme I do sende unto your Grace herwith. I have sent my Secretary with instructions in articles to the Archebushop of Sainct Andrewes, Chauncellar of Scotland, as of my self, after the tenour and purporte specified in your said letters. Wherupon he has sent for the Lordes to conveyne in Edinburge, and I trust vereyly within four dayes to have aunswer again, wherof your Grace shalbe advertised with diligence.

The letter, that your Grace sent to the Gray Frere, to deliver a letter frome the Kinges Highnes, bering date at Grenewiche the 12 daye of Junij last past, to the King of Scottes, the same Frere was so temerous, that he durste not take upon hym to deliver the same; but delivered it unto a gentilman called Patrik Sinkler, whome my Lorde Treasourer knowes very well, and he delivered the same to the said yong King; wherof His Grace was so glad, and tooke so greate rejosing and comforth therin, that he wolde in no wise byde in, but walde have bene furth at libertie upon Satturday the 9 daye of this moneth; and by the trety of the Quenes Grace his moder, His Grace was contented to abide unto Tewisday after. And so upon Monday afore, the Quene and the Chauncellar met at a place called Alway, being 6 myles frome Striveling where Her Grace lay, and 8 myles frome Donfermling

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. IV. No. 20.
[2] See p. 79, note [2].

where the said Chauncellar laye; and so in conclusion, after long communication had, the Quene shewed unto the Chauncellar the comfortable letters, whiche was sent unto her son frome the Kinges said Highnes. And there the said Chauncellar was agreable that he wolde be of consent of taking furth of the said yong King, so that the said Quene wolde abide therupon till Friday next commyng. And, if the said Chauncellar entended and mean trewly, then I doubt not but all thinges shall cum and goo forwardes, according to the King our said Soverain pleasure and your Graces, for the suertie of the said yong King.

And for that purpose the said Quene has sent unto me a letter of credence with the said Patrik Sinkler, whiche credence is, that thErle of Angus in nowise shall medle nor take any thing upon hande, unto suche tyme as Her Grace may perceive whedder the forsaid practises go forwardes or not. And if they go forwarde, then Her Grace wolbe a mediatrice betwixt the said Erle and the Lordes of Scotlande for his weale, and be ordred in her owne person towardes the said Erle as shall stande with the Kinges highe pleasure, and your Graces. And, in the meane season, upon the arrivale of the said Erle in thes parties, I shall kepe hym with me, and upon the Bordours, where he may resorte and speke with parte of his frendes without doying of any displeasours, unto suche tyme as knowlege maye be had of expedition of the forsaid practises. And so the Holy Trinitie preserve Your Grace. At Morpath, the 17 daye of Julij, at 9 of the clok in the night.

Youres, with his serves,

(*Signed*) THOMAS DACRE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Legates Grace.

XLVIII. NORFOLK *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLESITH it Your Grace to be advertised, that accordyng to your Graces commandment, I sent word to the postes, that suche letters as shuld come fro my Lord Dacre to your Grace shuld be broght unto me; and so this present houre I receyved a pakett, wherin was one letter to the Kynges Highnes, and one other to your Grace fro the Qwene off Scottes, and a nother fro my Lord Dacre to your Grace; wich letters, by your Graces commandment I have ben so bold

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[1] Holograph. From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. VIII. Part 2, leaf 38.

to

to opon and rede, and am right joyffull to here and se the contentes off the same. And, after my poure mynde, by this tyme eyther the Kyng is at libertie, or els the Chansoler with faire wordes hath blynded the Qwene, and hath put her fro aboutes the yong Kyng, and put sewer custodie aboutes hym, or els takon hym away, and sent hym further off fro Edenborogh. Wich I dout right moche, for the seid Chansoler is very crafty and sotyll. And wher I perceyve the Qwene is not gretly joyffull off the commyng off thErle off Angushe, the same doth most procede, after my poure conseyte, for feare that it shuld be rekoned, iff pease do insew, that it shuld come by his meanys, more then by hers; as it doth appere by her letters. Yet notwithstondyng, me thynk it wer well done, that the seid Erle shuld assay the best practyses he can, and your Grace in your letters to wright to the Qwene, that the Kynges mynd is, that pease shall never be made by none, but only by her. And as my Lord Dacre doth wright, me thynk it well done that he be for a tyme well entreteyned in Northumberlond, unto the tyme it may be sene what effect shall come off the Qwenys practisys.

And iff it myght stonde with your Graces plesure that I myght incontynent go to Newcastell without tarying at York, I thynk such as wold take part with the Kynges commyng furth shuld be the more bolder, knowyng me to be so nere to help, iff nede wer. And also I shuld be moche nerer them, dayle to advertise them what I thoght best to be done. And now the iron is hote, it is tyme to stryke. Wherfor most humble I beseche your Grace I may know your plesure therin; and upon Fryday or Saturday, with Godes Grace, I shall set forwardes. And thus our Lord have Your Grace in His most blessed tuycion. Scribled this Tewsday at mydnyght.

Yours most bownden,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) T. NORFFOLK.

To my Lord Legates gode Grace.

XLIX. WOLSEY *to* NORFOLK.[1]

MY Lorde, I commende me unto you in my most herty maner. And have receyved your letters, dated at Lincoln the 28th day of this instant monethe, with suche other letters and writinges as that tyme were sent from the Lord

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 355.

Dacres,

Dacres, perceyving by the same that the Chaunceler of Scotland, alleging certain vayn and frivole excuses, is not mynded to come unto the diett in his oune person, but to sende certain Lordes named in his letters writen to the Lord Dacres; for whiche cause ye desire to knowe the Kinges pleasure, whither ye shal observe the said diett with theym, the said Chaunceler being absent, or not; and to have saufconduytes bothe for the said Chaunceler, and also for the residue, with a promyse under the Kinges Great Seale desired by the Quene of Scottes, and also your commissions and instructions, as in your said letters, theffect wherof I have signifyed unto the Kinges Grace, is mencioned more at large.

As herunto, my Lord, ye knowe right well that the practise sett forthe for the said diett was never ment ne intended on this side for any communicacion of peax, whiche the Kinges Grace wolde or thought shulde have been had in the same; considring it were not mete ne honerable that His Grace shulde condesende unto any suche diett with the Scottes: but it was done only to thentent under that colour to have intercepted the said Chaunceler by meane of thErle of Angwishe, wherbye he with al his adherentes shulde the more facilly have been induced or compelled to condescende to the ereccion of thair King, and the extincting of the Duke of Albanys governement; being the principall thinges whiche the Kinges Highnes gothe aboute, touching the affaires of Scotland. And therfore, considring that the said Chaunceler, either percace suspecting the danger of suche interception, or otherwise, is not, as it semeth, mynded to come hym self unto the said diett, it is not the Kinges mynde, that either ye or any other person shall on this partie observe or kepe the same, but that the Lord Dacres, like as I wryte unto hym at this tyme, as by the copie of my letters ye may perceyve, shall signifye unto the said Chaunceler, that inasmoche as he, upon the Kinges condescending at the instant poursute of thErle of Angwishe, to agree to the said diett, and to sende you, being so great a personage, and His Graces Lieutenaunt, unto the same, woll not be present ther hym self, and that ther is no personage in the realme of Scotland inferior to hym, with whom it were convenient the Kinges Lieutenaunt shuld mete, ye may in no wise come to any suche meting or diett, ne it was ever the Kinges mynde or intent that any suche shulde be had for communication of peax, but oonly for ereccion of thair said King, and bringing hym oute of the daungerous and suspect governaunce of the Duke of Albany; whiche first and indelaydely done, the Kinges Highnes coude be at all tymes contented, the hostilite furthewith ceasing, to geve ere unto suche further overtures, as shulde be made on the said yong Kinges behalve for corroboracion of good and ferme peax bitwene bothe Princes and thair realmes:

realmes: exhorting therfore the said Chaunceler, that if he mynde the weale and suertie of the King his maister, and the good of peax, he in nowise use further delaye or tracte of tyme in the said ereccion; considring that nowe it may be done, and the Kinges effectuell assistence with men and money to concurre with theym against all those that wolde attempt any thing to the contrary: like as in my letters to my Lord Dacres, the copies wherof ye shall receyve herewith, ye shall perceyve what I instruct hym to write therin more at large. To which pourpose also expedient it is, that bothe you and he, of newe, write unto the Quene of Scottes, anymating and encoraging her, without further delaye or abiding tyme of any ceremonyes, whiche be thinges divised oonly to put over the tyme till either the Duke of Albany shulde arrive, or the said yong King might be brought unto more sure and straite custodye, to take furthe the said King, and to put hym to his oune rule and governaunce. In doing wherof ye shall offre unto her all assistence possible, graunting unto her or other suche sommes of money, as by your wisedome and discrecion ye shall thinke good, to allect and wynne theym unto her devocion for this purpose, though it amounte in the hole to the somme of oone or twoo thowsande pounde or more; as in your instructions, whiche with the Kinges comissyons and letters were sent unto you by a speciall messenger a good season passed, is mencioned at large. And in declaracion of the premisses ye shal put the said Quene in remembrance, what perill and extreme danger not only the King her son, but also she, whiche so ferre hathe laboured and entreprised this matier in the Duke of Albanyes absence, shuld stonde in, in cace by this her delaye, whiche she myght have remedied, if she had suffered the said yong King comme oute whan he was mynded so to do, the Duke of Albany shulde arrive in that realme bifore the said ereccion was fully perfited and fynished. Wherfore, sens the Kinges Highnes hathe so largely assured theym and all thair partetakers to geve theym all assistence of men and money requisite, and that ye be arrived ther for that pourpose, redy to performe the Kinges pleasure in every behalve; if she for ceremonyes or otherwise delaye it any lenger, not only all the default may be imputed unto Her Grace, but also she is like therby to bring her said son and her self to totall distruction, and the realme of Scotland to more werre; where as by immediate proceding to the said ereccion, all those inconvenientes shalbe clerely remedied, she attayn as great honour as can be devised, deserving the Kinges most entier and speciall thankes to her weale and compfort hereafter; and besides that, have commodite to be the oonly auctrice of ferme peax bitwene bothe realmes. And verayly, my Lord, I thinke that, if upon the receipt of the Kinges last letters writen to the said yong King and Quene, with suche as I than wrote to

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her and to the Chaunceler in this matier[1], they have not by this tyme erected the said King, either upon this your refusale to comme unto the diett, and the said declaration by you to be made unto the Quene of Scottes, and your presence ther on the Borders, they shalbe induced therunto, and to take hym forthe incontinently; orelles, meanyng well, the said Quene is to ferre abused by the Chaunceler, or if she be not abused by hym, she procedeth not directely with the Kinges Grace. For hitherto she hathe excused her self for doubte of lakking assistence and for lak of your presence. Nowe she is sure of bothe, wherunto she may aswell trust, by the Kinges sundry letters to the said yong King and her sent, signed with his oune gracious hand, as though it were under the Kinges Great Seale; whiche also shall not lak, if that may do good. But in tarying for suche ceremonyes, nothing requisite to the pourpose if they meane and intende well, they shall put all in hazard and jeopardye: whiche I trust upon your letters she woll regarde accordingly.

And thus, my Lord, I sende you no saufconduytes for the Chaunceler or other. For, if the Chaunceler woll come, in whiche cace the Kinges mynde is that ye set forthe the practyse for his interception, it were not convenient he shuld have a saufeconduyt, but to be trayned by other dulce and faire meanes therunto. And if he woll not come, no diett shalbe observed; so as the sending of saufeconduytes were clerely to no pourpose.

And, my Lord, albeit the King and I thinke good that the Quene of Scottes is to be used, as most propice and convenient instrument in this matier, by all good waies possible, pretending that nothing shalbe wrought but oonly by her meanes; nevertheles so to be used, that all shall depende upon her proceding and doing, it were perylous and daungerous. Wherfore expedient it shalbe, that practise be set forthe by her handes, and yet not neglected by others; to thentent that that thing, whiche can not be attayned by her meanes, may be brought to effect by some other waies. For it is no foly for a good archer to have to stringes to his bowe, specially where as one is made of thredes wrought by wemens fyngers. In whiche cace I referre you to your instructions, and suche other politique wayes, as by your wisedome, with thadvice of the Lord Dacres and the Erle of Angwishe, shalbe thought convenient; forseing alwaies that hast and diligence be used in this behalf, lest

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[1] Hearne has printed a letter from Wolsey to Dacre of the 21st of July, (in answer to Dacre's of the 3d,) transmitting letters to the King and Queen of Scots, and stating that the entry of Angus into Scotland at that time was likely to do more harm than good. (Whethamstede, p. 626.) This packet seems also to have contained a letter from Wolsey to the Chancellor Betoun, exhorting him to persevere in a good course of government for the young King his master. Ibid. p. 627.

that

that the Duke of Albany shal arrive ther bifore the execution therof: immyxting alwaies your certificates and communications with drede of raysing of the Kinges armye, and in the mean tyme of treating this matier, causing some actuell exploietes to be done, whiche may be to thair drede and terrour; wherby it is thought ye shall the soner induce theym to the Kinges intended pourpose. And wher as the Quene in no wise wolde that thErle of Angwishe shulde have any intromedle herin, or entre into Scotland, pretending therby that suche as nowe favour her partie and be contented with the ereccion of the yong King, shuld falle from her and the said King, tornyng to other waies, whiche might be to the empechment therof; in this matier ye owe to have a great circumspeccion, lest that those whiche favour the Duke of Albany, not mynding the said ereccion, shall make semblance to the Quene that they mynde the same effectuelly, so that thErle of Angwishe do not entre Scotland, ne intromedle therwith: by the meane wherof keping hym oute, they shall abuse the Quene, be in the more strength, and tract the said erection at thair pleasure, without any resistence; wher as, if the said Erle of Angwishe shulde put his hand therunto, with his frendes adherentes and parttakers, the contrary partie shulde be more aferde to againsaye or withstande the said ereccion. Wherfore a vigilant ye and regarde is to be had herunto accordingly, and the matier so to be handled, that thErle of Angwishe be not discoraged, or thinke that the King hathe any mistrust in hym.

Fynally, my Lord, inasmoche as by my Lord Dacres said letters it appereth that 7 prises and oone wafter of the Island flete be lately taken by 2 shippes of Lethe, whiche is a right great losse, and to the Kinges dishonour, His Grace therfore desireth you to take suche ordre with those that kepe the North Sees, in whom appereth to be great slaknes and remysse demeanour, that they take better hede and regarde unto thair charge in avoiding the dangers that elles may to theym ensue. For, if the Scottes make oute suche a nomber of shippes as in the said letters is mencioned, onles than the Zeland flete be the better waughted and defended, they may be all in extreme joperdie of losse and perdition. And for that cause speciall respect is to be had therunto, and the shippes being in those North Sees straitely commanded to see theym conduyted in saufetye at this thair retourne homwardes, as shall appertain; for whose better assistence some shippes shall also be sent oute of the Narrowe Sees: but whiche of theym may be spared, or what tarying shalbe in thair commyng, if the wynde shulde be contrarious, is yet incertain. Wherfore the Kinges Grace instantly requireth you to take some good order by your wisedome and polycye therin, so as the said flete perishe not or be in daunger, to the great losse of this realme and the dishonour of the same, for lak of good forsight provision

and conduyte: wherin ye shall administre unto the Kinges Highness great and high service.

Being redy to fynishe this letter, arrived the post with your letters writen on Robyn Hoddes Crosse, and such as were sent to you bothe from the King and Quene of Scottes, thErle of Aran, and also the Lord Dacres; theffect wherof consisteth principally in 3 thinges. On is, that the said Quene and Erle of Arayn be desirous to knowe really and actuelly what helpe and assistence the Kinges Highnes woll nowe geve with effect unto theym in this thair enterprise for ereccion of the said yong King. The 2de concerneth a garde of 200 men to be for a season attending upon the King of Scottes for his defence, at the Kinges charges and wages, with a clerke to be deputed for thair payment. And thirdely, the Quene of Scottes eftsones desireth thErle of Angwishe may be restreyned from commyng into Scotland, or intromedling in thise matiers. Like as the said letters pourport more at large.

As herunto, first, my Lord, ye may, in the most faithfull and sincere maner that ye can possibly write or devise, assure the said King of Scottes on the Kinges behalf, and semblably the Quene, and thErle of Arayn, or any other taking thair part, that they shall really actually and with all effect have perfite and undoubted assistence, to thuttermost aswell of the Kinges mayne power if nede be, as of counsail, adresse, money, men, or otherwise; and for that pourpose only, ye be commyn unto the Borders, redy to accompleshe with dedes all suche thinges as hath been spoken or writen in that behalf, and asmoche as they can reasonably desire: like as the Kinges Grace by his speciall letters, whiche for the breve expedition of this post coulde not be redy in so shorte space, the copies wherof ye shall receive at this tyme, woll not faile eftsones to assure theym in the worde of a Prince, wherunto they may perfytely trust, as thexperience shall manifestly prove declare and shewe. And, to thentent that nothing be pretermytted, whiche may be for the comprobation hereof, the Kinges Highness, perceyving that the yong King is not best furnished of money, woll that ye by some trusty and good meanes do surely sende unto the same yong King the some of oone thowsand nobles, and to the said Quene of Scottes the somme of 200 merks, and to the said Erle of Arayn the some of 100£, shewyng unto theym that it is but a commencement and begynnyng for demonstracion of the Kinges entire mynde in the premisses. And His Grace woll also sende with diligence to the said yong King some clothes of gold and silke for a remembrance, besides dailly presentes and gratuities that shall come hereafter. Ascertaynyng you, that proceding indelayedly to this ereccion without abiding counsail ceremonye or avise, whiche may be the totall disapointment of all thenterprise, they shall lak no money or other thing: like

like as the Kinges pleasure is that ye shall by your discrecion employe suche sommes as shalbe convenient for the attaynyng of other frendes at this poynt and tyme of necessite so to do; wherin His Grace must and dothe referre many thinges to your wisdome and discretion, as ye shall see the oportunitie and cace to require.

Secondly, the Kinges Highnes lyketh veray well the divice for appointment of 200 persons to be in a garde aboute the said yong Kinges person, of suche trusty and elect folkes as he shall thinke good, by the avice of the Quene his moder; and is pleased and contented that, of suche money as ye have ther, ye take order for payment of theym at the Kinges charges, deputing some trusty clerke for that pourpose; being the thing whiche shall in suche wise strengthe hym, that having suche a bande aboute hym, ther shall not be in Scotland that dare attempt (the said King ones erected) to enterprise any thing to the contrary. And this thing is thought expedient to be done with all spede and celerite, the said yong King taking upon hym incontinently as is abovesaide; whiche must be done without delaye, or tarying for any meting or dyett to speke and common of that or other mater, forasmoche as by suche tarying in communicacion all the hole intent and pourpose may be defeated, and percace suche as shulde comme to speke with you be had in more jalousye and suspycion in Scotland, besides the sundry questyons and ambiguyties that might insurge and arise in suche communication for maters of Fraunce, and otherwise, whiche shulde serve to no pourpose but utterly to disapoynt this interprise, and to bring the said yong King into more daunger and perill than ever he was afore. Wherfore speciall regarde is to be had that the first thing immediatly to be commenced is, that having suche assistence as he nowe is sure of, he do, without ceremonye counsail or avice, comme forthe, taking upon hym boldly his oune astate dignitie and governaunce: whiche done, non shalbe so hardy to attempt thing to the contrary, but that incontinently he shalbe repressed and put to silence. In whiche mater the Kinges Grace desireth you to use all diligence possible, accourding to the singler and speciall trust and confidence that His Grace hathe in you, and as ye perceyve the importance of the matiers necessarily to require.

Fynally, touching the Erle of Angwishe, ye may of newe assure the said King and Quene, that the Kinges Grace woll nothing attempt or do, by hym or his meane, but as the said Quene woll her self have done, ne His Grace ever bare any favour to the said Erle, but for thair sakes. For His Highnes more estemeth the leest thing that may sounde to the honour and contentation of the said yong King and Quene, than 20 tymes thErle of Angwishe. Wherfore she shall not nede to doubte any thing in that matier, but that it shalbe

ordred according to her oune will mynde and pleasure, and as she shall thinke or desire.

And thus ye be sufficiently answerd unto all your said letters, and every thing so conformable to the King and Quene of Scottes desire, that the Kinges Highnes and I trust veraily, by your setting forthe and good conduyt, this matier shal take good and notable effect, whiche shalbe as high an acte for the Kinges honour, the weale of this realme, and the debilitacion and discomfort of thenemye, as can be imagined or divised; like as I doubt not but of your wisedome ye do considre and pondre the same accordingly.

My Lorde, the letters, whiche the Kinge shulde signe, be this mornyng sent unto the courte; not doubting but they shalbe remytted to me again this nyght or to morowe in the mornyng erly. Wherupon the same shalbe sent unto you with al diligence as aperteyneth. Praying you eftsones, that the ereccion of the yong King be not dilayed by any diet to be kept upon the Bordre or other communicacion; for in that pad there lyeth a wad; but that the yong King furthewith set forthe his fote with a convenient garde, til the hole nombre may be provided. And so ons being oute and furthe, he is not in Scotland that shal dare say or doo to the contrary, quia facies principis facies leonis. And the soner he may be brought to Edinburgh the better. For, as ye do wel knowe, being there, he shalbe in good strenght, and nygh to the Erle of Angwish assistence and yours. Thus, remytting the further ordering of this matier to your grete wisedome, I bid you hertily to fare wel, beseching God to sende you good spede in this grete and weighty mater. At my manour of Hamptoncourte, the first day of August.

Your lovyng frende,

(*Signed*) T. Car^lis^ Ebor.

My Lorde, here hathe ben a grete season a servaunt of Sir William Euers to sue for certein wages, deteyned from hym, and certein of his retynue in the garnyson there, by reason of his absence on tyme. I pray you to take the payne to examyne the mater, and to see that he may have that whiche of reason and congruence he oweth to have, with lawfull favour. And eftsones I bid you hertily farewel.

(*Superscribed*)

To my right entierly welbeloved frende the Duke of Norffolk, the Kinges Lieutenaunt in the North parties, Treasorer, and Admirall of England.

L. WOLSEY *to* QUEEN MARGARET.[1]

MADAME, in as humble maner as I can, I recommende me unto Your Grace. Perceyving by tenour of your letters, dated at Edinbourgh the last day of Jully[2], how prudentely, vertuosly, and laudably, Your Grace hath acquited yourself for the erection of the King your son unto his oune gouvernement astate and dignite royal, as your said letters purport more at large: in whiche doing Your Grace hathe deserved grete tankes of God, and honour in the worlde; for the same wel and prudentely continued shalbe, God willing, the cause of preservation of the said Kinges liffe, whiche bifore was in extreme daungier. And suerely, for the tender mynde and love that the King my Master bereth unto his nephiew your said son, more glad tidinges coude not have commen unto His Grace. For, though His Highnes by the same hath no particuler weale and profyte ensuying unto His Grace or Realme, ne ever loked or dothe loke for any suche thing; yet, after the grete charges susteyned by His Highnes for molesting and interrupting those that have adheret to the Duke of Albany and the suspect gouvernement, it is moche to the comfort of His Grace, with his further charge cost studie and helpe, to see that his said nephiew, whom His Highnes of his oune goodnes tendreth asmoche as he were his oune natural son, shall now, God willing, be brought oute of the former dangier that he was in: whiche to be mayntened and deffended to the uttermost with money, men, counsail, or otherwise, shal not lak on this said; as by the experience Your Grace shall dayly more and more perceyve and knowe. And for my parte I have, and shal, put to my hande in suche effectuel wise, that I trust ye shal knowe hereafter I have don and woll do, God willing, som stede and service to your said son and Your Grace, for bothe your honours exaltations and profites.

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[1] From a paper in the British Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 209, entitled, "Copie of my Lord Legates lr̃e to the Quene of Scott℄." It is catalogued with the date 2d of August, which is probably correct.

[2] Queen Margaret and her son left Stirling and went to Edinburgh on the 26th of July (as the date is given by Bishop Lesley in his History of Scotland, p. 129). On the 30th, the Queen, the Chancellor, and many Bishops and Lords, signed an obligation to bear allegiance to King James, with a revocation of their promises to the Duke of Albany, and a renunciation of his authority. The original of this instrument is in the British Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 378, as well as a notarial copy, ibid. 332, both printed by Pinkerton, pp. 473-475. Margaret's letter of the 31st of July, which must have announced these events, does not appear to be extant.

And,

And, where as Your Grace desireth me to be mediatour that nowe som good wayes may be taken for peax, and that if mariage myght be goten on this side and that side, it woll be pleasure to God, and good for bothe the realmes, and a firmyte of kindnes, and then England shulde be siker of Scotland; Madame, there is no living man that for the good of peax dothe, I suppose, more labour and travail, than I have always ben acoustumed to do. And surely I fynde the King my Maister so inclyned to entier love and affection towardes his said nephiew, that I have no maner of doubte, if the defaulte be not on that syde, suche a peax may be had, as never was had with Scotland. For the Kinges Grace intendeth not to come unto any particuler demaundes with his said nephiew, sounding to the prejudice of him or of his realme of Scotland, but His Highnes myndeth so to procede as a moste loving fader wolde do with his good son, and after an other sorte then Kinges of Englande have before tyme done with Kinges of Scotlande. For the proximte of blood is so nere betweuen them, that the natural love over passeth al particuler pretences or demaundes. And bothe the King your son, Your Grace, al the nobles and subgecttes of Scotlande, may be sure to fynde more honour sueretie quietnes weale comfort and profyte at the Kinges my maister hande, then ever they have had, or shal have, of Fraunce, or other region what soever it be. Whiche thinges, Madame, ariseth of no benefyte that the Kinges my Maister desireth or loketh to have of Scotland, but only of his gracious disposicion and entier love towardes his said derest nephiew and Your Grace. And as touching mariage, if the King your son, Your Grace, and the Lordes of Scotland procede directely lovingly and nobly with the Kinges Highnes, it may fortune that suche a maryage may be founde for your said son, as never King of Scottes had the like. Wherfore, Madame, at the reverence of Almighty God loke substancially to the contynuaunce and corroboration of your said son in this his estate royal, according to suche consail as the Kinges Grace geveth you in his letters at this tyme, and as my Lord of Norfolke shal further shew unto you, and let no particuler craft or subornacion empesche the same upon any untrue persuasion or fayned imagynacion. For ye, and all the Lordes of Scotland, may be sure, that other then this is not ment nor intended on this side, ne ever shalbe, that realme doing their parte with demonstracion of love and kindnes accordingly. For whiche purpose auctoritie and commandement is geven to my said Lord of Norfolk to conclude a trieux by see and lande betwene England and Scotland, if it be desireth on your partye. And whensoever the King and Lordes shal sende Ambassadours to the Kinges Highnes to speke of further peax, ye shal fynde this true that I have writen, and that never Ambassadours founde more towardnes

towardnes in a Prince, then they shal in the King my Maister, being seur to be depeched with suche honourable expedicyon, as al Scotland shal have cause to be glad. Wherupon the King my Master woll also sende Ambassadours to his said nephieu for congratulations, and percace either Prince have oratours resident in the others courte continually for better noriching of good love. And making on that side difficulties and doubtes thus to do, Scotland shal never have like oportunite again. Wherefore, Madame, if there be any sedicious persones, that of roted malice or private affection shall geve consail contrary to the erection of your said son, the establishing of peax betwene this two realmes, and the sending of Ambassadours, I assure you he is to be reputed as a mortal enemye unto the King and that realme of Scotland. For which cause I can say no more, but beseche Almighty God to inspyre the grace of the Holy Gost in the mynde of the said yong King, Your Grace, and all the said Lordes; so that the thinges happely bygonne may comme to the desired ende, to the pleasur of God, the weale of paix, and the benefites of bothe the Princes, and their Realmes. Who long preserve Your Grace in contynual prosperous felycite.

LI. King James V. *to* King Henry VIII.

Richt Excellent, Rycht Hie, and Michty Prince, our derrest and richt interlie weilbelovit Uncle, We recommend Ws on to Zow in our maist effectuouse and hertlie maner. Certifying Zow, richt dere Uncle, We ressavit zour letters datit at Greynewiche ye 12 day of Junij, quharby We persave cleirlie ye gret luf, tendir and naturall affectioun, Ze have had and has all tymes to ye surete and weilfair of our persoune, exaltacioun of our estait, and yat Ze will concur with Ws in ye governance of Our self and Realme, gevand on to Ws all requisyte supportacioun, manteinance, and assistance, with diverse gud and vertuise exortacionis and counsalis; of ye quhilkis We thank Zow in our maist hertlie maner.

Richt dere Uncle, We have sadlie and profundlie weyit ye effect of zour said letters, havand ye samyn in every word deiplie prentit in our hart, and fallowand zour entent desyre and counsall as our maist tendir eme, nerest in proximite of blude, and maist speciall freynd, in quhais lawte kyndnes and frendschip We have put all our confidence, has als actyflie with ye help of our derrest Modir takin on Ws ye governance of our Realme, and put Our self to fredome and liberte, expelland all autorite of ye Duke of Albany, undir quhais

governans

governans our Realme and liegis has bene richt evill demanyt; praying Zow, our derrest Uncle, till continew zour gud mynd till Ws, our Realme, and lieges, nocht dowting bot, as We encrese in zeris and vertuise condicionis, We sall equalie encrese in frendschip lawte and kyndnes unto Zow, as our gretest freynd and maist tendir Uncle, fortefyar and supplear of Ws in our tendir aige, and sall reule Ws and our Realme be zour avise and counsall, in syk sort yat Ze sall tak occasioun to encrese dalye in zour help supple and kyndnes on to Ws, zour derrest Nepho, quhilk intendes evir to follow zour counsall. Rycht Excellent, Richt Hie, and Michti Prince, our derrest and richt intirlie weil-belovit Uncle, ye Blissit Trinite haif Zow in his haly preservatioun. Gevin undre our signet, at our Palyse of Edinburgh, ye fyft day of ye moneth of August.[1]

(*Signed*) Your loving Nywo,

JAMES R.

(*Superscribed*)

To ane Richt Hie and Mychty Prince, our derrest and richt inteirlye weilbeluffit Uncle, the King of Ingland, &c.

LII. WOLSEY *to* NORFOLK.[2]

MY Lorde, in my most herty maner I recommende me unto you; lating you wit, that the newes comprised in your letters of the first and 3de daies of August, and in suche other as were than sent oute of Scotland, mencyonyng the yong King of Scottes ereccion unto his oune governaunce and astate, have been to the Kinges singler gladnes and contentacion: trusting that, if nowe the matiers be well and discretely conduyted and ordred by suche as have ben parttakers with the Quene of Scottes in this behalve, the said yong King shalbe so corroborate in the same his astate and governaunce, and the residue of the Lordes spirituall and temperal, by politique meanes, allected or inforced to adhere to the same parte, that the Duke of Albany, knowing therof, shal not dare shewe his visage any more in Scotland; whiche thing to be done, and wise directions to be taken herin, the Kinges Highnes desireth you to helpe and further, aswel by your good avice and counsail to be geven unto the

[1] According to the "Diurnal" the King on Lammas Day (Aug. 1.) desired from all his officers renunciation of their offices and seals, hastily, without any further delay. Wolsey's letter on the receipt of the above is in Vol. I. p. 150.

[2] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 18.

Quene

Quene of Scottes and thErle of Areyn, as ye shal see the cace to require; as also by the spedy establishment of the garde of 200 men at the Kinges charge, with a substancial capitain aboute the said yong Kinges person: whiche, if they maye be chosen of trusty folkes, shalbe oone of the principall thinges that may conferre unto the suertie of this matier. And therfore al possible hast and celerite is to be used therin, and semblably in sending the money to the said King, Quene, Erle of Arayn, and other suche as ye shal thinke good, according to the tenour of my former letters; whiche, thoughe the money, that Robert Lord hathe, be in silver, I trust nevertheles ye woll fynde the meanes, by helpe of my Lord Dacres and other in those parties, to furnishe in golde, till suche tyme as asmoche may be sent unto yow in gold from hens, whiche shalbe done in diligence. And, as it shulde seme, by the letters of the Quene of Scottes nowe sent, thErles of Arayn and Lyneux hathe been verray diligent herin, and hath deserved great thanke and rewarde; wherfore it is the Kinges pleasure, that ye not only geve unto the said Erle of Lyneux a competent rewarde after his desertes, but also, if ye shal thinke the 100£ assigned to thErle of Arayn to be to litle, ye do encreace it to a greatter some, as by your discrecion shalbe thought convenient. For nowe in this begynnyng, oone grote, well employed, shalbe to better purpose than 20 hereafter; and upon demonstracion of liberalite at the begynnyng they shalbe in the better hope, and the gladder to continewe in thair good myndes. It is also to be well considred, what personages have been, and be, of contrarious mynde to this ereccion; amonges whiche it shulde seme the Chaunceler is oon of the principal, who being a man of wit and experience, and that most hath favoured the Duke of Albany, yf good regarde be not had unto hym, he shal percace studye some subtil drift or crafty practise, to the totall disapointment of this matier. And therfore necessary it were, that he in any wise be put to silence for a season, and his auctoritie and estymacion suppressed, either by expulsion of hym from his office, and straite custodye of his body, or by som other sure and politique waye, if those that take the Kinges partie be of powers so to do; in suche wise as he, being a brode, and in auctorite and reputation, do not under some faire colour studye newe displeasures.[1]

Over this, my Lord, I sende you at this tyme the Kinges letters to the

[1] It is stated in the "Diurnal" that on the 22d of August the King made his solemn entry with the lords into the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, with sceptre, crown, and sword of honour; and that the same day James Betoun the Chancellor Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Gawin Dunbar Bishop of Aberdeen, were warded in the castle of Edinburgh, because they would not renounce the seals and subscription made to them before by the Duke of Albany, and the rest of the lords renouncing; wherefore all the kirks of their dioceses were interdicted during their warding.

 said

said King and Quene of Scottes and Erle of Arayn, with oon of myne also to the same Quene, as by the copies of theym, all being herewith, ye shall mow perceyve. Ascertaynyng you, that nowe is the tyme to put theym in all good hope and comfort possible, without resting upon any difficulties, whiche might enduce unto theym a suspicion and jalousye that the Kinges Grace had laboured this ereccion for some pryvate intent and purpose. And therfore, the matiers being in this trayn, the King is contented, al hostylite shal nowe ceace according to His Graces declaracion made in that behalve. For whiche cause I sende you herewith the Kinges commission in ample forme, for ceacing of the said hostilite, as taking a trieux and abstinence of warre by see and by lande with mutuell entercourse; whiche ye shal take for the space of 6, 9, or 12 monethes, condicionally that the said King continewe in his said ereccion, and the Duke of Albany not admitted to any governement ther. In whiche cace, for default of either of theym, the truce incontynently to expire. By vertue wherof ye, and suche other as be in commission with you, may nowe mete with suche personages as the yong King shall auctorise for that pourpose, concluding ther the said trieux frankely and liberallye without any maner of comprehensiones of frendes or alies of either partie. So that Ambassadours, after thexpering of the said trieux, to be sent unto the Kinges Highnes, may, God willing, fynishe and perfite a fynall peax, to the perpetual quiet weale and encreace of bothe realmes. Wherin ye shal put theym in comfort they shal fynde the Kinges Grace as redy to condescende to all reason, as they shalbe to desire; not mynding to require of theym any private thinges to the prejudice of the said yong King, and that realme, but directely to procede unto the perfiting of ferme peax to be established bitwene England and Scotland for ever; and to knyt suche a sure knot of unite bitwene theym, that, God willing, bothe the said yong King, the nobles and subjectes shal fynde a more assured post of England to leane unto for thair honours suerties and proffictes, than ever they have done of Fraunce; and shall have non occasion to seke frendeship or helpe herafter at the Frenchemens or any other Princes handes. And this thing wel imprinted in theym, with the dailly good and kynde demonstrations that they shal fynde in the Kinges Grace, wol cause theym facily to condescende to sende thair honerable Ambassadours to the Kinges Grace at tyme convenient, whan the matiers ther be well stayed setled and brought unto good suertie. Wherof may ensue manyfolde good effectes to the benefite of bothe Princes and thair Realmes hereafter.

And wher as the Quene of Scottes maketh mencion, in her letters to me addressed, of marriage, I have by generall wordes put her in suche good comfort, that she shalbe the more glad to induce the yong King and the resydue

resydue to sende their Ambassadours. And semblably, in your letters to be writen unto her ye may immyxt some suche close sentences, not to playn or open, as she may increase a good opynyon therof. Howe be it, oone thing wolde be towched in your letters, like as I do the semblable in my letters, to the Quene of Scottes, that in the writinges, aswel of the same Quene, as of the Erle of Areyn, they make demonstracion as though that, whiche they do for ereccion of the said yong King and the contynuance of the same, is thing greatly profitable and availeable to Englande; but it were not convenient they shulde remayne upon that fundacion. For that, whiche the Kinges Grace dothe and hath done in this matier, hath alwaies ben only for the suertie of the said yong Kinges person, and for his weale; not for any thing that England loketh to have, or can therby be profited, but for the tender love that the Kinges Grace beireth to the said yong King, and to do therby good to hym and to the realme of Scotland. Which thing therfore wolde be somwhat towched, lest that they shuld thinke they do for the Kinges Highnes, whan the actes of His Grace is oonly for theym, and the profyte therof aryseth to theym selfes.

As to intercepting the Duke of Albany upon the see, inasmuche as victuailes can not be had and provided to set forthe newe shippes in tyme convenient, that enterprise is not to be attempted; for, not being redy in tyme, it were all frustrate and voide. Howe be it, I have taken suche order that the ereccion of the said yong King shal not be unknowne long, neither to hym, ne to the Frenche King. And percace the knowlage therof may cause hym to loke well howe he aventureth to retourne into Scotland; whiche if he do, the said yong King ones wel confermed and setled in his oune governaunce, and suche discrete order taken for his suertie therin, with the garde and other thinges aforemencyoned, can not be but to the same Dukes extreme peril and daunger. And it is thought he shall never dare attempt the same.

Fynally, touching suche instructions as ye have sent unto the Quene of Scottes by Patrike Seyntclere concernyng thErle of Angwishe, if they had not been passed alredy, I wold not have geven my counsail yet to have gone so ferre in that matier. For by the letters of the said Quene, and also of thErle of Arayn, it shulde seme they moche fere, and be adverse as yet hitherto unto that affaire; and to tempt theym to ferre therin, til the said ereccion be wel setled, is thought daungerous and perylous, for suche suspicions as they might conceyve by the same; considering that she writeth, and he bothe, if the Kinges promise be not observed therin, they may and can, whan they wol, undo that that is done, and make thair frendes in other places. Whiche matier is substancially to be regarded, and thErle of Angwishe to be in good

maner conteyned from intromedling for a season; according to the effect of my former letters, and so to be plesantly and doulcely handled, that he conceyve no suspicion therin: whiche by your wisedome ye can wel do accordingly.

And as to the matiers of justice, they must nowe be differred til more leiser; and for that cause it shulde be superfluous to deteyn Swylington ther any lenger, but to loke therunto an other tyme. Lating you wit, that Candishe is this day depeched towardes you with a pece of clothe of tissue, and an other of crymyson tynsel velvet, to be sent unto the King of Scottes. Wherfore, at his arryvall with you, ye may sende him, or suche other as ye shal thinke convenient, to present and deliver the same; by whome ye may write a letter to the said King, shewing hym howe the Kinges Grace sendeth this for a smale remembrance in the begynnyng, and that dailly His Grace wol shewe unto hym suche gratuities, that therby and by other the Kinges doinges he shal wel perceyve and knowe the tendre love and entier favour that the Kinges Highnes beireth unto hym. And in al your doinges I require you to conferme theym al with as good wordes and demonstrations as ye can; for doubteles if this matier may be suerly perfited, it shal appere dailly more and more to be a thing of high moment and importance, necessary to be regarded accordingly. Thus fare ye hertely well. At my maner of Hampton court, &c.

Post scripta. Being redy to depeche thise letters, arrived yours writen at Warkworth the 4th day of this moneth, conteignyng diverse matiers, whiche I assure you be somwhat to the Kinges and my mervaile, and specially that ye have not wel and ripely taken and understonden suche devices communications and letters, as hath passed upon the present charge to you committed. For, wher ye say ye never thought the contrary unto nowe, but that ye shuld have had auctorite sent unto you, the Lord Dacres, and others, to have mete and treated of peax, if the King the Quene and Lordes of Scotland wold have desired the same; I doubt not but that of your great wisedome, ye can wel considre, though ye had never been present at the debating of your charge, as ye were sundry and many tymes and almost at al communications had therof, that it were ferre discrepant from the Kinges honour to have the treaty of peax with Scotland concluded in a diet upon the Borders by Lieutenauntes or Commissyoners to be sent from His Grace; ne it hath been often seen, herd, or red, of suche a thing, but that alwaies the peax of Scotland hath been required by Ambassadours sent unto the Kinges of England. Besides that, if it had been ment or intended, that ye shuld ther have treated and commoned of peax; it is not to be doubted, but that bothe it shuld have been declared unto you, and ye wolde have demaunded som questyon, upon what conditions of peax the Kinges Grace wold rest, or what shuld be the forme and maner of the same,

same, whither the peax shulde be perpetuall or for the 2 Kinges lives, what comprehensions and qualifications the Kinges Grace wolde have in it, with many specialties for matiers of the Borders, enterprise, commyng of Scottes within this realme, and otherwise, whiche were requisite to have been groundely debated and digested bifore your departure, and you not only in writing but in your brest to be riped therin. Over this, if ye had ones herde of suche matiers, it is not to be doubted, but ye wolde have required the assistence of some noble men to be joyned with you therin, and specially of some long robe wel expert in matiers of treatye; whiche was never spoken of til nowe that ye require my Lord of Carlile[1], who is not greatly acquaynted with suche matiers. Wherfore it is no litle mervaile, that ye understonde or thought that ye shuld mete on the Borders with any personages of Scotland for communication of peax. But trouthe it was, that whan ther wer 3 waies devised to be practised, oon in default of an other, for ereccion of the yong King of Scottes, the first thing thought most conducible therunto was, that my Lord Dacres before your commyng shuld practise with the Chaunceler of Scotland, under colour of communication of matiers sounding to the good of peax, to comme unto a diett on the Borders; wherin it was fayned, that the escaping of thErle of Angwishe oute of Fraunce and commyng unto the King was only to be a mediatour for suche a dyett. And this was done, not that suche communication shulde ensue, but for that the Chaunceler of Scotland commyng to the Borders might have been ther intercepted by thErle of Angwish frendes, to thentent the yong King of Scottes might have ben the more facilly erected; who ons erected, the Kinges Grace was content that al hostilite shuld incontinently ceace, and not by any communication of peax that shulde be had bifore upon the Borders. For, if it had been so ment, the other two waies had ben superfluous to have been divised, that is to say, to practise with thother Lordes of Scotland, by promyse of rewardes and otherwise, to drawe theym unto that partie; and that failling, to enterprise the same by strength and force. Which 2 waies implyed a mere contrarytie from communication before upon peax. So as it is great mervaile, my Lord, what shuld lede you to understonde this matier, as ye write; considering ther was never worde spoken in divice sounding like to suche thing, as bothe the Kinges Highnes, and al his Counsail that were present at those communications, have freshely in remembrance.

And, wher as in your last letters ye shewe certain good and raisonable causes, moeving you to thinke that it shalbe hard for the Scottes to be induced to sende Ambassadours to the King, that is to say, thair povertye; the doubt,

[1] John Kite, Bishop of Carlisle.

lest

lest the wisest of theym, having but smale store of suche folkes, wolde be lothe to come awaye in this newe chaunged worlde, fearing displeasures to be done unto theym bifore thair retourne, and the necessite and nede to have the beste sorte redy in the realme to geve thair avice and counsail for resistence of the Duke of Albany if he shuld come; thise 3 thinges be almost fully assoiled in oone clause of the former parte of this letter, whiche is, that a trieux being nowe taken as afore, the Kinges Grace loketh not that they shal so shortely sende their Ambassadours, but that having oone monethes or 2 of leyser, bifore they set forthe, bothe the affaires of Scotland against the Duke of Albany may be in perfite suretie, and consequently good men to be the better spared, and the King of Scottes, of his oune and of the Kinges help, well inough by that tyme furnished for to beire thair reasonable charges. Howe be it, rather than the sending of theym shuld be disapointed for lak of furniture, ye may secretely advertise the Quene ther, that ye could divise some meanes howe in parte thair charges might be defrayed, whiche might remove the difficultye, that might be made by the reason therof. Neverthelas, if for som other great and urgent respectes suche as might be approved here, it shall appere to the Kinges Grace that they can in no wise be induced to sende hither thair Ambassadours, wherin it is thought, if the matier be well set forthe, ther shulde be made no difficultye; His Grace, fynding suche good cause of let, may afterwarde name suche persons to be put in commission and sent thider, as shalbe mete for that pourpose, and thinges may be divised and put in som redines here by avice of the Kinges discrete Counsail, as shall apertain.

As touching thair court of Parliament, and the debating therin of the articles to be proponed on the Kinges parte; ye knowe well, my Lord, it were ferre discrepant from the Kinges honour to require or demaunde articles or conditions of peax of Scotland, and they to dispute theym in thair Parliament; onles than they had first proponed thair requestes to be debated in our Parliament; ne the Kinges Grace myndeth or intendeth to make any suche particuler demaundes, or bring in questyon, in this mynorite of the yong King, any pretences or claymes of superiorite, or other thing, but lovingly plainly and directely to procede unto suche thinges as may be to thestablishment of love peax and unite bitwene bothe realmes; wherin the hope of the Kinges fast frendship, and other demonstrations made, shall more worke than all the debating of pryvate articles or demaundes in thair Parliament. In the whiche it is necessary you geve theym right large comfort and corage, excluding oute of thair myndes all suspicions, whiche they might conceyve, that the Kinges Highnes meaneth som thing to his oune particler benefite or profite; whiche ye wel knowe His Grace doth not, ne intendeth to do, that this tyme; lest by the meanes therof they shulde more facilly falle into the devocion of Fraunce, making

making novissimum errorem pejorem priori, but only by this meanes to conserve and defende the said yong King, expelle the Duke of Albany, and to wynne the Scottes by good dedes to thair weale and profite, from the faccion of Fraunce. And to enterprise any suche mater, affore that were substancially done, it were daungerous and perelous.

And to the reaport brought unto you oute of Scotland of the newe besines begonne ther by mean of the Chaunceler, I ever feared, lest he, being in auctorite, shulde do some empechment in this matier; and over moche mocion made for thErle of Angwishe may induce a great suspicion, bothe unto the Quene of Scottes, and also thErle of Areyn. Wherfore great circumspeccion is to be used therin, and ye to have good regarde what ye do in that behalf; for I feare me that your instructions sent by Patrick Sentclere hath done no good, not for any unreasonable thing therin comprised, for they be aswel cowched and to as good pourpose as may be, but for that the said Quene and Erle, being so extremely bent again thErle of Angwishe, shal fere that speking a litle in his favour at the begynnyng, and or ever the matiers of the yong King be in perfite stay, ye wold make moche more sore labour in his cause whan every thing is in suertie, and that thErle of Areyn can not empeche the same. And this was the cause that in my former letters I alwaies desired you to entertayn the Quene with good wordes and dedes; and nevertheles so to procede with thErle of Angwishe, that neither he shuld empeche or do hurt to this matier, be in any suspeccion of unkindnes hym self, ne totally to grounde you upon the said Quenes doinges, but to have 2 stringes to your bowe, specially whan the oone is wrought with a womans fingers. Wherfore, in what cace that matier nowe stondeth, or what is to be done therwith, ye can not be instructed from hens, otherwise but that the Kinges Highnes and I desire you, for no pleasure of thErle of Angwishe, to do thing that may empeche this matier; but so by good polycye to handle hym, that if the matier be in good trayn without hym, he do nothing to the empairing therof for a while: and, if ther be any newe alteration ensued, than to take suche waies as ye, knowing the certeinte of thaffaires, shal by the avice of the Lord Dacres thinke expedient. And ye may put thErle of Angwishe in comfort, that this is done for a polycye, til suche tyme as the thinges be in better perfeccion. Wherupon ye doubt not but the waies shalbe taken for reconciling of the Quenes favour towardes hym, and pacification of al variances bitwene hym and the said Erle of Areyn. Howe be it, as to the combynyng of the Chaunceler and thErle of Angwish in love and concorde, if the Quenes practise be not impeched, but go forthe, ther is a great daungier in attempting that matier. Wherfore I require you to have

special

special regarde therunto, and not to procede to ferre in suche newe enterprises, totally discrepant from the olde, onles than ye may perceive by reason of newe trouble and alteracion of the Quene and thErle of Arayn, and that upon stedfast and no light grounde or reaport, urgent necessite so to do.

And, my Lord, albeit ye make some doleance in your letters, aswel for lak of comission, as instructions in this weighty matier, wherunto ye be entred; I suppose it was rather upon some trouble of mynde and successe of some contrarious thing, than upon any good cause or grounde. For, if ye considre, and call to remembrance aswel the contentes of your instructions, as suche other letters as have ben sent unto you, from tyme to tyme, sens your departure hens, ye have neither cause to complain of lak of diligence in making answer to your letters and charge, ne also of ample declaration of the Kinges mynde concernyng the same; onles ye wold have some other thing, than as yet any thought hath ben had of here. Wherin expressly declaring your mynd, ye shalbe advertised of the Kinges pleasure accordingly.

Fynally, to thentent ye, proceding to the conclusion of a trieux, may be the better furnished of assistence, my Lord of Carlile is joyned with you also in commission for that pourpose, as by the same comission, whiche I sende you herewith, ye shal mowe perceyve more at large; ascerteynyng you, that I see not apparance, howe suche shippes as ye write of may be sent out of the Narrow Sees. Wherfore the Kinges Grace requireth you to take as good order as may be possible for the conduyting and suertie of the Iseland flete, and that whiche may be done here shalbe experymented for the better strenghting of the Kinges shippes there, as the cace shall require. I send you also herewith a letter to the Chauncler of Scotland, with a copy of the same. And thus hertely fare you well. At my Maner of Hamptoncourt, the 9th day of August.

Your lovyng frende,

(*Signed*) T. Carlis Ebor.

LIII. Wolsey *to* Norfolk.[1]

My Lord, I commende me unto you in my most herty maner. I have receyved your letters dated at Berwike the 7th day of this instant moneth, with sundry letters articles and other writinges sent unto you from the Quene of

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B.I. leaf 326.

Scottes,

Scottes, oon letter of the yong King of Scottes directed unto the Kinges Highnes, and oon to you from thErle of Areyn, with the copies of certain answers by you made to the said Quene. All whiche I have shewed red and declared unto the Kinges Grace, who I assure you taketh right acceptably and thankfully the kinde and loving letter of his derest nephieu the said yong King, being so well cowched, and to so good purpose, that veraily it hathe moche confermed the Kinges tendre and benevolent mynde towardes hym. His Grace and I like well also the instrument of the fidelite promyse and othe, made unto the said yong King by sundry of his Lordes and other noble men spiritual and temporal; from the whiche non of theym can declyne without thair extreme dishonour shame and reproche; perceyving wel that the Quene of Scottes hathe verray discretely prudently and substancially acquited her self herin: for the which she deserveth great laude and thanke, like as bothe the Kinges Highnes and I, by our letters sent unto her at this tyme, the copies wherof ye shal receyve herewith, do give her thankes accordingly. Whiche letters, with other suche as be nowe also sent, that is to say, on from the Kinges Grace to the King of Scottes, an other to the Lordes spirituall and temperal of Scotland that have taken the Quenes parte in this ereccion, and on of myn to the Chaunceler of Scotland; the copies wherof, with an answer subscribed by me to the Quene of Scottes said articles, I also sende unto you herwith; shalbe a good riping and information to you for knowlaige of the Kinges mynde and pleasure in those affaires. And by my last letters to you addressed I doubt not but ye perceyved moche of the same; knowing therbye howe to order yourself in sundry thinges, wherof ye were in doubt at the depeche of thise your last letters; so as ther is the lesse to be writen unto you at this tyme: praying you, that with al diligence upon receipt hereof, ye wol sende the said letters to the King and Quene of Scottes, the Bishop of Saint Andrewes, and also the letter to the Lordes in generall, and thanswer of the articles, all to the Quene of Scottes hand, with copies of my letter to the said Bishop, and of the Kinges letter to the Lordes; to thentent she may cause theym to be delivered as shal aperteyn.

And, my Lord, it appereth aswel by your letters to me nowe sent, as by the copies of suche as ye write unto the Quene of Scottes, that ye moche do labour and procure to reconsile thErle of Angwishe unto the Quene of Scottes favour, and to make a concorde bitwene thErle of Areyn and hym, and also that ye have sett forthe some practise to knyt the late Chaunceler of Scotland and thErle of Angwish in good love and intelligence to geders; whiche matiers be taken here to be of an other consequence than ye suppose, and that your labour made therin might right well have been forborne. For astouching the

reconciling of thErle of Angwishe to the Quene of Scottes favour, ye have seen evidently, by diverse of her letters, her peremptory answers made in that behalve, with wordes sounding to commynacion, that she and thErle of Arayne wol rather seke theym other waies and frendes, than ever be agred with hym. On thother partie, being the King of Scottes nowe erected, ye may wel thinke that the Quene of Scottes and the said Erle of Arayn wol and do loke to have the chief governement aboute hym; and if thErle of Angwishe were in Scotland, they thinke percace he wolde loke the Quene his wife shuld be somwhat ordred by hym; whiche if she were, shulde sounde to the dymynucion of thErle of Arayns auctorite, and might cause hym to fall in with the adverse partie. Wherfore verray daungerous it is to prece theym to ferre, as yet hitherto, in thErle of Angwishe causes, but rather to put theym in comfort, as the Kinges Grace and I have alwaies done, that nothing shalbe desired or required towching thErle of Angwishe, but as shal stande with the said Quenes good pleasure and contentment; wherin the wordes by you writen to the said Quene, that it coude not stonde with the Kinges honour to deteyn hym long here, and that at lengthe he must come into Scotland, might have been forborne. Besides this, if the Bishop of Saint Andrewes continewe in his perverse and contrarious mynde to this ereccion, ther were not a greatter polycye for hym to compasse his purpose, than, seing thErle of Arayn of great strengthe, to wynne unto his side the Erle of Angwishe under some faire demonstracion; who either wolde loke to order the Quene his wife as is aforesaid, and consequently cause thErle of Arayn to forsake that parte, orelles by circumvencion of the said Bishop, thErle of Angwishe shulde be glad to joyne with hym; whiche, to geders with thair frendes, might make a bande to do thair pleasure. Furthermore the Quene of Scottes, perceyving that ye go aboute so effectuelly to make a concorde with thErles of Arayn and Angwishe, and to prece her to the said reconciliacion, shall percace take it so displeasantly, that she may be discoraged in contynuyng her fast mynde for the perfite corroboracion of this ereccion, and to studye some other practise contrary to the Kinges purpose. And finally it shalbe founde a thing right difficile to make a good concorde bitwene thErles of Arayn and Angwishe, considering that thErle of Angwishe slewe Sir Patrike Hamelton, brother to the said Erle of Arayn, his oune handes[1], intending also to have killed hym if he coude; whiche mortall hatred, roted and imprinted in his hert, shalbe herd

[1] On the last day of April 1520. See Lesley's History of Scotland, p. 115. The Diurnal, p. 7. There is some doubt whether Sir Patrick was the legitimate, or the illegitimate, brother of Arran which is discussed by Pinkerton in a note to Vol. II. p. 45.

to

to be removed. And therfore, in avoiding the total empeching and disapointment of the said ereccion, the Kinges pleasure is that ye no further procede in setting forthe, either with the Quene of Scottes, thErle of Arayn, or the Bishop of Saint Andrewes, any of the said practises, til the matiers be in more perfite and sure establishement; but that, by your letters to the Quene of Scottes, ye wol make semblance to geve up your sute and labour in that behalve. And, to thentent thErle of Angwishe shal not take it unkindly, ye may be playn with hym in good maner, saying that ye perceive well the yong King of Scottes is not yet so perfitely established in his oune astate and governement, but that, if good policye be not used and his parttakers doulcely handled, suche practises be set forthe, that the same may be again totally defeated and disapointed, and specially by the meanes of the Bishop of Saint Andrewes; who, being a wise and an expert man, and of the Duke of Albanyes faccion, studyeth to empeche the same asmoche as he may. For whiche cause thinges be divised, howe to remove that inconvenient, and that by on way or other the said Bishop may be so ordred, as he shal not hurt this matier; the doing wherof, and to bring it unto assured perfeccion, wol require some tracte of tyme, and the Quene and Erle of Arayn for a season not to be over ferre preced, lest that therby all the hole entreprise shulde be totally subverted, and the yong King of Scottes of newe brought into the Duke of Albanys tutele and governement. Whiche ye may say the Kinges Grace is sure the said Erle of Angwishe wolde be as lothe to see or to be occasion of, as any lyving man. And therfore, to thentent provysion may be substancially made for thise 2 thinges, that is to say, for an order to be taken by on way or other that the Bishop of Saint Andrewes shal not do hurt unto this matier, and for the sure and perfite establishement of the yong King in his said astate and governement without doubt or feare of any newe alteracion, it shal accorde with high wisedome, and to the most suertie and benefite of the said Erle of Angwishe, that he forbeire for a season his intromedle or repaire into Scotland: and taking some pacience for a tyme, the said Bishop ones either removed or made sure, and the yong King more fermely corroborate in his said governement, the matiers may so be wrought with the Quene of Scottes, that the said Erle shall not doubt to come into Scotland with moche more honour, estymacion, commodite, proffite, and suertie, than he shulde nowe do, or than ever he had within the same; wher as if he shulde nowe attempt his going thider, not oonly it might be to his oune daunger, but also to the clere subversion of all thenterprises nowe being in good trayn. Wherfore ye shall say unto hym, the Kinges Grace hathe divised, for conservacion of the said Erles honour, that he, making semblance and demonstracion to have certain thinges to be treated and spoken of with

the Kinges Grace and his Counsail, touching the componyng of the matiers of England and Scotland, were best to repaire hither again unto the Kinges court; considring that his lying upon the Borders can not be to the encreace of his honour. And, to be playn with you, itt shalbe daungerous for his escaping awaye, and being here a smale tyme, and peraventure put in the comission as Ambassadour from the King of Scottes to the Kinges Grace for treaty of peax, he shal mowe retourne, and have his causes so componed, that it shal, God willing, be highly to his contentacion. Thus ye may, by this dulce and good waye, allect and avice hym to repaire hither by smale journeys, and to thinke that this divice shalbe most to his honour suertie and purpose; as doubteles I trust it shalbe. Howe be it, if ye may perceyve, that he wol in no wise be aggreable therunto, in thende ther may be no remedy, but by as good maner as may be he must be deteyned in England, till we may see the further successes of thise matiers.

Your lovyng frende,

(*Signed*) T. Car[lis] Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)
To my right entierly welbeloved frende, the Duke of Norfolk, the Kinges Lieutenaunt in the North parties, Treasurer and Admiral of England.

LIV. Wolsey *to* Norfolk.[1]

My Lord. I have receyved your letters, written, as ye do say, at Barwike in grete haste the 12th day of August, the contentes wherof I have shewed unto the Kynges Highnes at good laysour, and His Grace with his Counsaile hath right well and profundely considered and digested the contentes of the same. And after that every thing conteyned in your said letters hath byn from poynte to poynte debated and wel considred, it hath bene thought that, by suche letters as were sent unto you by the last poste, ye be perfitely and fully instructed of the Kinges mynde opinion and pleasour of and upon all such thinges as be conteyned in your said letters. And the Kinges Grace thinketh that it shulde be right dangerous and perilous to the affayres there, that any newe resolucion shulde be taken here, upon light imaginacions reportes and surmyses, unto such tyme as he were advertised, howe his last letters and instructions, aswel to the Kyng, the Quene, and such Lordes as be partakers and aydant to the Kinges

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 353.

erection,

erection, wherin His Grace moste amply declarith his mynde, be accepted and taken. For by the same there be thinges set furth, not onely for puttyng of the noble men of Scotland in parfite assuraunce of the Kynges benevolence, assistence, with puyssance counsaile and ayde for the mayntenaunce increase and supportacion of their yong Kyng in his astate and auctorite royal, but also ways and meanes devised to cause the Chaunceler to be sent hither in ambassade; by meane wherof he myght by good offres be drawen into the Kinges parte and devotion, orels be deteyned here, ne noceat ibi. Which is thought here to the King and his Counsaile a more surer and honeste way for conducyng of al thinges to the desired ende, then to attempte the same by the meanes of the Erle of Angwisshe, whois procedinges (he beyng in Scotland) be doubteful. And moche as it is to be suspected and foreseen, that, if he by no meanes can be reconciled unto the Quene, he shal percase fall in with the Chaunceler, and consequently make his ways with the Duc of Albany. Wherof what dangier may ensue unto the said yong King and his partakers, the Kinges Highnes doubtith not but ye can facilly consider. Neverthelesse, after ye shalbe advertised howe the Kinges said instructions letters and offres shalbe accepted and taken, and that ye shal undirstonde that therby no such regard shalbe had, as myght be, to the unite of these two realmes, ne disseveryng theym fro France, or the contynuance and the establisshement of the said yong King in his auctorite roial, or that it shalbe perceyved that the Quene do not honorably wisely discretely kyndely and vertuously ordre her self; then and in that case, and not before for any avauntes of frendship or power made by thErle of Anguyshe or his partetakers, the practise of subduying the Chaunceler, thempeching of the Quene, and thErle of Arayns orderyng of the affayres aboutes the Kinges person, is not to be experymented nor attempted. For sythyns, by the Quenys and thErle of Arrayns meanes, the King is erected to his astate royal, onlesse that upon probable and substancial groundes the same myght not or were in perill to continue; to immyxte any other practise by thErle of Angwisshe or otherwise, it shulde not be onely to the arysyng and suscitacion of greate strife and debate, whereby the Duc of Albany commyng into Scotland shulde and myght undoubtidly subverte casse and annulle al thinges hitherto done concernyng the said yong Kinges erection, but also utterly disapointe all good thinges hitherto avaunced and set forward for corroboracion of good amitie betwene these two realmes, adeo ut novissima erunt pejora prioribus. Wherunto the Kinges Grace desireth you to have a special regard, and not to innovate newe thinges, the sequele wherof is doubteful, unto such tyme as it may appere that no good effecte can ensue of the former practises devises letters and instructions set forth by His Grace. And, my

my Lord, it is thoughte here, though of your greate wisedome ye can right wel forese the same, that ye shulde have a speciall regarde to the light reaportes of the Borderers; which, not mynding the good of peaxe, contryvith and imagynyth, from tyme to tyme, such thinges as may serve to their purpose and enriching of theym selfes, and not to the unite and good accorde of both the realmes. And so fynally, my Lorde, the King undoubtidly trustith, that an abstinence taken, by vertue of the commission lately sent unto you, for 6, 9, or 12 monethes, and by your good dexterite the Lordes of Scotland induced to sende honorable Ambassadours hither to the Kinges Highnes for further treating of peaxe, such good ways shalbe taken, God willyng, that the greate scrupullys and doubtfulnes, wherin ye nowe remayne, shal not onely be utterly removed, but also such good peaxe shalbe concluded betwixt these two realmes, as shalbe to the highe honour of both Princes, welth profite and commodite of their realmes and subjectes. And also right expedient shal it be, that ye pondre the cause of my tendre writyng to the Chaunceler; whiche, to be playne with you, is not to avaunce his auctorite, or for any love truste or credite that the King or I berith towardes hym; but feryng lesse that the Quene, and such as have taken parte with her in the erection of the yong Kyng, be not of power and puyssance utterly to subdue the said Chaunceler; nor also, whither the Erle of Angwyshe wolde, myght, or wer hable to do the same, is certeynly knowen. Therfor I have written suche kynde letters to hym, to allecte induce and trayne hym to comme hither in ambassiate for conclusion of peaxe betwene both realmes; which doyng, experience may be made to gete and wynne hym into the Kinges devotion; or, that not atteyned, at the lest he may be kept here, wherby he shal do no hurte there. And this is the cause onely of my pleasaunt writyng to hym; wher, if the meanes myght be founde to set hym up in somme straite custodie, amoving and expellyng hym from al auctorite and doyng there, it shulde be more acceptable to the King to have it done to day then to morowe. And in that cas no suche sending of hym hither in ambassade ys to be experimented or requysyt. And thus hartely fare ye wel. At Hampton Courte, the 19th day of August.

Your lovyng frende,

(*Signed*) T. Car^lis^ Ebor.

(*Superscribed*)

To my hartely and entierly welbiloved friende the Duke of Northfolk, the Kinges Lieutenaunte in the North parties, Treasorer, and Admyral of England.

LV. The Lords of Scotland *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

To the Right Excellent Right Highe and Mighty Prince the King of Einglandes Highnes.

Right Hie, Right Excellent, and Right Mighty Prince, we recomende our lawfull service unto Your Hienes in our mooste hartly maner, certifying the same we have resseived your kinde, tender, and loving letters dated at your maner of Oking the 15 day of Auguste, wherby we perceive cleirly the hartlie affection good will and perfyte love Your Hienes beris to the suretie of our Sovereine your derrest nephieu, establisshing of this his Realme, exaltation of his auctoritie and dignitie royall, and to supporte aide and supplie with all good counsaill assistance and liberalite not onely His Hienes, but aswell us his trewe subjectes, with money and divers holsom exortations, right swete and faire promisses, like as moore at lenght is specified in your said writtinges ; of the whiche we thanke Your Hienes right hartely.

Right hie, right excellent, and right mighty Prince, we doubte not but naturall love and tendre zeall rooted upon the neirnes and conjunction of blood, standing nowe betwixe Your Hienes and our said Soveraine and Maister, moves and compelles Your Hienes to shewe and manifeste the inwarde affection of your harte, whiche of reason accordeth well to the honour and nobilnes of your hie estate ; considering the unyte and conjunction forsaid, our said Maister and Soveraine being your derrest nephieu, and [*of so*] tendre age that never as yet ded offence, concurrande therto the great strength that may attein and arise to Your Hienes by our said Soveraines exaltation suretie and welfare. Assuring Youe, right excellent and right mighty Prince, that we, wham naturall love lawte and faithe abandones therto, shall constantlie indever our selves with our bodies and goodes, all hope, dreid, unkyndlie love, or rewarde dispysed and amoved, to procure and forse the suretie weale and prosperite of our said Soveraine and Maister ; in whoos good suretes honour and dignitie lyeth all our weale, libertie, and eas ; and be the contrarye apperand bondaige, perell, daungier, and greate adversite. Praying Your Hienes, seing our Soveraine your derrest nephieu of tendre aige, indewed with all buetie and vertuouse that longeth unto any yong Prince, eiked therto the greate love and maternall affection he beris unto the

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. VII. leaf 15. Copy in the handwriting of Magnus, probably that inclosed in the letter of the 15th of November from him and Radclyff.

Quenes

Quenes Grace your derrest suster, our Soveraine Lordes moder, her merites and wisdom soe deservyng, to effectuouslie execute your said writtinges. And if your deides have bene heirtofore noysom unto this Realme, throwe occasion specified in your said writtinges, nowe ceassing, from hennesfurthe thay may be commodious proffitable and honourable to our said Soveraine your mooste tendre nephieu, us, and this his Realme: wharthrowe all cristin Princes may perfitlie understande esteme and prise Your Hienes to be a veray frende unto your derrest nephieu our Soveraine, and his Realme, accoording to the neirnes and unyon of blood; wharthorowe we may take occasion to nures mutuall amitie kindenes and lawte betwene Youres and His Hienes to the perpetuall weale and good publique of bothe the Realmes, whiche we shall not faill to doe for our part with the support counsaill and assistance of Your Hienes, and to rendre all hert, lefull service, steide, and pleasure, that lyeth in our power. Right Excellent, Right Highe, and Mighty Prince, the Blessed Trinitie have youe in His holy tuition. Geven undre our said Soveraine Lordes Signet, with our manuall subscription. At the Palice of Edinburghe.

LVI. Thyr ar ye ARTIKILLIS send be me, MARGARET YE QUENE OF SCOTTIS, to ye KINGIS GRACE, my broder.[1]

In ye fyrst, I humle thank ye Kingis Grace my broder of ye greyt fawour and kyndnes yat he hes schawyne to ye Kynge my sone and Me, and of ye present yat His Grace send to ye Kyng my sone at this tyme, with odyris help and supple in our cawse and quarellis; besekynne His Grace to contynew in gud mynd towart Ws, and We one our part sall mak ye best cawse We cane to His Grace.

In ye secund, to schawe His Grace how and in quhat maner We haf downe in this Parliament, and yat ye Kyng my sone is put to his stayt and governans be all his Lordis and Barrowns wyth his Prelattis and Commouns, accept ye Bischepe of Sanctandros and ye Bischep of Abirdene[2], ye Duk of Albonye

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1 From the British Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 218.

2 The Archbishop of St. Andrews signed the bond of allegiance, the Bishop of Aberdeen did not. They were both put in custody, according to the "Diurnal," on the 22d of August. A suspicion may be entertained, from what is here stated, and from the position of Betoun's signature, that it was added afterwards.

dischargit

dischargit of his actorite, and ane ak of Parliament mayd yerapone.[1] And this to be consyderit, howe I and my part tackeris hes downe in this behalf.

To the thryd, yat ye Kyngis Grace my broder writtyngis woise present to ye Kyng my sone, wyth ane odyr writtyng to ye Lordis, quhilk woise thankefulle tane wyth, and weyl lukyt apone ye sammyn in ewery pynt, and ansuer maid in yat behalf to ye Kyngis Grace my broder be ye Lordes of Consell; of quhilk letter I hafe gyffyne ye copye to my Lord of Norfokis serwand.[2]

To ye fowrt, schawyne yat I haf lauborit at al ye Lordis to kenne thar myndis towart ye peyse betuext Ingland and Scotland, and gyf thay desyr ye samen to be brocht to peyse; quhar in thay haf ansuerit as followse.

Thay haf ordand yat in ye tyme of his abstinens for 15 dayse, that ye Erll of Cassyllis, ye Lard Balwerye, Master Adame Ottyrburne[3], to pas apone Fryday ye secund day of September to sic ane place as wilbe thocht expedient one bayth ye sydis, to commone wyth my Lord Akyris, or odyris as plesit my Lord of Norfok, and wyth thame to bryng yar artykyllis and desyris of ye Lordis behalf to commone and agre one all pyntis, and yarapone to send yar Inbassatouris to His Grace, and this to be downe wyth in ye tyme of this trewise takyne be this Lord, quhilk wilbe desyrit bayth be se and land for thre or fowr monetht, quhar in it is gud to tak ane gud wyisment.

Fyrst, the Lordis of Scotland desyris mariagis betuext ye Kyngis Grace my broder dochtthyr and ye Kyng my sone his newo, and apone that desiris ye Kingis Greit Seyll, and al ye Lordis of Ingland selis, and yat to be aprewit in yer Parliament.

In the secund, thay desyrit, he haffand hyr in mareagis, yat he be pronuncit secund persone of yat Realm, and to assyng landis, as pertenis to ye Prynce of yat Realm, to be ansuerit to hyme.

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[1] In the published Acts this Parliament is stated to have begun on the 14th of November. The Act for secluding Albany from his tutory and governance, and declaring the King to have the full rule of his Realme, is the second.

[2] In the Museum are several letters about this time to Norfolk from his servant William Halls, all from Edinburgh. Caligula, B. III. leaves 80, 96.

[3] Their commission, which is printed by Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 20, is dated the 30th of August; and an abstinence of war, until the 1st of December, was concluded at Berwick on the 4th of September, ibid. 21. Caligula, B. I. leaf 47, is a paper containing an imperfect decypher of three letters from Gonzolles the captain of Dunbar to Albany, dated the 3d, 5th, and 6th of September. The original cypher was probably intercepted. In the first he informed the Duke of what had passed in the Parliament, of the arrest of Betoun and Dunbar, and of the mission to Berwick; in the second, of the conclusion of the truce, and of Angus's return to the English court. From this paper it appears that Gonzolles was in communication with the Chancellor.

The thryd, ye Lordis desyris, falzeyng of this, yat, gyf it plesit God to send Hes Grace ane Prynce, that in recompens of yat he is put fra, yat he gyf ye Kyng my sone Berweyk, wyth landis yat is in threype betuext Ingland and Scotland, and yat ye samyn may be ye Kyng my sone wyth ane competand sertane monye.

Thyr is ye desyris of ye Lordis in speciall, as aperis weyl be copye of ye artykylis closit wyth in this; and my desyris followis be ane odyr vrittyn closit yer in.

In ye fyrst, quhar my Lord Cardinall desyris Me in his artikellis, that I suld advertise hyme quhat I thynk best to be gyffyne to yame yat takyth our part; as to yat I thank ye Kingis Grace and my Lord Cardinall yat it is referrit to Me, bot I consyder yat His Grace hes mekil a do, and yerfor I cane nocht dewyse ye sammyn bot at his plesour.

I thynk yat my Lord of Arane suld be honorable rewardit, for wyth out hyme I cud nocht adowne it yat I haf downe. Quhafor I wald beseik Hes Grace, gyf it be his plesour, to gyf my Lord of Arane the color of ye Ordor of Ingland, and ane pencione, for yat as is ye costome; quhilk is rycht honorabill, and hes nowe ye Order of France, and ane pencione to yat of 9 hundreth francis. Yerfor consider this as plesis His Grace, bot sic as this to be downe wil hald in odyr greitter expensis to His Grace.

Alsua, gyf it plesis His Grace to send me ane certane of monye to gyf sic Lordis as takys my part, and as I thynk deserwit, quhilk salbe to His Grace honor and to our weyl and profet, as is at more lyncht I haf writtyne ye nemmes of ye Lordis quhilk ar wryt in thyr artikelis.

Alsua I desyr to knawe ye Kingis plesour tuechyne ye Bischep of Sanctandrose and ye Bischep of Abyrdene, and in quhat schort I sal do, consyderyne they ar in handis; and speciale of ye Bischep of Sanctandrose[1], for I haf downe

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[1] Caligula, B. I. leaf 222. contains a copy of a resolution of certain Scottish lords against the Archbishop:

"Memorandum. Ane supplicatioune be maide to ye Papis Halynes, makand mentioune how "James Archbischop of Sanctander has committit crymes of tresoune and lese majeste agane the "King of Scottis and his realme, and as is surlie informit and understand, ye said Archbischop of "Sanctander, for acomplesing and fulfilling of his perversit tresonable mynd and dewise, intendit and "solistit insurrectioune and brek within ye haile realme of Scotland, and to have maid and gevin "occasioun of battaile agane ye King and his auctorite, swa yat he, with uyeris his complicis con-"spiratouris agane ye King and comoune weil of his realme, micht have dominatioun and auctorite "aboune and aganis ye King, and his trew Barrounis and liegis. And, give ye said Arbischop had "failzeit in completing of his said perverst cruel and dampnable opinion, he purposit to depart "furtht of ye realme acompanyit with certaine uyeris conspiratouris his complicis, to yat effect yat "he micht be his policie and menys solist sum gret partie in contrair ye King, his realme, and "commoun

downe mayr for hyme, no ony oder. I culd newyr haf his gud wyl, bot ewyr did Me ye displesour yat he mycht; and I ame swyr he wall do, and ewer it be in his powar. Yarfor I refer Me to His Grace.

Alsua, twechyne ye monye yat His Grace hes gyffyne to ye Kyng my sone to furnes twa hundreth menne abowt his persone, We thank His Grace humlie of ye sammyn, for it hes downe Ws greit plesour and profet, and hes lattyt ewyl to be downe, yat wald abeyne downe. Besekynne heyr His Grace herfor yat He wil command that it be furnest, quhill our materis be at ane surer pynt, quhilk ar nocht as zit. For thar is dywerse Lordis yat beleiffis yat the Duk of Albonye sal cum, and for yat cawse wald nocht consent yat ye ak, yat woyse maid in

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" commoun weil yerof, to ye apperand distructioune of ye sammyn. For ye quhilkis causses ye " King and Estatis of his realme has causit act, and hald ye said Archbischop in ane castell surlie, " unto ye tyme ye Papis Halynes may be advertist yairof.

" Herefor desyring ane Legat with speciale commissioune be send in Scotland to proceid agane " ye said Archbischop for ye saides crymes, and uyeris of lese majeste committit be him agane ye " King and his realme, and in safer as he salbe accusit and convict, to punys him conforme to his " demeritis efter ye tenour of ye commoun law: and with power in ye said commissione to proceid " agains all uyeris kyrkmen, als weil religious as seculare, within ye said realme, in safer as yai may " be accusit of crymes of lese majeste or uyeris committit be ony of yaim incontraire ye King his " realme or commoun weil yairof, and incontraire ye statutis of halykyrk and commoun law, and " apprevit consuetude and reformatioun to be maid yairfor as efferis.

" Item to desyr ane declaratour of ye Papis, yat throw takin and haldin of ye said Bischop, ye " King his Counsaile and part takaris in ye caiss foresaid incurrit na maner of censuris of halykyrk, " and yat it suld be na causs of cursing nor interdictioun; and inlykwise yat in al tyme cumin it " salbe lefull to ye King to tak and hald Bischoppis and uyeris kyrkmen, delatit of crymes of lese " majeste, unto ye tyme ye Papis Halynes may be advertist yairof, or yai presentit to ye Juge Spi- " rituale, competent as efferis, without ony danger of cursing interdictioun or uyer censuris of " halykyrk ony maner of way."

[Sewn on to the above is the following Schedule.]

" Thir air ye Lordis ondir writin, yat has gevin thair special bandis to ye Quhenis Grace, " na person exceppit.

" The Erll of Arrane.
" The Erll of Murray.
" The Erll of Lennox.
" The Erll of Egglentoun.
" ~~The Erll of Glencarne.~~
" The Erll of Cassillis.

" The Lord Maxvall.
" The Lord Glammis.
" The Lord Awindall.
" The Lord Levingstoun.
" The Lord Sympill
" The Lord Halkat.
" The Lord Symmerfill."

Parliament nowe, suld be pronuncit, quhil Sanct Gelis day be past, and yat woyse ye day of his promyt to cum. Yerfor it is neidfull to mak Ws stark, quhil We be surer of ye Lordes.

I thynk to ye rameid of this to prowyd, gyf ye Duk of Albonye cumis in Scotland, to mak hyme ane debar, and yat I thynk is to His Grace to writ to my Lord of Arane, desyryne hyme yat he, and thay yat wil tak my part and his, sal mak His Grace swrte and promes be yar writtyngis yat thay will byid fermle ye Kyng my sone and Me agane ye Duk of Albonye and al odyris, and yat Zour Grace will gyf zour said writtyne in speciall to ye said Erl Arane and all our part takeris, and yat Ze wil defend hyme, and yame that takys our part agennis all odyris in Scotland, eftyr ye Kyng my son. And this to be sent to Me wyth deligens, and this wilbe ane greyt stryncht to ye Kyng my sone, and ane greit partye contrar ye Duk of Albonye, and wilbe steddabill to His Grace.

Alsua it is to be consyderit that, and I had nocht maid greyt deligens to brek ye Lordis, ye Kyngis Grace my Broder wald haf maid greit expensis and cummer, mayr thanne he wil haf nowe, seane ye cast yat I haf brocht it to. Quharfor yar is consideratioune to be had yar in, and I trost yat His Grace will help ye Kyng my sone and Me, as his writtyngis beris at lyncht, quhar in We gyf ferme credens.

Alsua it is to be considerit, yat sic greit materis cane nocht be brocht to payse wyth owt greit trawall and cost, and I haf none odyr to charge bot His Grace, and for yat he sal haf ye Kyng my son and Me.

Alsua it is to be considerit yat in awentur, gyf ye Duk of Albonye cum in Scotland, yat I may be swyr of tenne thowsand menne or may, to tak my part, and to be redde quhen I wil charge thame; and gyf it be nocht, ye Kyng my sone and Me wilbe in greit danger and ye Cynsall of this realm. And in kese yat ye Lordis of Scotland wald be agannis Me, beane swr of peyse betuext Ingland and Scotland, and will nocht suffer Me to be as pryncipall wyth ye Kyng my sone, I haf nane odyr refugis nor help bot Zour Grace; and gyf I get tribill, it is for zour sayk yat I rewl Me be Zour Grace.

Quharfor I desyr ye Kyngis Grace, quhat ewyr happyns Me, yat I may be swr quhat I sall trast to my part tackeris, and gyf I sal nocht be welcum in Ingland, and weil tretit. And this I desyr to be assurit of His Grace.

Alsua it is to be weyl lukit apone ye cumeyne of this Lord, yat cumis for thre or four moneth peyse be se and be land; and yat it be nocht downe to put of ye tyme, and in ye meyntyme to work ane odyr way with Franch.

Tharfor I thynk yat ye Lordis suld mak surte yat thay sal send yar inbassatoris to mak ane fynell end of peyse, and in this of abstynens to be tane fra moneth

moneth to moneth, and nocht al thre monethtis in ane, for dywerse cawsis yat may cum, and yat yer be ane clawse in this said abstinens, yat, and ye said Duk cum in Scotland, it sal brek one ye self; and this to be downe for ye Kyng my sonnes weyl and myne.

Alsua to my part I trast His Grace wil consider, gyf I haf rewlit me lyk ane gud syster to His Grace, and ane kynd moder to ye Kyng my sone, and quhat pynt it is at nowe wyth pane and lawbor yat I haf had, and contynewle maid laubor to His Grace for peyse, and yat now, quhen it salbe maid, yat I may be ye maker of it, and nane odyr; quhilk wilbe to my greit honour, and His Grace hes promyst in his writtyngis to me.

Now, as twichyne my Lord of Arane, I wald beseik His Grace, for my saik and requhest, to gyf to ye said Erll of Arane ane honest bennyfes, ondyr ane dygnite, to ye worcht of four or fyfe hundreth poundis Scotis monye or mayr, that ye sayd Erll may gyf it to ane of his sonnes; quhilk wilbe ane dayle remembrans to hyme, and honorabile to His Grace. For in tyme past ye Bischep of Murray gat at my mariagis siclyk bennefese, and this Lord do better service to Hes Grace na he mycht. Quharfor, sic as this I desyr may be lytil of importans to His Grace, and it may do mekil gud to me and my frendis; quhilk I trast His Grace wil consider, and sum plesour mone be downe to yame yat doyse for Ws, or ellis thay wyl gang odyr wayse. Besekyne His Grace to pardowne me, gif I be our chargane to His Grace in it yat We haf a do, bot it is of ane gud mynd, becawse I wald nocht yat odyris had ye Kyng my sone nor his Realm, afor His Grace, nor sal nocht, sa far as I may.

Alsua twychyne my Lord of Angus, I besek His Grace to tak na ragart to thame yat laubouris for his cumeyne in Scotland, bot kepand it at His Grace hes promyst Me in his writtyngis, and as ye artikylis beris send fra my Lord Cardinall to Me, sayane yat ye sayd Erl of Angus suld nocht cum in Scotland, quhil I be content with ye sammyn: quhilk His Grace doyne to Me, I sal do sic plesour and steid to Hyme, yat yar is nane odyr in Scotland yat may do so mekyl for His Grace. And gyff ye said Erl of Angus cumis quhil I be content, I wil thynk yat Zour Grace doys nocht zour part to Me, and it wilbe to my displesour for mony cawsis. And quhar nowe yat I haf Lordis to do for Me, thay wil leif Me, and he cum, as I haf writtyne at lyncht dywerse tymes to my Lord Norfok[1], and ye greit faltis and displesour yat ye said Erl of Anguse hes downe to me, quharwyth I wil nocht cummer Zour Grace.

Alsua twicheyne ye commeyne of the Erll of Cassyllis, I cawsit to be downe, for thay wald haf sentd, desyreyne thre monethtis of trewse be land

[1] Caligula, B. I. leaf 259. B. VI. 377, 382.

and

and se, nocht makane sickyrnes to send yar inbassatouris; quharfor I sayd yar desyris wald nocht be hard, wyth owt thay maid swrte to sende thar honorabyl inbassatouris apone concludyne of peyse wyth in ye tyme of trewse yat is takyne nowe. Yerfor it is gud to be swyr of yat, or ony thing be downe.

Alsua, as far as I cane persaif of ye Lordis, thay wald haf ye ald lege of Franch kepyt, quhilk I said I trowit wald nocht be accepyt; yerfor me thynk, gyf Zour Grace mak ane gud end of all materis betuext zour Realm and Scotland, that it suld be frelye downe betuext thyr twa Realmis, acceppane nane odyr, for thar is monye false bandis maid betuext Franch of Scotland be ye Duk of Albonye, quhilk wor gud to be brockyne.

I desyr yat twycheyng ewery pynt of this artykyllis, yat I may ondyrstand the Kyngis plesour, wytht sic odyr desyris as in memoryall wytht yer artikyllis; for now is ye tyme yat I may best lawbor all materis, and yat expeditioune be downe in sic materis as is for ye weyl of ye Kyng my sone and Me. For ther is dywerse workane in ye contrayr, and specyale ye Bischep of Sanctandrose hes send to Rome in hwrt of ye Kyng my sone. Quharfor I desyr this memoriall to be speid in all haist.

Alsua I compleyne to ye Kyngis Grace my Broder of my Lord Dakyrse, yat doyse and says to my hwrt; for he sais to Scottis folk, yat he merwallis that thay will lat ony womane haf attorite, and speciale of Me; quhilk wordis suld erar cum of odyris, no of Inglysemenne. For ye mayr honor yat I get, Ingland will haf ye mayr; and sic wordis as this may do Me mekyll ill, for it yat I haf is be ye way of Zowris Grace, and quhen ewyr it gangis ony odyr way, it will noder be for ye weyl of Scotland nor zit for Zour Grace plesour. Yerfor I desyr rameyd to be fownd in yat behalf.

Alsua I thank ye Kyngis Grace humlye of ye twa thowsand merkis Scottis that He send to ye Kyng my sone, wyth ye awcht hundretht merkis Scottis yat His Grace send to Me; adwertasane His Grace yat We haf mekill a do wytht monye, for I haf all ye offices in my hand as zit and ye Tresorer offices; quharfor yar is nane that layse fwrtht monye for onye expense yat is to be downe, bot I, nor yet will ansuer to it; and odyr I mone do it, or thane gyf ye offyce to odyris, quhilk wilbe greit profet to Me and I hald it in my handis; and wor I ansueryt of my awne leiffyne, I wald nocht be sa chargane to Zour Grace. Bot I haf nocht; yerfor Zour Grace mone haf ye mayr consideratioune of Me, and as to my part I refer to Zour Grace.

Alsua Zour Grace sall ondyrstand yat ye Duk of Albanye hes gyffyne all ye maist part of all ye Kyngis properte in to greit Lordis handis; quharfor he hes nocht to susteyne hyme self, but yar wilbe rameid found wyth in schort tyme,

tyme, and yerfor quhill We haf dressit our materis, We mone be suppleit of Zour Grace; for as zit yer wase newyr Kyng sa ewill downe to, as ye Kyng my sone. Writtyne at Eddynburg, ye last day of August &ca.

(*Signed*) MARGARET R.

LVII. NORFOLK *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

PLESITH it Your Highnes too bee advertised, that my Lorde of Anguyshe hath instauntly desired me to bee contented too suffre hym to come to Your Grace, to declare and shewe dyvers thingis unto Your Highnes, whiche doo touche hym very sore (as he doth afferme), and hath desiered me also to write unto Your Grace in his favour; upon whos many requestis made unto me I have been soo bold to suffre hym to goo at this tyme towardes Your Grace; beseching Your Highnes not to bee discontented with me for the same. And mooste humble I beseche Your Highnes to be his good and gracious Lorde; for undoubtedly, Sir, withoute your high favour and greate helpe to bee shewed unto hym, he and dyvers of his servauntes and frendes in Scotland bee in danger too take great hurt; and assuredly no man in that realme is of streingth and poure to doo Your Grace and the King his Soverain Lorde suche service as he maye doo, ner in myne opinion bettir myended thereunto; as I am in ferme hope, and beleve it shalbe well proved, whensoever the tyme shall requyre. Beseching Almighty Jhesu to send Your Highnes thaccomplishementis of your mooste noble hertes desires. Written at Newcastell, the laste day of August.

Your most humble subject and servant,

(*Signed*) T. NORFFOLK.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kingis mooste noble Grace.

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[1] From letters to the King and Council, in the Chapter House, Vol. IV. No. 55. A letter from Newcastle of the same date from Dacre to Wolsey states Angus's object in going personally to the Court to have been to have licence of the King and Wolsey to depart into his own realm with their gracious favours.

LVIII. WOLSEY *to* NORFOLK.[1]

MY Lord, I commende me unto you in my right herty maner. And have receyved your letters of the 15th 19th and 26th daies of the last monethe, with all suche letters and copies as ye have sent with the same; the contentes wherof I have at al tymes shewed and declared unto the Kinges Highnes, who, for your diligence used in His Graces affaires ther, and for your good and spedy advertisement made of the successes and occurrantes from tyme to tyme, dothe geve unto you his herty thankes. Ascerteynyng you that inasmoche as the Kinges Highnes and his Counsail had determyned and grounded theym selfes upon suche resolucion towching the Scottishe affaires, as was comprised aswell in my last and penultyme letters to you addressed, as also in sundry other my former letters, which ones commyn to your handes, the Kinges Grace and I doubted not but that ye wolde execute the effect of the same accordingly. Forasmoche as His Grace was in no wise mynded that the same shulde be chaunged or altered, fynding also no matier of importance in your said letters requiring any spedy or hasty answer; and for that also Sir Gregory de Cassalys lately arryved here in post with letters of the Duke of Burbon, the Marques of Pascayre, and Master Richard Pace, specyfying the prosperous successes of the said Duke and that armye, who have attayned not oonly all the principall and hede townes cities castelles and other places of Province, Marsiles and Arles excepted; but also have all the hole countrey in thair devocion, good obedience and possession, with ferme hope and apparance facilly and immediatly to take the said twoo townes, being utterly determyned, the same taken or not taken, to passe the ryver of Rodan, and so to procede towardes Lyons, ther or in the waye to experyment the bataile, if the Frenche King wol abide the same, as he, lakking men and power, was not like so to do, or for lak therof to poursue his person to the uttermost, and so to entre into the hert and bowelles of Fraunce with all effect: most instantely desiring the Kinges Highnes therfore not to pretermyt this great commodite, the semblable wherof is never like to ensue, but really to avaunce his armye on this side in person or by lieutenaunt; as His Grace by deliberate avice of his counsail is mynded, the matiers prousperously succeeding, to do, and doth put all thinges in redynes for that pourpose, aswel in preparacion of men in this realme, whiche shalbe levyed in requisite diligence, as in provision of lymoners cariages and

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 336.

drawghtes,

drawghtes, reteynyng of launceknightes and other necessaryes, for the whiche, and to demaunde the 3000 horsemen and 1000 fotemen for thEmperours partye to joyne with the Kinges said armye, Sir Richard Jernyngham is depeched and sent unto the Lady Margaret, and also the said Sir Gregory de Cassalys in extreme diligence sent agayn unto the Duke of Bourbon, for perfyte knowlaige to be had of the utter and certain resolucion and actual proceding of that armye on this syde the ryver of Rodan, and other wheyghty and materiall poyntes, wherupon the avauncing or not avauncing of the Kinges armye on this side shalbe grounded. Whiche knowne, the Kinges armye, who shalbe put in perfyte redynes, shal, upon retorne of good answer from thens, immediatly be transported. This with setting forthe of provisions for this pourpose, hath so occupyed the Kinges Highnes, me, and other of his Counsail, that the matiers mencyonned in your said letters, requiring no great or hasty answer as is aforesaid, I have been somwhat the longer in making the same unto you.

Nevertheles, to thentent ye may be advertised, aswell of the arrival of your said letters, as of the said good newes, and also of the Kinges pleasure in suche thinges as require answer, though myn other besines be not all over past, yet I thought convenient nowe to wryte unto you. Ascertaynyng you, that your last letters, specyfying the sure confirmacion of the yong King of Scottes in his astate and dignitye roiall by auctorite of Parliament, is moche to the Kinges and my rejoyse and gladnes; perceyving nowe that, notwithstanding any reaportes made unto you of the Quene of Scottes or Erle of Arreyn, they have well and substancially acquited theym selfes in this matier, as well in the honerable and solempne bringing of thair King unto his Parliament with good ordre and strength, as in the confirmacion of hym as is aforesaid, and also in the taking and emprisonyng of the Bishops of Saint Andrews and Aberdene, with other thair complices, that refused to condescende unto the said confirmacion. In whiche matier ye shall specially write unto the Quene of Scottes, shewing unto her howe well and joyeowsly the Kinges Highnes taketh this her laudable acquitail; and, forasmoche as upon thordre to be taken with the said Bishops dependeth a great part of the sure corroboracion and perfyte establishement of the said yong King in this his astate, ye shall shewe unto her, that the Kinges Highnes and I, in any wise, desire avise and counsaill her to have special regarde, that, for no labour persuacion or mocion whatsoever it be, the said Bishops be again enlarged or put to thair libertye. For she may be well assured that this correccion and displeasure don unto theym shal alwaies remayn imprinted and incorporate in thair hertes, whiche they shall studye by oon waye or other to revenge, whatsoever demonstracion they shal make to the contrary. And therfore, sens the matier is thus ferre forthe, and that by the

refusal aforesaid, and their fast adhering to the Duke of Albanyes partye, they have, asmoche as in theym was, letted and interrupted the confirmacion of the said yong King in his astate; stikking fast to thair promise made to the Duke of Albany, whiche coude not but tende to the distruccion and ruyn of the said yong King; wherby goode grounde cause and occasion is geven, not oonly of thair imprisonment, but also of confiscacion of thair goodes and temperall landes; of whiche confiscacion, they being riche men and having great revenues, no smale emolument may ensue unto the sayde yong King of Scottes, being somwhat bare and unpourveyed of treasour; the said Quene therfore do take suche order that they in any wise remayn stil in warde; thexample wherof shalbe terrour unto al other, and cause those, whiche percace wolde be of contrary faccion, utterly to leve the same, and non to be so hardy to enterpryse any thing contrary to the astate of thair Prince, the governement and rule of the said Quene, whiche shalbe oon of the greattest sureties for her son and her that may be divised. And, bicause that, the said twoo Bishops remaynyng in pryson within that realme, suche as be thair frendes and parttakers shall not faile to imagyne conspire and compasse thinges for thair enlargement, and percace, by violence or otherwise, make theym self strong to conduce the same, whiche may alwaies cause besynes in that realme; it is thought unto the Kinges Highnes, me, and other of his discrete Counsail, that a more sure honerable and substanciall waye can not be divised, than that the said twoo Bishops shulde be, by the Quene of Scottes meanes, with assent of the King her son, in most secrete maner sent, without any tarying or tract of tyme, with a convenient custodye unto the town of Berwyk; wherof shulde ensue these effectes. First, it shulde be a great and high reputacion to the auctoritie of the said Quene. Secondely, it shulde induce terrour to any man, of what astate or degree so ever he were, to impugne or empeche either the King her son in his oune governement, or her and suche other as nowe do rule in thair auctorite. Thridly, by mean therof all doubtes of practyses to be made by any frendes of the said twoo Bishops shulde be avoided. Fourthly, the Duke of Albany hering therof shulde never darre arrive in Scotland, although he were commyn unto the shore of the same. Fyvethly, in cace any chaunce shulde fortune in Scotland adverse or contrary to the said ereccion and governement, procured by the frendes of the said twoo Bishops or any of the faccion of the Duke of Albany, they being in Berwyk might alwaies be compelled and wolde be glad to write for the ceacing and extincting of any suche contrarious thing, in advoiding the daunger, whiche elles theym selfes shulde be in: so as, if al other refuges or helpes failed, that, in extreme necessite, were a perfite sure waye to represse any attemptate that might be made against the said King and Quene

and

and thair governement. And finally, thay being so mynded, and writing unto the Kinges Highnes and me for that pourpose, they shal not doubt but that suche meanes shalbe founde, that the said twoo Bishops shalbe totally deprived of thair dignytes and promocyons; whiche than may be conferred and geven unto suche assuryd and substanciall persons as the said King and Quene shal thinke good. This high estymacion growing herby unto theym, the suretie that the said King and Quene shalbe in by reason hereof, and the fere and terrour, which the Duke of Albany and al other his frendes shalbe in by reason of the same, is highly to be regarded. And therfore ye shall write unto her, that, for the considerations before specifyed, the sending of the said 2 Bishops unto Berwyke is in nowise to be pretermytted; whiche thing is so to be handeled, that no person lyving be made pryvey therunto, but suche as be most secrete, and shal have the doing therof; whiche by the Lord Maxwel, with the garde or parte of theym, may facylly be brought aboute, and the said 2 Bishops to be in Berwyke bifore it be known in Scotland. For, if there be tract of tyme in it, and either that matier knowen or suspected abrode, it shalbe more difficile to bring it to passe. And, if nede be, ye may so provyde and ordre, that the said twoo Bishops, put into habite dissimuled, and secretely in a night conveyed and conduyted with a sufficient company parte of the waye towardes Berwyke, may be mete by some persons by you to be appointed, and so brought the resydue of the waye in suretye. Whiche matier to be duely perfyted and brought aboute, the Kinges pleasure is, that ye shall effectuelly procure, in alleging unto the Quene all the raisons and considerations bifore mencioned, being such as no better ne more sure waye coude be imagyned to cause the Duke of Albany utterly to abandonne Scotland, and to put the said King and Quene in perfyte assurance of thair astate and governement aforesaid: wher as, the said 2 Bishops either enlarged, or remaynyng in pryson in Scotland, ther can not faile practises dryftes and compasses to be made by thair frendes; and what perill may therof ensue is good to be highly regarded. Ye shal therfore desire her, like a great wise Princes, not to leve this matier in suspence, wher she may put it into perfyte suretye as is aforsayd; like as the Kinges Grace and I doubte not but that of her wisedome she wol considre and folowe this good counsail accordingly.

Over this, I sende unto you herewith the 2 saufeconduytes, aswel for thErle Mershals son, for the whiche the King and Quene of Scottes wrote unto the Kinges Highnes, as also for the merchantes, for whom the said Quene wrote unto you. Ascerteynyng you, that the taking of the shippes commyng from Island is not a litle to the Kinges miscontentation; arrecting greate blame in those whiche shuld otherwise have loked therunto. For remedye wherof, the Kinges Highnes and I thinke that ye, writing by some substanciall

man unto the King, Quene, and other that governe in Scotland, shewing howe the said shippes were taken in a tyme, whan, for the great intelligence that was and is bitwene the Kinges Grace and his nephieu the said yong King, it was verayly thought non of his subjectes wolde or ought to have done suche displeasure to the Kinges subjectes, but that the trieux standing as it than did, all suche enterpryses shulde have been omytted; and howe the Kinges Highnes, who of his oune gracious goodnes is so bounteous loving and wel mynded to the King, Quene, nobles, and subjectes of Scotland, wol take this matier, in cace for his kindness and gratuitye they shewe unto His Grace suche correspondence as this is, to the dishonour of His Grace, who thought his subjectes might at this tyme have gone safe, and to the great losse of the same his subjectes, ye be in greate doubte: wherfore ye shal exhorte and avice theym, in comprobacion of thair loving myndes towardes the Kinges Grace, not to deale extremely, or to stik in such smale thinges as this is, but rather to take suche wayes with the takers, that the shippes and goodes being restored to the Englishemen, the Kinges Highnes have no cause to thynke unkyndenes in theym, but rather to geve theym thankes for thair gentlenes to be shewed in this behalve: and thus ye writing unto theym, and having ther some discrete person to solicite this matier with doulce and pleasant wordes, it is to be thought that entier restitucion may percace be had. Nevertheles if he, so being there, shal fynally perceyve that suche hole and entier restitucion can not be attayned, he shall than procure that some competent rewardes may be geven to the takers, and the rest restoured; and, that failling, to make asmoche of it as he may, that is to saye, rather than fayle, to give the one half or more, to have the rest. And if they shulde percace be so ingrate, that non of thise coude be attayned, than good it were and expedient to fynde some meanes, howe with honour and convenient meanes the shippes and fyshe might comme again to thEnglishmens handes; elles great skarcite therof is like to ensue. But the Kinges Highnes to geve saufconduyte, that the Scottes, who have taken the Englishe shippes, shulde make port sale of the same in this realme, were nothing honerable. Wherfore His Grace remytteth to your wisedome, that lakking a better restitution, ye shal, either by saufconduyt to be geven by your self, or otherwise, order that matier to the most honour and benefite of the Kinges Highnes, his realme and subjectes, that ye can devise.

And nowe, my Lord, the matiers of Scotlande being in this good trayne and disposicion, expedient it shalbe, that in al your doinges and procedinges with the King and Quene of Scottes, thErle of Arayn, and other that take thair partes, ye shewe al demonstracion of love and kindnes that can be devised; geving theym alwaies compfort of peax ferme conjunccyon and unitie

unitie to be established bitwene these twoo realmes, with enterteynment, aswel of the yong King for mayntenaunce of his estate, as of the Lordes, noble men, and other, asmoche and more to thair benefite and proufyte than ever they had by Fraunce; and in all thair reasonable requestes and desires to geve theym dulce and pleasant wordes and answers; putting the Quene often in remembrance to provide and take hede, that nothing be inovated ratifyed confermed or concluded with Fraunce, in avoiding suche daungiers as be specified in my former letters; and that they accelerate the commyng of thair ambassadours. Making also mencion, in your writinges thider, of the Kinges tendre and most loving mynde towardes the said yong King, of whom His Grace is mynded to desire nothing, but oonly mutuel correspondence of love; intending to do for hym, as he were his oune son, and asmoche to regarde his honour exaltacion and suertye, as though His Grace were his naturall fadre; and by this meanes to imprinte in theym a ferme trust and confidence, whiche shalbe the meanes to entretayn theym fastly unto the Kinges devocion, and leanyng and adhering hooly unto His Grace, to relinquish and abandonne Fraunce; wherof what effectes may ensue to the weale of these two realmes, your wisedome can well pondre and considre. Praying you therfore to order your doinges with theym accordingly.

Fynally as to thErle of Angwisshe; inasmuche as the King of Scottes is thus confermed in his oune governaunce by auctoritie of Parliament, it shal not be greately material, if ye for a season entertayn hym with you at Newcastell; onles than he be veray well mynded to retourne unto the Kinges presence. In whiche cace ye may sende hym to London, accompanyed with some of your servauntes; geving knowlaige unto me therof before in post; wherupon I shal take further ordre for hym as shal apertayn.

Over this, amonges suche as be appointed to passe in the said armye nowe to be sent into Fraunce, it is divised that ther shalbe 200 light horsemen to be sent oute of those north parties. Wherfore the Kinges pleasure is, that ye take suche ordre with the Lord Dacres, that the same nomber under the leding of Sir Cristofer Dacres be put in perfite redines, to be taken of suche folkes as you and he shal thinke best within Northumberland, Cumberland, and the partyes theraboutes, so as upon any brief monycion they may be redy to set forthe towardes Dovour accordingly; and at thair commyng to Caunterbury or London, they shalhave money for cotes and conduyt as shall appertain. And fare you hertely well. At the More, the 2de day of September.

Your lovyng frende,

(*Signed*) T. Carlis Ebor:

Post

Post Scripta. Being aboute to spede this my letter, arryved yours writen at Newcastell the last day of this moneth, with oon sent unto you from your servaunt William Hals, and a copye of a letter semyng to be devised to the Kinges Highnes from the Lordes of Scotland. And forasmoche as ye be in this my letter amply instructed of the Kinges mynde towching the Bishops of Saint Andrewes and Aberdene, I shal therfore make no more rehersale, but pray you to folowe that matier accordingly. And it commeth well to passe that thErle of Angwishe of his oune mynde and desire commeth to the Kinges Grace; wherin your prudent demeanour is moche to be commended. As to changing of the 200 men of the garde, being aboutes the King of Scottes person, unto 100 gentlemen, every oone having a servaunt, and to have for hym and his man 16^{d} by day, being equivalent unto the charges of theym that be alredy in wages; ye may right well accomplishe the Quene of Scottes mynde in that behalf; and it shalbe more honerable and sure waye than thother; whom ye, during your being ther, and the Lord Dacres after your retourne, shal pay from monethe to monethe, at the begynnyng of the monethe according to thair desire. For whiche your saide retourne I wol move the Kinges Grace, thinking verayly that being by likelihode no doubt of the Duke of Albanyes commyng, your presence here, after thAmbassadours of Scotland ones commyn on thair jorney, shalbe more beneficial, than ther. Fynally, as unto the high demaundes of the Scottes, I trust at the commyng of thAmbassadours suche order shalbe taken, that ther shall nothing be passed but to the Kinges honour proffyte and avauntage, and thair demaundes to be qualifyed with convenient answer in good maner as shall appertayn.

LIX. Queen Margaret *to* Norfolk.[1]

My Lord, I command me hartly to you. And vyt ze that I have spokyn vyth Patryk Synklar, and he hath shawn me a memoryal of your hand vryt, vyth out any vryteng to me, or answar of my vryteng sent be hym to you; vhareof, my Lord, I have marvel, consyderyng that I desyred your cownsell how I suld reul Me on to ye tyme that ze gat answar fro the Kyngs Grace my brothar. Alsua I sent the sayd Patryk to you, my Lord, touschyng the mony that the Kyngs Grace my brothar ordard to the Kyng my son, for

[1] Holograph. From the British Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 402.

tway

tway hwndreth men to be abowht hyz parson, trastyng that he suld have sped of the sam; vylke mony he hath not gatyn. Vharefor I desyr, my Lord, to know parfytly gyff thyz mony salbe fwrnyssyd or not, and ther apon I send thyz berar to know your mynde vhat Ve sal trast to, vhareof I pray you, my Lord, lat me be avartysyd. I trust the Kyngs Grace my brothar vol not change off hys good mynde toward the Kyng my son and me, bott to helpe Owz to bryng our matarz to a gud end. Sopoz it be costly to Hyz Grace, it vol be stedabyl here aftar to Hyz Grace, and that thyz sayd mony may be send vyth thyz berar to hald the tway hwndreth men abowht the Kyng my son, and they men to be chosyn as I thynke best for the swrty of the Kyng my son, and not to be chosyn be other menz avysyz. Vhare for, my Lord, I pray you not to take tent to every person that vol gyff yow informacyon, bot specyaly to Me, and them that takyth my part, and that haz begon thyz matar, and hath borne it forth and brouht it to so good a end. Vharefor it is to be consyderyd, that I suld knaw mare perfytly all matarz az thay ar now, than otharz that makyth you informacyon. And for my part, I gange ne vay bot uttarly for the wel and swrty of the Kyng my son; and otharz gayngyz for favor of fryndyz, and for thayr aune profyt, mare than for the Kyng my son. And therfor, my Lord, sen I and my parttakarz hath takyn thyz gret mattar in hand, I pray you dw our counsel, afoor any otharz pryvat parsonz, in it that partanyz to the well of the Kyng my son; for, and he be not wel, our part vylbe ryght heffy.

Alsua, my Lord, vhare that your memoryal spekyth that ther be Lordyz chosyn to dw justyz, and othar Lordyz to remayn abouht the Kyng my sonys parson: as to Lordys to syt apon justyz, there is a sartayn Lordyz devysyd to set and mynestar justyz; bot to pwt a sartayn of Lordyz to remayn abowht the Kyng my sonz parson, it is gwd to be wel avysyd there apon. For to say that Ve ar asuryd of any Lordyz in specyal, bot my Lord of Arren, and my Lord Maxvel, and thayr fryndyz, Vee ar not; and ther for thay ar not to gyff gret trust to, nor to remayn abowht hyz parson, nor sal not, as far as I may. And there for me thynke that syk matarz suld be refard to Me and my part takarz.

Allsua, my Lord, towschyng the Byschop of Saynttandroz, vhat ze say that it var gwd to lat hym be oon of the Inbassytorz to cum in Ingland; I marvel that ze thynke that, consyderyng that Ve haff pwt so scharply to hym as Ve haff dwn, and that in tyme past he vas ever in my contrary; and now, and he might be at hys lybarty, vald be far mare contrary Me, and pwt the Kyng my son in gret awentwr. Vhare for, my Lord, I pray you consydar all

all thyng as it is, and gyff that Ve may fynd the sayd Byschope of Saynt Tandroz be ony vay to be trw tyll Ouz, Vee had lever have hym than any othar; bot as zet I can not parsaff it. Ther for Ve man doo as Ve fynd best for Owz; trustyng that the Kyngs Grace my brothar vyl suply Owz, and not lat Owz vant helpe.

And as to the mony that Hyz Grace have gyfne to fwrnyss tway hwndreth men, I aswr you, my Lord, it hath dwn gret gwd to the Kyng my son, and hath latyd mykyl ewel to be dwn, and it is not as zet a moneth sen it began. Vharefor I trust Is Grace vyl not so swn gyf command in the contrary. And vhare that the sayd mony is spent befoore the monneth, and it is to be consydard that at that tyme the expensyz vald be gretar than no a nothar tyme; for Ve had gret matarz adu, bot that may be haldyn in agayn, as Ve thynke nedfull. And thwz, my Lord, I trust ze vol send the mony vyth thyz berar, and I sal cause it to be vel ordard to the wel and swrty of the Kyng my son. And God have you in Hyz kepeng. Wryten thyz Tysday[1], at Edynbrouh.

(*Signed*) Yours, MARGARET R.

My Lord, towschyng my Lord of Angus, I pray you to kype promyss to Me, for I trast the Kyngs Grace my brothar vol not fayl in it that he hath promysyd me; bot as zet I here say the Erl of Angus is not past ope to ye Cort; vhareof I marvyl.

LX. QUEEN MARGARET *to* NORFOLK.[2]

MY Lord of Norfolke, I command Me hartly to you. And vyt ze, aftar the comyng of the Erl of Casylyz, the Lard of Bavyry, Mastar Edam Otyrborne, the Lordyz sat in Cownsel, and calyd them befoor to se how thay had dwn towscheng thayr comyscyonz, vylke thay dyd schau rycht vysly, and made varay gwd raport to the Lordyz of your gud mynd in specyal toward the wel of both the raulmez, vhare in ze ar gretly behaldyng to them, and specyal to the Erl of Casylyz; and therfor thanke hym. And folowyng thyz, the Lordys hath ordand that a honnorabyl Inbassytors salbe

[1] This Tuesday must have been the 6th of September.

[2] Holograph. From the British Museum, Caligula, B.I. leaf 291.

send

send vyth in the tyme of thayr promysyz, vylk Lordyz is a Byschope, a Erll, a Knycht, and a Klark, vylke namyz is the Byschope of Dwnkel, the Erll of Cassylyz, the Lard of Bauvery, vyth a klark wyth them, and many otharz honest gentylmen. Thwz, my Lord, ze may parsafe my gret dylegenz and labor, and gyff I have not reulyd Me for the plesyr of the Kyngs Grace my brothar, and for the wel of the Kyng my son. Therfor I trast that Hyz Grace vyl consydar the sam, and my Lord Cardynal and you for your partyz, and that in our gwd quarelyz Ve vyl get helpe and suply, as Hyz Grace hath promysed in hyz vrytengs to Owz. For, seyng that it is so wel begon, it var pety it suld gange abake for fawt of helpe. And consydar wel, my Lord, sopoz the cost be gret, it vyl be hereaftar as stedabyl to the Kyngs Grace my brothar, for he sal have the Kyng my son and Me agayn all otharz. Alswa, my Lord, I have spokyn vyth my Lord of Casylz, and he hath schaun Me part of thyngs of your name, vylk I thynke ar ryght gwd, and to be dwn; and salbe, as far as I may.

And towschyng the Lordyz to be chosyn for to syt to do justyz, as to that poynt thayr is Lordyz chosyn to doo that dayly; bot as to the Lordyz to byd contynualy abowht the Kyng my sonz parson, I se not as zet monny for to chez, bot as I fynd them trw it sal be doon; for, and they be not wel chosyn, it may doo gret ewel to Me, and pwt the Kyng my son and Me syndry, vhare nou he vol dw no thyng bot as I vyl. Therfor I pray you, my Lord, to gyf ne credenz to every parson that vyl gyf you informacyon of Me, bot send to Me your mynd as ze vald I dyd, and I sal informe you as I fynd all matarz, and than consydar all matarz as thay ar. And towschyng the matarz of Scotland, I thynk there suld ne pryvat parson be hard be foor Me, and I pray you consyder, my Lord, that I mon cherych all Lordyz in generall, for, and I dw more for een than for anothar, thay vyl take dysplesur at Me. Vhare for I man be wel avysyd, whom I chez dayly to be abouht the Kyng my sonz parson, and that thay favor Me, or elyz it vyl dw Me dysplesur. Vharfor ther is consyderacyon to be had.

And touscheng the Bordarz, the Comysschonarz schw be foor the Lordyz vhat ze profard for the part of Ingland, and desyrd Schotland to dw syk lyk for thayr part; and apon that I and the Lordyz calyd the Vardanz befoor Ouz, to se vhat thay vald dw for thayr part, and Ve cowd not fynd ne fekt in them that ther suld be gud rewll apon the Bodarz, for there is gret dyspyt betuxt the Lard of Sesfwrd and the Lard of Bawclw, and slauhtar. Vhare for I thowt best to put them both in the castel of Edynbrou, vhol that thay fynd a vay how the Bodarz may be vel reulyd, seyng it is in thayr handyz to

dw, and thay vyll, and not to latt them breke the Bordarz for thayr ewel vyll amangst thayr selfe. And here in I pray you send Me your mynde, my Lord, as ze thinke best that I dw; for inswr you that thyr men may dw gret ewel, and specyaly the Lard of Bouklw; and that for my part I have fwnd, for he hath haldyn fro me fowr thowsand markyz zerly sen the fyld, vylke is my conjwfeftment.

Alswa, my Lord, towschyng the Byschope of Saynt Tandroz and the Byschope of Abardyn, I have sene the artykylyz that my Lord Cardynal sent you, vhare in I thynke in apart thay ar ryght gwd, in the kypeng of them in swrty; for thay var never my fryndyz, vhan I dyd for them, and therfor now, vhan I have dwn them dyspleswr in the sort that I have dwn, I may wel consydar that thay luff Me not, bot vhald dw Me all the evel thay can, and thay var at thayr lybarty, and specyaly the Byschope of Saynt Tandroz. Therfor, my Lord, I thynke I suld be ryght wel awysyd in thayr loussyng, and have ryght gret sykarnes, vylke as zet I can not persafe bot fayr vordyz. Thwz, my Lord, I pray my Lord Cardynal and you to consydar my part here in. And as to the sendyng of hym in Ingland to be kyped, the Lordyz here vyl not be contented vyth the sam, for thay thynke that Scotland may wel hald hym, and he var betar, vhol that Ve may see owr tyme. And, vhare that my Lord Cardynal thynkyz gwd that the said Byschope of Sayntandroz suld be sent as on of the Inbasytorz; as to that, the Lordyz and I to gyther hath devysyd the parsonagyz, and now to breke that, it may not be wel dwn, for it vas dwn vyth the awysyz of all the Lordyz and vyth my avys. And alswa I thynke not that, so gret a part as he made to the Kyng my son, and he beand present, that nou he suld have syk honnor dwn to hym as to make hym a Inbasytor; for, and syke gret fawtyz be so swn pardoned, it vyl cause othar gret men to do syklyk. Therfor, my Lord, there is consyderacyon to be had in that, and in syk matarz as thyz me thynke my avyse suld be had afoor otharz that takyth lytyl payne in gret mattarz. And I pray you, my Lord, remembyr gyff thyz that Ve have dwn, sen the comyng forth of the Kyng my son, hath not bene ryght gret aktys, and hath not bene ryght gretly nor sumptyz chargyz to the Kyngs Grace my brothar, zet not the lez it hath dwn Owz ryght gret gwd, and in specyal touschyng the furnysching of the tway hundreth men abouht the Kyng my sonz parson; for, vhan that any disobayd Owz, or dyd any thyng that myght be contrary Owz, We sent the sayd band vyth thayr captayne my Lord Maxvel, and pwt them vhare We plesyd, vhare that the Lordyz vald not have takyn dysplesur of ne gret man vyth thayr vyl. And alswa, thys sayd tway hwndreth ar redy at all owrz, vhan Ve vyl charge them,

them, and makyz no delay; vharefor as zet thay ar ryght nedfwl, and may dw the Kyng my son and Me gret profet and pleswr. Vharfor I trust, my Lord, that the Kyngs Grace my brothar vyl as zet helpe Owz in that behalfe, and cause the sam to be answard. And on thyng I pwt you owt of dowht, that for my part I vald not have vantyd them for tenty tymez the valor; for there vas othar vayz ordand to be dwn, had not bene the aw that thay stud of them. The Kyngs Grace my brothar hath a thowsand tymez dayly gretar chargyz ne thyz is that Ve have, and zet I trust Hyz Grace sal fynd as gret honnor and pleswr in ther dwing, consydereng all thyngs, as any thyng that vas dwn thyz gret vhyle, seyng vyth in thyz schort tyme in vhat case the Kyng my son stwd in, be the vayz of the Dwke of Albany, and hou all the Rewlme and Lordyz stwd toward hym, and vhat aperance vas of gret trobyl betwyxt thyr tway Raulmez, vylke of resson suld not have bene, not the lez the gret abusyonz and mony that vas gyfne be France to the Kyng and hyz Lordyz held them in a gwd mynd toward France, and the Dwke of Albany beyng a Frenchman and thayr Gowarnor. Ther for now consydar vhat is dwn in the contrary of thyz, and how I, vyth my part takarz, hath causyd the Kyng my son to take hyz aune aktoryte, and the Dwk of Albany dyschargyd of hyz autoryte, vylke vos ne lytyl thyng to have dwn, consyderyng as the Lordyz vos bund to hym. Alswa I have labord so that thyr tway Raulmyz may be at gret amytte and concord as afoor, that the Inbasytorz ar to be send to the Kyngs Grace my brothar vhare in Vee vyl tyne utarly France, and have the dyspleswr that thay may dw tyl Owz and thyz Raulme, and tyne every zere fyffty thowsand frankyz, besyd othar thyngs. There for seing thyz, I trast the Kyngs Grace my brothar, my Lord Cardynal, and ze, vol thynke that the Kyng my son and I and thyz Raulme suld be kyndly and wel lokyd a pon, and helpe Owz and asyst Owz in our matarz and quarelyz. And vhare that as zet the Kyng my son is not wel provydyd of rechez to bere fwrth hyz matarz and atoryte throhou the mysrwlyng of hyz Raulme be the Dwke of Albany, I thynke that the Kyngs Grace my brothar suld helpe and suply hym, as I trust Hyz Grace vyl dw, and as he hath begon to dw, besekyng hwmbly Hyz Grace to contynw, as Ve have nede, to charge Hyz Grace for owr wel, and he sal have the Kyng my son and thyz Raulme to dw for Hyz Grace agayns all otharz. And gyff thyz Raulme may fynde that France vol be mare stedabyl to them, and dw mare for them, than Ingland vyll, thay vyl be loth to tyne them. And methynke of veray reson that the Kyng my brothar suld have Scotland for hym, befoor any othar, seing how nere of blwd thay ar, and thayr Raulmyz lyeng so nere to gythar. Thyz being consydered, and touschyng partt of chargyz that the

Kyngs Grace my brothar hath for the Kyng my son, me thynke it suld not be lefft on don, vhol that Ve var at a gud poynt, and all Owr matarz surly dresyd, vylke ar not as zet; and ther for I trast it be not the Kyngs Graceys plesur, that it be left on don, that may dw Ouz profet or gwd. Vhare for I pray you, my Lord, lat Me vyt the Kyngs Gracyz plesur.

Bot I have gret marvel, my Lord, that I sendyng vrytengs to you, avartysand you of all matarz as ocorz here, vyth my sarwand Patryk Synklar, and gat nothar ansuar in vryt, nor the erand dwn that I sent the sayd Patryk Synklar for; bot send Me, I thout ryght strangly, a memoryal to se. Vharfor, my Lord, as I can parsafe, there hath bene some falz raport made to you of Me, vylke, and ze gyff credenz to, ze dw Me gret vrange; for I have the payn and dysplesyr, and othar sal be hard as wel as I. I vayt not, gyf my mesegerz hath dwn farar than thay had comand, bot, my Lord, I trust ze vyl consydar all thyngs as it is; and as zet of my part I have foloud the Kyngs Grace my brothars plesor in all thyngs that he desyrd; and I trast, vyth the helpe that I have gotyn, there vos never jentylvhaman that dyd so gret a akt as I have dwn, and as zet, thankyd be God, contynueth wel; and I trast sal ewer betar and betar, vyth the helpe of God.

Alswa, my Lord, I ondarstand that my Lord of Angus is past ope to the Court to the Kyngs Grace my brothar; vylke and it be, I am mykyl behaldyng to Hyz Grace; besekyng Hyz Grace to consyder that thyz gret thyng, that Ve have dwn, hath ben dwn vyth out the helpe of the sayd Erl of Angust, not the lez it vos causyd you, my Lord, to ondarstand that vyth owt hym and hyz fryndyz Vee myght not have brouht our matarz to paz: vharefor nou ze may se the contrary, and I aswr you, my Lord, that hyz being in Scotland may dw gret ewel to the Kyng my son; as I have vryten dyvars tymez at length to you. Prayeng you hartly, my Lord, as een of my specyal fryndyz, that ze vyl labor at the Kyngs Grace my brotharz hand, that the sayd Erl of Angus com not in Scotland, vyl I be content wyth the sam, as Hys Grace vyl command me to dw hym any plesur or sted, and he sal fynd me folou the sam; vylke in the contrar dwing I vol thynck that Hyz Grace estymeth my Lord of Angus plesur mare than myne, vylke is not in pour to dw for Hyz Grace that I may dw, and it vyl cause Me to have the les wyl to dw for Hyz Grace. I am playn in my vrytengs, because I may not com to schow myne aune mynde.

Alswa there hath bene gret commonyng and metyngs betwxt Grousolyz the Frencheman and my Lord of Angus brothar, Vylyam of Douglaz, in to Dwnbar, and for evel to Me, as may be consydard; for it is wel knoun vhat luff

luff and favor the Dwke of Albany had all thyz tyme to that sort, and as he dyd to them, and now, that Gousolyz and thay ar so gud fryndyz. Vhare for, my Lord, I trast ze vol consydar it, for thyz is of trouth. Alsua, my Lord, Growsolyz, the Dwke of Albanyz serwand, sent a vryteng[1] to the Kyng my son, and ordard the porsevant to delyver the sam vryteng to the Lordyz, vylke sayd that that, gyf he and the Lordyz gafe trast to Ingland, thay wald be betraysyd, and the Kyng my son pwt in Ingland; vyth othar vordyz, as ze sal se be hyz vrytengs. I vos avartysyd of the sendyng of thyz vryteng, and I caust it to be takyn fro the pursevant, and vald not lat it be present to the Lordyz. Alsua I gat vrytengs that vas sent owt of Edynbrouh to Dwnbar to Grousolyz, vharby I ondarstand in the vryteng that Grousolyz is in porpoz to set for your servand, and to take hym, and he may, or ony vrytengs that comyth owt of Ingland to Me. Vharfor, my Lord, be vys in your sendyng. I pray you, my Lord, in syk vrytengs as I send to you, that I may have answar of them, for I have not gret laysyr to vryt offten to you, and gyff I fynd that otharz raportyz of talkyz may be betar hard than my vrytengs, I vald not take the payn to vryt as I dw, for I make ne secretarz bot my selfe, be caus I wyl not lat non know my mynde.

Alswa, my Lord, I have send you here in closyd my mynde and desyrz for tway safcoundyz for to get stwf to the Kyng my sonz howz, vylke I pray you, my Lord, lat Me have. And I have send to you the condytyz that your sarwand Halse desyrd, and vyl dw any thyng, that I may dw yow pleswr and sted; for I am gretly adetyd to the sam; and the swnest I may, I sal send you, my Lord, gwd made haukyz. And God have you in Hyz kypeng.

My Lord, I marvel that Jame Dokt my sarvand is not delyverd fro you, bot I trust, my Lord, ze vyl sped hyz erand; for I have gyfne mony in that behalfe vhol he com; for, vyth my vyl, the tway hwndreth men as zet sal not be pwt down for many gret cawsyz. And alswa, sin that the Lard of Sesford and the Lard of Bouclw vas pwt in the castel of Edynbrouh, the Erl of Lenos hath past hyz vay vyth out lycyens, and in dyspyt, and thynkyth to make the brek that he may, and to solyst othar Lordyz to take hyz part; for the said Lard of Bouklw vas hyz man, and dyd the gretyst ewelyz that myght be dwn, and twk part playnly vyth theffyz, as is wel known. And thwz ze may ondarstand, my Lord, as zet the Kyng my son is not ryht swr of all hyz Lordyz. I

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[1] The original letter, dated September 5, is in the Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 40. Gonzolles assures the King that he remains in Scotland, and at Dunbar, for the King's honour and service; tells him that if the Council around him studied his welfare, they would not raise such a clamour against Albany; and cautions him against a project for carrying him into England.

trust

trust ze sal se the Erl of Lenoss gange the Dwke of Albany vayz, and he may get to take hyz part; and ther for my Lord I pray you send Me your cownsel. Vryten the 11 day of October.[1]

(*Signed*) Yours, MARGARET R.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord of Norfolke.

LXI. NORFOLK *to* WOLSEY.[2]

PLESITH it Your Grace to be advertised, that this mornyng I received a paket of letters from my servaunt Hals[3], wherein was one letter from the Quene to me, with a letter sent from Grosellis to the King of Scottis[4] enclosed therein, and a litle bill for saufconduytis, and also a letter from my seid servaunt; all whiche letters your Grace shall receive with this.

And where the seid Quene doth write that she doth mervayle that I aunswered not hir articles by Patrik Synkcler, but sent hir onely a memoriall by hym: the Commyssioners were with me at that tyme in my chambre, signyng and sealing the treux taken, and there spake suche wordes, that I thought requysite tadvertise hir of the same; and so dispeached the seid Patrik with a memoriall to shewe hir of suche thingis as I had herd, having no leysour to write more at length at that tyme, and mooste specially advysing hir not to suffre the Kyng to depart from Edenburgh: supposing that she had trusted the seid Patrik asmoche as any man, for by hym she advertised me at all tymes of hir myend; but nowe sith that tyme I have sure knowlege that Henry Stuard and the seid Patrik fell at variance, so that, what soever the seid Patrik doth or sayth, cannot contente nor pleas. And the seid Henry is made Lieutenaunt to the Lord Maxwell of the 200 men, and doth put in and out at his pleasure; whiche Patrik Synclere did bifore. So that, to pleas the seid Henry, she made a quarell to the seid Patrik that he brought hir not a letter from me, whiche I wrote to hir the same night after his departure, and sat up till mydnyght for the same, and instructed my servaunt taunswere asmoche of hir letter and articles as I could doo. But there was many thingis conteyned therein (as your Grace may perceive by the same, whiche I sent

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[1] The day of the month is very obscure, but probably is the 11th; the month is distinct enough, but though it is October, and so far corresponds with a contemporary indorsement, viz. "fro' the Quene of Scottꝭ the secunde day of Octobre," it is clear from Norfolk's letter of the 14th of September that this is the Queen's letter, which he received on that day.

[2] Caligula, B. II. leaf 155. [3] Caligula, B. III. leaf 80. [4] Caligula, B. I. leaf 40.

you

you from Berwik) that doth require to be answered by the Kingis Highnes and your Grace, and not by me. And also tharticles were written to His Highnes and not to me; so that me think she doth me wrong to mervayle that I wrot not to her therein by Patrik Synkclere, the consideracions premysed well considered.

Also, where she doth write that she doth mervayle that I have not dispeached Jamy Dog, and that he camme for; the seid Jamy camme to me to Branspath upon Fridaye at 6 a clok at night, and his commyng was for money for one newe moneth waigis, the old being not expired by 7 dayes. And incontynent I wrot to hir as good a letter and as pleasaunt as I cold devise, and sent Robert Lord with the money[1] too Berwike, and sent the seid Jamy, with your Graces Chaunsellour being then with me, unto his house, where he had good chere that night, and departed from thens by 4 a clok in the mornyng; so that she hath no cause to be discontented with his detaynyng. And at his commyng to her I am assured she was fully contented and satisfied, whiche is very difficill to doo, mooste specially if one advertise hir of that might sound to hir owne well, whiche hereaftir I shall forbere to doo, considering that I perceive well she is not contented I shuld advertise hir as I doo here, that might sound to hir hurt. And yet, if I had not sent Patrik Synkclere to hir, avysing hir in nowise to suffre the King to goo from Edinburgh, I beleve hir auctoritie shuld, or this tyme, have been right small.

And where she desiereth me to send hir the saufconduytis for the 2 ships; I have advertised hir 4 or 5 tymys that no man can gif any suche saufconduyt but onely the Kingis Highnes. Notwithstaunding, too content hir myend, I shall send hir the seid 2 saufconduytes to comme to Newcastell, or any other part within the precincte of my Lieutenauntship; whiche my Lord Dacre doth saye I may leiffully doo, and that if I were absent he wold doo the same, and doth dayly, as Warden, when I am not here. And I shall advertise hir, that I have sent to the Kingis Highnes for the said saufconduytis, whiche I beseche your Grace to remembre; for a litle thing maye soone discontente hir. And if all matiers frame not aftir hir myende in Scotland, peradventure she wold soone alledge the default in me, that I did not in every thing as she wold have me; whiche, God willing, I shall eschewe asfer as I can.

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[1] Caligula, B. I. leaf 70, is a letter from Robert Lorde to Wolsey, dated 2d October 1524, rendering an account of 1757£ paid by Norfolk's orders, among which are 500 marks to the King and 200 to the Queen of Scots, other sums to Arran, Lennox, the Master of Kilmauris, Adam Otterburn, and Cassillis, and 378£ 18: 8 for two months wages for the garrison appointed about the King of Scots.

Fynally,

Fynally, I shall write to her as pleasauntly as I can, so as I have doone at all tymys, as woll appere by the copies of my letters, and shall advyse hir eftsones to kepe the King hir sonne at Edenburgh; and if she can by any good meanes, her honour saved, reconsile thErle of Lennox; and to detayn the Lord of Buklowe, and the Lord of Cesford, unto the tyme she maye have sure pledgis of theym for observyng of justice upon the Borders. Written at Barney Castell, the 14th daye of September.[1]

Yours most bownden,

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legatis good Grace.

(*Signed*) T. NORFFOLK.

LXII. WOLSEY *to* QUEEN MARGARET.[2]

MADAME, in as humble maner as I canne, I recomende me unto Your Grace. Ascertayning the same that I have not oonly receyved Your honorable letters to me directed, bering date the last day of August, but also have seen such articles, as Your Grace at the same tyme sent, to be shewed and declared on Your behalf to the Kinges Highnes my Master. And forasmoch, Madame, as at this tyme answere is made particularly and at good lenght unto every oon of the said articles, and the King my said Masters advice and good opinion right amply and lovingly declared unto Your Grace in the same, I shall therfor forbere to towche any further particulars therof; instantly requiring Your Grace that, of your greate and high wisdome, nowe the same soo vertuosly prudently and discretly hath bigonne and commenced suche thinges as soundyth to the honour suerte and exaltacion of the King your sonne, the weale conjunction and tranquillite of both Realmes, if they be well folowed, Your Grace woll nowe pretermitte nothing on your party, which may be to the avaunce-ment of that soo honorable meritorious and goodly mater and affaire; but like a noble Princesse to conduce and bring the same by your constant greate prudence and excellent wisdome unto the due perfection, without omitting any thing that may helpe therunto. Wherin Your Grace shall deserve as grete thanke of God, lawde honour and reputation in the worlde, as any Princeps hath doon of many yeres passed. Where as, if this mater soe well begonne bee not duely folowed, and every thing concerning the same sub-

[1] On the same day Norfolk wrote an answer to Queen Margaret. Caligula, B. VII. leaf 17.

[2] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 112. The date appears from the next paper to be the 15th of September.

stancially

stancially regarded, there might ensue greate and extreme daungier therin, with dishonour and perill of those that have been the doers of the same. Wherunto I doubte not but Your Grace, of your wisdome, woll have tendre respecte and speciall consideration accordingly. Ascertayning Your Grace that, whenne I considre and understonde, aswell by your said articles as otherwise, the uncerteinte wherin as yet this gret mater doth rest and depende, with the practises and driftes that may be compassed and divised by those that be of the contrary faccion, I doo think verely that to high wisdome and policie it doth appertayn to studye and devise all the wayes possible which may be, to the strenght and fortifiing of your parte and the diminution of the parte adverse; wherin, Madame, I suppose undowtedly the Erle of Anguish, being, with your consent and agrement in that countrey, upon his own landes, might doo unto Your Grace high stede and service, if any adverse thenne shulde fortune. And verely to sey the truth, if it wer not at the request of Your Grace and for your sake, I cannot see that the King my Master hath any good colour or grounde to detayne him here against his will, but that the same may be reputed to be expresse wrong and injurie; and the lenger he shalbe soo detayned, oonles there wer a sufficient cause, the more occasion he shall have to be greved and miscontented therwith, thinking that for his entier and perfit mynd towardes the King his Souverain Lord, he is here not well entreted and recompensed. Wherfor, Madame, considering that noo thing shalbe doon here towching him but as shall stonde with his consent and pleasour, and that there is noo good colour of his long deteyning without dishonour; remembring also the sted and service which he may doo there, if nede be, and that he is content humbly to submitte himself unto Your Grace, and to be here both bounde and sworne in noo wise to intromedle with any thing belonging to Your Grace, or to come in to the Courte, or in your presence, but by your good counsent, and further to doo all suche thinges as Your Grace shall reasonably commaunde; if it might stonde with your pleasour, in my poore opinion the sonner youe geve and graunte unto him liberte and accesse to cumme in to his said countrey, the better and more humbly it shalbe, and a gret strenght and suerte in all eventes and chaunces, aswell for resistence of the Duke of Albanye, if he shulde fortune to arryve, as also for assistaunce of Your Grace, in cace there shuld be founde dissimulation or doublenes in any of those that nowe shewe themself to be on your partie. And better it wer, that with your favour he shulde cumme after suche maner as is before said in tyme, thanne upon adverse chaunce the Kinge my Master shulde be fayne to sende him theder sodenly; wherin percace he shulde not be able to stonde Your Grace and your partye in soo

 good

good stede as he nowe maye doo. Beseching Your Grace therfore discretly to pondre this mater, and of your pleasour mynde and opinion in the same to advertise me, as soone as may be with your good commodite; taking and accepting my poor advise and counsaill in good part, as of him which asmoch regardeth your honour, suertie, fourtheraunce, and contentment, as any personne maye doo. And folowing the same, Your Grace I trust shall have cause to be joieus the[*rof*], by the grace of Almighty God, whom I besech to preserve Your Grace in continuall helth and prosperyte.

LXIII. Wolsey *to* Norfolk.[1]

My Lorde, I commende me unto you in my most herty maner. And have receyved your letters of the 5th and 8th dayes of this moneth[2], with certein letters from the Quene of Scottes, a boke of articles subscribed with her hande, and other letters for saulfconduytes; perceyving by the first the arrival of the Commissioners of Scotlande at Berwike, your repaire thider, and the articles of their demaundes, your aunswer to the same, the conclusion of a trieux for 3 monethes, the other communications and divices had with the said Commyssioners, aswel towching the King and Quene of Scottes, as also thErle of Arreyn, and the retourne of the Duke of Albany; and finally your message sent in diligence to the Quene of Scottes by Patrik Seintclere. In your other letter is mencioned your sending to the Quene of Scottes, aswel for the matters concernyng the Iselande fleete, as for the conveyance of the Archebisshop of Saint Andrews and the Bisshop of Aberden unto Berwik, with your divice for bruting of the newes commen from the Duke of Burbon, the reaportes made unto you of the Quene of Scottes, your opinion and informacion geven unto you towching thErle of Arayn, the sayinges of Master Adam Oterbourne and thAbbot of Paslay[3]; and finally what ye thinke towching the passing of Sir Christofer Dacres in the armye nowe prepaired, and intended to be sent in to Fraunce. I have also received your other letters to me directed[2] subscribed with your oune hande, with those of the Bisshop of Dunkel.[4] All whiche matiers I have at lenght shewed and declared unto the Kinges Highnes; who, aswel for your discrete and prudent answers geven unto the Commyssioners of

1 From the Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 345.

2 Neither of these letters appears to be extant.

3 Robert Shaw.

4 Robert Cockburn, translated from Ross.

Scotlande

Scotlande towching the articles of their demaundes, as for your other acquital used in the premisses, dothe geve unto you grete and herty thankes. Ascertaynyng you the Kinges Highnes writeth at this tyme to the said Quene of Scottes, making mencion of answere made also with thise presentes unto her said boke of articles; whiche aunswer, signed with my hande, and being open and unsealed, ye may rede, and the copie of the Kinges said letters is sent unto you herwith. By tenour of whiche answer, ye shal be fully riped and infourmed in the specialties of the matiers conteyned in the said Quenes articles, so as I shal not nede herin to make further rehersal unto you of the same, except only of 2 special matiers, being parcel of the said answer. Oon is, that inasmoche as the Kinges Highnes, by sundry your letters, and the reaportes made unto you, understondeth that there be diverse thinges, wherin holsom admonycion and exhortacion is to be geven unto the Quene of Scottes, aswel for her oune honour and suretie, as also for the weale of the yong King her son, and the good ordre of his affaires in avoiding the manyfolde dangiers that myght ensue unto them, in cace thinges nowe being amys shulde not be prudently and with spede refourmed; the Kinges Highnes, aswel for that cause, as to entertayn the yong King of Scottes with pleasant and loving maner, is determyned to sende unto hym with al convenient diligence, to reside in his courte, his trusty chaplayn Master Thomas Magnus, and Rogier Ratclif Gentilman Usher of his Privey Chamber; who being right mete persons for this purpose, the oon to geve good and holsome advice in playne and secrete maner to the Quene, and the other pleasauntly and doulcely to handle himself with the King, and bothe to helpe to the furtherance and conducing of al suche thinges as may sounde to the establishement of perfite intelligence bitwene bothe Princes, may and shal do grete stede in advertising the Kinges Grace from tyme to tyme of the veray trouthe and certainte of the procedinges doinges and successes there; and shal undoubtedly, by their policies, and good instruccions fromhens, stay many thinges, whiche myght be adverse unto the Kinges good intent and purpose. And albe it the said 2 personages, not as Ambassadours, shalbe depeched from hens within thise 8 or 10 dais, so to repaire streight unto the King and Quene of Scottes, yet neverthelas it is mencioned in the said answer of articles that they shal remayne on the Bordres, til the entre of thEmbassadours of Scotlande in to Englande, whiche is so writen only to accelerate the commyng of the said Ambassadours, and sending of the 2 Bisshops to Berwik, aswel for the hoope and expectacion that the King and Quene of Scottes shal have to receyve suche presentes as the Kinges Grace intendith to sende by the said Master Magnus and Ratclif unto them, as also for the like desire that the Erle of Arrayn and other the Governours there shal have of the semblable.

On other thing mencioned in the said aunswer of articles, requisite to be more specially notified and declared unto you, is concernyng the deteynyng here of thErle of Angwishe. In whiche matier grete circumspeccion is to be used. For it is considred by the Kinges Grace, me, and other of his Counsail, that in al the letters and writinges, whiche the Quene of Scottes sendeth unto the Kinges Highnes, to me, or to you, she alwais instantely and specially persisteth in oon ferme mynde and desire, that the said Erle be in nowise sent in to Scotlande, til suche tyme as she shalbe wel contented with the same; affermyng precisely and plainely, that, if it be otherwise don, she and her partakers shalbe compelled and wol undoubtedly make their partes otherwise for their strenght and suertie, whiche percace may be to the disapointment and breche of al the enterprise nowe commenced and bigonne. And remembring that hitherto the matiers have competently wel proceded there, accourding to the Kinges mynde and desire, and so may with good conduyte policie and avice semblably contynue; if the Kinges Highnes shulde nowe, contrarye to the said Quene smynde, sende in the said Erle of Angwishe, and, being not the matiers yet perfitely established, but as it shulde seme the Duke of Albanys parte with secrete messages and privey intelligences by the Erle of Arreyn and other, that they may alwais have way to retourne to hym at their pleasure; either it myght be a meane to cause them again holy to come unto the devocion of the Duke of Albany, enlarging the Archebisshop of Saint Andrewes, or at the leest way, for conservacion of their oune auctorite, to trayne joyne and fasten the said yong King in ferme intelligence with Fraunce, leving the wayes of Englande. Whiche, if it so shulde come to passe, wer further from the Kinges purpose, then when the Duke of Albany was there; considering that the Kinges Highnes had colour to make them warre, for preservacion of the said yong King, and his delyveraunce from the suspecte tutele of the Duke of Albany; whiche colour shulde nowe ceace, and they never the neere conjoyned, but the further from any amytie with the Kinges Grace. On the other side, if thErle of Arrayn and other Lordes there, mynding peraventure to seke their best avantage, shulde, by any practyse of the Archebisshop of Saint Andrewes and his frendes, or otherwise, begynne to declyne, and misliking the Quenes governance, or for other cause, adhere and drawe any other wais then shulde be to the contentacion mynde and pleasure of the Kinges Highnes, either in making a partie for the Duke of Albany, or by bringing and conducing their Prince to the devocion of France, and that the Kinges Highnes, deteynyng here the said Erle of Angwishe, shulde geve them space and commodite so to do, withoute any feare let or interrupcion; where as he being in Scotlande, and bent fermely against the Duke of Albany and the Frenche

Frenche faccion, myght and shulde not faile to empeche and disapointe them from any suche purpose, and being so deteyned here, he shulde also have cause of grefe and myscontentement towardes the Kinges Grace, considering His Highnes hathe none honourable ne good grounde or colour to kepe him here; and peraventure at his retourne (as he may not alwais remayne here) be moved and sturred therby to do asmoche as in hym were to the displeasure of the Kinges Grace: this thing myght gretely do annoyance unto the Kinges intent and purpose, in suche wise as this matier, for the incertainte therof, being thus perplexed, the Kinges Highnes and I have ben in grete doubte, what ordre wer best to be taken in the same. Neverthelas fynally, this way folowing hathe ben and is thought to be the most propice and convenient divice to put assured remedy unto bothe the said doubtes. First, albe it the Kinges Highnes may for a season deteyn here the said Erle of Angwishe, yet, as ye wel knowe, being in hym no defaulte, it can not be for any longe tyme that he may be kept here; for whiche cause it is intended that in tyme convenient, meanes and overtures shalbe herafter made to the Quene of Scottes for his reconsiliacion unto her favour. And considering the 2 doubtes biforesaid, depending the oon and the other principally upon the daungier whiche may be of any newe compasse to be made with the Duke of Albany, or bryngyng the yong King of Scottes to the partie and devocion of Fraunce; it is thought that a more sure and perfite way can not be divised to exclude al suspicion that may arise therof, then to have the Archebishop of Saint Andrewes, who shal do most hurte in suche matier, to be conveyed unto Berwik, after suche fourme as hertofore hathe ben writen unto you, and as is also comprised in the said aunswer of articles. Wherfore that matier is by your wisedome and policie to be avaunced and set forthe with al effect. And, in cace ye have hitherto, upon your letters alredy sent to the Quene of Scottes for that matier, knowen, or by the next letters to be sent unto you shal knowe and perceive good and perfite apparance, that the said Archebisshop aloon, or he and the Bishop of Aberdene, shalbe sent unto Berwik in diligence and withoute colour or delay, wherin the trouthe must be diligently enserched, then it shal not be material, ne there can be any dangier that shal ensue hereafter, whither the said Erle of Angwishe repaire in to Scotlande or not. For, thArchebisshop of Saint Andrews being so sent into Berwik, the 3 effectes, mencioned in the answer to the 8th of the said articles, shal therof ensue; whiche, with other politique ways to be used, shal totally exclude al dangiers, aswel of the retourne of the Duke of Albany, wherof I make no grete accompte, ne thinke that he shal dare come in to Scotlande, as also of the conjunccion of the said yong King and that realme with Fraunce, being the thing chiefly to be doubted and regarded.

And

And that don, suche practises may be made for reconsiliation of the said Erle of Angwish to the Quene of Scottes, as shalbe thought convenient; and her revolting from the King to the partie of France shal not nede to be so moche feared. But if either ye shal receyve playne answer of their refusal to send the said Archebisshop to Berwik, or that ye may evidently and certeinly perceyve that they wol not condescende therunto; then expedient shal it be that ye at that tyme, and not afore, do sende unto the Quene of Scottes a letter of myne to her directed, whiche with the copie of the same you shal receyve herwith, being so cowched that it shal cause her to be the more confourmable to the sending of the said Archebishop to Berwik, or ellis to consent to the retourne of the said Erle of Angwishe. And to whiche of them bothe so ever she consent, it shal be a good mean to put remedy unto the said 2 doubtes. But, if ye see good apparance of sending the said Archebishop to Berwike, ye shal then reserve my said letters to your self. Howe be it, to be playne with you, whiche ye shal kepe secrete, if she wol neither do the oon ne the other, the Kinges Highnes ne I can see howe the said Erle of Angwishe may be any lenger deteyned here; but that, taking his promyse to assiste the yong King in this his ereccion, and to remayn upon the Bordres in his oun countrey without intromedling with the Quenes landes goodes or person, and to do suche other thinges as shal be bifore his going declared and proponed unto hym concernyng the empechement of any entreprises to be made in bringing the said yong King to the devocion of France, the Kinges Grace lakking other meanes, must nedes conniventibus oculis suffre hym to escape and departe in to Scotlande. All whiche matiers I thoughte convenyent to make you privey of, to thintent ye, knowing the said doubtes and the Kinges mynde and intent in this behalf, may set furthe and avaunce the remedies divised for the same, by your good wisedome accordingly.

Over this I sende you herwith the Kinges letters directed to thErle of Areyn according to the Quene of Scottes desire, and also on from His Grace to the Bishop of Dunkel, and on from me to the Abbot of Paslay, according to your desire, with copies of al the said letters[1]; by tenour wherof ye shal mowe knowe and understonde the effectes of the same; praying you to use diligence in sending the Kinges said letters and myne, al save that of myne to the Quene of Scottes, as they be directed, and with the same to write your oun letters for the best avauncement of the matiers as shal appertayn. Ascertaynyng you that uppon the successes of thise matiers dependeth your retourne in to thise parties; for til suche tyme as there may be, by sending of suche Ambassadours oute of Scotland and otherwise, convenient suretie and ordre

[1] None of these letters appear to be extant, except Wolsey's to the Qeeen of Scots.

taken

taken for the perfite establishement of the yong King of Scottes in his ereccion, and none apparence of their leanyng and adhering unto France, it shulde be gretely daungerous to revoke you from those parties. Wherfore I require you diligently to put your hande and helpe to the accomplishement of the premysses, in suche wise as the matiers being oons in in good disposicion, ye may, for your commodite, and also to be present at the treating with the said Ambassadours, have knowlege of the Kinges pleasure for your retourne accordingly.

Over this, in your letters to be wryten at this tyme to the Quene of Scottes, ye shal shew unto her, howe the Kinges expresse avice and opynion is, that the yong King of Scottes do sende sharpe and peremptory summonances unto the Frenchemen and other being in Donbarre and Donbritayn, incontinently to rendre and yelde up the same to the said yong Kinges use upon peyn of dethe, with protestacion that, in cace they do not, they shal never be accepted unto pardon and mercy. For lak of accomplishement wherof, the Kinges Highnes and I thinke expedient that the said places shulde be attempted by force, if the Scottes be puissant and furnished of artillary so to do. For contynuyng thus, it may be a corage either for the Duke of Albany the more boldly to retourne, or for those of his faccion to contynue secretely in his devocion. And therfore practises wolde be made, by on meane or other, to attayn the said places in avoyding al daungiers, and also the dishonour that elles myght therof ensue. And moche good it shal do to make grete brute of the Poopes consent, passed at the Kinges special request, to conferre al the spiritual promocions of Scotland, at the oonely recommendacion of the said yong King of Scottes, aswel those that be alredy vacant, thoughe they have ben desired and proponed by the Duke of Albany, as al other that hereafter shall fall voide; for therby the people, and specially spiritual men, shalbe gretely allected and drawen in to the said yong Kinges devocion. And asmoche as ye can, I requyre you to helpe and further the cause of thErle of Angwishe brother for the priory of Coldingham, like as I have and shal specially tendre the same in my writinges to the courte of Rome; and that in the tyme of demore of thErle of Angwishe here, his servauntes frendes and partakers, demeanyng them selfes as they shulde do, be not extremely intreated in Scotlande, ne take hurte, as he affermeth they do.

On other thing, wherof I thought expedient to geve you knowlege in counsail, is this; Messyre John Joachym, who is here for the Frenche Kinges mother, affermed to me a good season passed, that thErle of Angwishe departed owte of France with the expresse knowlege and consent of the Frenche King, who purposely sent hym in to Scotland to bring aboute suche thinges by hym,

as

as coude not be don by the Duke of Albany. And at suche tyme as the Kinges Grace inquyred of the said Erle, whither he departed with the Frenche Kinges consent or not, he answered that the Frenche King was not made privey therunto, but that a quarter of on yere bifore his going he said unto the Frenche King that he wold no longer tary in Fraunce: wherein is none apparance that he durst so say; for if he had, it is undoubtedly to be thought he shulde have ben commytted to more straite custodye. Besides this, the said Erle, being nowe at Wyndesore in communicacion with Master Magnus and Roger Ratclif, affermed unto them, that at his late being at Berwik, Griselles Capitain of Donbar sent hym worde by a prest, that, if he wolde come in to Scotland, and obteyn for him and his Frenchemen sure and saulf passage in to France, he wolde delyver unto hym the said castel. Furthermore the said Erle affermeth to me, that the Quene wolde have his servauntes tenaunts and frendes in Scotland to be sworn unto the King and thErle of Arrayn, and for refusale therof hathe prefixed them a day to come in and be sworn; whiche if they denye to do, the said Erle of Angwishe saith they shalbe heried, and put to the horne. In which saying is no maner of apparance of trouthe, considering that no suche othe hathe ben made or required of other folkes in those parties, ne it wer reasonable there shulde be, but rather it is to be supposed that the said Erles servauntes and frendes refuse to make their othe to the King of Scottes; whiche, if it be so, is a shrode demonstracion. And when al thise thinges be lynked to gider, the Kinges Highnes and I have no smal cause to conceyve vehement suspicion that the said Erle of Angwishe meaneth not so sincerely as he maketh demonstracion, but peraventure hathe promysed the Frenche King to do som grete feate in Scotland to his purpose; whiche may be the cause, that he so extremely calleth upon his licence and departure fromhens, and that peraventure he sheweth hymself more facile to concorde bitwene the late Chaunceler, the Erle of Arayn, and hym. For whiche cause right expedient and necessary it shalbe, perfitely and substancially to enserche and seke oute the bottom of this matier, by al the politique divices and wayes possible; wherin I labour on this side with effecte, aswel in making further inquyre of the said John Joachym, as also by herkenyng, whither in communicacions with the said Erle, or otherwise, any further apparance herof may be pyked oute. And for your parte, the Kinges Grace and I requyre you that, considering the evident suspicion of the matier, and the grete dangier, whiche the Kinges affaires in Scotland myght be in, if the said Erle be untrue, ye wol, by al the meanes and secrete wais to you possible, assaye whither ye can come to the knowlege of any thing towching the same. For surely if Griselles wolde be contented to delyver hym the castel of Dunbarre,

Dunbarre, it is a grete apparance that there is som secrete intelligence bitwene the Frenche King and the said Erle. Whiche mater, what by your good wisedome there, and by suche other thinges as I wol set forthe here, shal I trust come to light, and the trouthe be knowen in brief tyme. And in the meane season it shalbe wel done to forbere the hasty sending of hym in to Scotlande, til more certainte may be had; and what ye thinke, and shal knowe herin, I praye you to advertise me by the next post accordingly.

Furthermore I sende unto you the saulfconduyte desired by the King of Scottes, who, for lak of good counsail or secretaryes aboutes hym, dothe somtymes forgete to observe his due ordre of subscripcion to the Kinges Highnes, and putteth onely his name, withoute any addicion of "your loving brother cousin and good nephieu"; wherin the Kinges Highnes, if His Grace did not conjecte the cause of errour, myght take som unkindenes. Wherfore it shalbe wel done ye geve the Quene of Scottes knowlege therof, to thintent she maye cause the King her son to have due respect therunto as shal apertayn.

Fynally, forasmoche as I perceyve, aswel by your letters as by the Lorde Dacres, that his brother Sir Christofer can not be conveniently spared there, to procede and passe in the armye nowe to be sent in to France; the Kinges Highnes, being contented that, for the better assistence of the Lorde Dacres, he shal remayne stil in those parties, wol neverthelas that the nombre of 200 horsmen, appointed to be levied there, be put in sufficient redynes accourding to the tenour and purporte of my former letters; providing there, by your discrecion, convenient capitayns and petycapitayns for their conduyting and leding, as shal aperteyn.

And thus, my Lorde, the King and I most hertely desire and pray you to have special regarde unto this perplexed matter of the retourne, or not retourne, of thErle of Angwish; and having best experience of the matiers there, so do therin, as ye shal thinke and perceyve to be most beneficial to the contynuance of the yong Kinges auctorite and his oune governance, and the withstonding of suche practises as may be made and set forthe for the retourne of the said Duke of Albany, or drawing of the yong King to the devocion of France, with conservacion of the Quene, by assistence of the noble men of the Counsail, in her auctorite there. And fare ye hertly well. At the Moore, the 15th day of September.

Your lovyng frende,

(*Signed*) T. Car^lis^ Ebor:

(*Superscribed*)
To my right entierly welbiloved frende, the Duke of Norfolke, the Kinges Lieutenaunt in the Northe parties, Treasorer, and Admyral of England.

LXIV. NORFOLK *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLESITH it Your Grace to be advertised that yesternight at 10 a clok I received your Graces letter dated at the More the 15th daye of this moneth, with dyvers other letters and copies, and other thingis in a box sealed; and incontynent I drewe a note of a letter to bee sent to the Quene of Scottis, the copie whereof your Grace shall receive with this[2], and the copie of myne other letter[3] sent to her from Berney Castell, answering her letter; whiche I sent to Her Grace upon Wedonysdaye laste past.[4] And this night Carlizle the haroult shall depart towardes her with the Kingis letters to her and thErle of Arren, and with the answere of her articles, and the note of the letter to bee sent by the King of Scottis to the Pope. And also he shall have with hym your Graces letter to the Quene, and shall in nowise shewe the same, onles he shalbe assured that the 2 Bishops shall not come to Berwike, and that some long tyme shalbe tracted in sending the Ambassadours; and he, perceyving the same, shall saye that my secretary had forgotton to delyver hym the seid letter, and that I had sent it to hym. And, if my servaunt Hals be not come awaye, he shall ordre all his business by his avise, to whome I have written at length howe he shall doo: notwithstaunding a Scottishman shewed me this day, that assuredly he had taken his leve of the Quene upon Friday last; and if that be true, I am sure I shalbe advertised of the Quenys resolute answere consernyng the sending too Berwike, or not sending, of the 2 Bishops, and in likewise at what tyme thEmbassadours shall set forewardes. For I wrote to hym in nowise to come thens, unto the tyme he knewe the sure resolucion of the Quenys myend consernyng thoos 2 pointes.

And where your Grace doth will me to brute the Popis consent, passed by the Kinges mediacion, for the spirituall promocions of Scotland to bee conferred by the nomynacion onely of the yong King; I have and shall do the mooste I can therein.

And where the Kinges pleasure and your Graces is, to send Master Magnus and Roger Ratclif, I am very joyfull thereof, for I trust moche good shall come of their being there, aswell by their wisedomes in giffing Her Grace good counsell for the ordring of the realme to the contentacion of the noble men and others, as by the secret advyse of Mr Magnus as a Prest, to gif her some holsome counsell for thordring of her owne lyving.

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1 From the British Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 361.

2 It is in Caligula, B. VII. leaf 19. and agrees with the directions given in Wolsey's letter.

3 In the same Volume, leaf 17. 4 September 14.

And,

And, as consernyng the going into Scotland of thErle of Anguyshe, or not going, after my pore opinion the Kingis Highnes and your Grace hath taken the best resolucion. And, if it maye evidently appere to your Grace by John Joachym, or otherwise, that he is come out of Fraunce by the consent of the Frenche King to avance his purpoos; then I am assured His Highnes and your Grace woll in nowise consent unto his retourne. And I shall doo as moche as I can tenserche to have knowelege of the same. But, and it so bee, it shalbe very difficill to knowe the trouthe thereof, notwithstaunding without doubte William Douglas, and Archebold his uncle, have spoken with Groselles, as my servaunt Hals hath advertised me from Edenburgh; wherein might be hurt and also no hurt; for at my being at Berwike, bothe my Lord Dacre and I were made prevy by thErle of Anguyshe, that Groselles had sent to hym that he myght be saufely conveyed into Fraunce, and he wold leve Donbar; but he spake no word that he wold delyver the castell into his handes. And at my last being at Berwike, both my Lord Dacre and I advysed the seid William to speke with Grosellis, to knowe whether he loked for the retourne of the Duk or not, and to fele if he were myended to depart thens, as he was onys purposed. Notwithstaunding, if he hath been with hym any oftenner then onys, the matier is the more suspicious. Whereof I trust to knowe the trouth within six dayes, and shall advertise your Grace of the same.

Also I have sent the Kingis letter to the Bushop of Donkell by the seid Carlizle, to whome he furst brake the matier; but nowe, inasmoche as he shalbe one of thEmbassadours, I think he woll not disclose the same, unto his owne commyng unto the Kinges Highnes.

And in all other thingis conteyned in your Graces letter, I have and shall accomplishe your commaundement, to the best of my poure. As God knoweth, who have your Grace in His moost blissed tuycion. Written at Newcastell, the 19th daye of September.

Yours most bownden,

(*Signed*) T. Norffolk.

Post scripta. Came hither my servaunt Hals, and hath shewed me, that the Quene doth saye that in nowise she dare send the seid Bishops to Berwik; for, she asking thopinion of all the Lordes thereof, they answered presisely they wold never consent that any Scottishman shuld be sent into England for offence doon to their Soverain Lord; and bad my servaunt take it for a resolute answer, she wold not send theym, for, if she shuld, all Scotland wold grudge against her. Whiche undoubtedly hath great apparance to be true, by that I have hard, and have been advertised of, by divers others Scottishmen

that I trust very well. Also she bad Hals shewe unto me that it wold bee upon a moneth, or thEmbassadours shuld be at Berwik, whereof is nowe expired but 4 dayes, and that she had doon asmoche as she might to make theym make hast; but sonner they could not come.

Also Hals hath shewed me, that the Quene shewed hym, that the Bushop of Saint Andrewes had offred to laye in pledges in England, that he wold be a true subject to the King his Soverain Lord. And one George Shawe, who is nere kinnysman to thAbbot of Paslaye, and servaunt to the yong King, by whome I have had dyvers knoeleges, whiche had been with the said Bishop of late, shewed Hals that he wold laye in pledgis in the Kinges handes to be true to his Soverain Lord, and that he woll fynd the meanes to take suche direccion that the Duke of Albany shuld no more come in the land. And thAbbot of Paslaye and Patrik Synkclere, in likewise, shewed Hals, that the seid Bishop with good will wold laye in pledgis in England for his dutie to be observed to the King his Soverain Lord. And Adam Ottirburn sent me worde, and if I could fynd the meanes that the Kingis Highnes wold helpe the said Bushop oute of durance, he wold put in pledges or fynd suertie by the bankers, to take the yong Kinges part, and bee further ordred.

Nothwithstaunding, the seid George Shawe shewed Hals that Henry Stuard had promysed the seid Bushop to helpe hym out, so that he wold put his onely trust in hym and sue to none other, and, if he labored to any other, he wold do nothing for hym. The whiche Henry Stuard had of late in his keping the Great Seale, the Prevy Seale, and a other seale called the Quarter Seale, and the Signet; and also occupied thoffice of Treasourer; and doth rule as he woll, to the great grudge of all others. Of whiche premysses I thought requysite tadvertise your Grace, to thentent that, considering the meanes cannot bee founde to have the seid Bushop brought into England, your Grace might, at your pleasure, devise some other practises whiche as ye shall think good.

Fynally Hals hath shewed me that in maner the grudge is unyversall againste the Quene, aswell for that she taketh somoche upon herself, and is onely ruled by thErle of Arren and the seid Henry Stuard, and doth litle by thadvyse of the noble men; as also for her ungodly lyving, and for keping thErle of Anguyshe out of the realme; unto whom, he saith, more then the half of the realme wold come incontynent to take his part, if he were onys there; and that he hath herd no man so well biloved in noo contry.

And, where it is mencioned in your Graces letter that it shuld be right dangerous to revoke me, unto the tyme, by sending of Ambassatours out of Scotland and otherwise, convenyent suertie and ordre might be taken for the perfight establishment of the yong King in his erreccion, and noon apparance of their

their leanyng to Fraunce; I assure your Grace I se no likelihode that ye shalbe assured thereof of a long season. Wherefore mooste humble I beseche your Grace, that the Kinges Highnes and you, being nowe assured that the Bushops shall not bee sent into this realme, and of the tyme of the commyng of thEmbassadours, that ye wold determyne when I shall come hens; to thentent that, and I shall tarry here any lenger then the commyng up of thEmbassadours, I might provide me of some other place to ly in, then this towne, and that also I might send for my wife, and put some ordre for myne owne affaires againste the begynyng of the terme; where I have more to do then ever I had in all my life bifore. Wherefore eftsonys moost humble I beseche your Grace tadvertise me of the Kingis pleasure and yours, whereunto I shall trust, of lenger abode or sone departure hens.

Also Hals hath shewde me, that the Qwene tolde hym that, the Bushop off Donkell being in Fraunce, he knew that dyvers off the Kinges chamber advertised the French Kyng off all the Kynges determynacions. Wheropon Hals desired the Qwene, that the seide Bushop myght be one to come in ambassate; and so for that purpose the Qwene apoynted hym. I have sent after Carlisle, and so he shall now delyver your Graces letter at his furst commyng, acordyng to your Graces commandment. Also the Qwene hath sent to me by Hals for 100*£* to be sent to thErle of Casselles, without wich he can not come in ambassate; and I shall send the same to Berwik, to be delyverd to hym at his commyng thider, and not before. And more charge the Kyng shall not be at for the settyng forth off the Ambassitours.[1]

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates good Grace.

LXV. Wolsey *to* Norfolk.[2]

My Lord I commende me unto you in my right herty maner. And have receyved your letters dated at Newcastell the 22th day of this monethe with a letter sent unto you by the Quene of Scottes[3]; perceyving not oonly in what state and disposicion the Scottishe affaires than were, but also the good ordre ye

[1] The last paragraph is written by Norfolk himself.
[2] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 351.
[3] Neither of these can be found.

do

do take for administracion of justice, and punishement of malefactours in those parties nere unto the Borders: all whiche matier I incontinently shewed and declared unto the Kinges Highnes, being nowe here at my house of the More: and His Grace for your good acquitail in the premisses geveth unto you herty thankes.

Ascerteynyng you, that thErle of Angwishe maketh here, dailly and contynually, grete exclamation of his deteynyng in this realme; and, for any good persuasion or exhortation that can be devised, he never ceaceth to desire and require that he may have licence to retourne into his countrey, ne can be induced, with his will or contentment, to demore here on day lenger. Inasmoche as I have, in as good and pleasant maner as I coude, moeved hym to tary only the space of 4 or 5 daies, saying that in tyme I trusted to have newes that he might retourne into Scotland, with the Quene of Scottes good contentment, and a good concorde to be made bitwene theym; with many other introductions sounding to that matier: but, what so ever I can say unto hym, he maketh fynally answer that his expresse desire is incontinently to departe. Wherupon I have founde non other maner of remedye, onles it shulde appere that he were kept against his will, but to shewe unto hym that the Kinges Highnes is right well contented that he shall goo, and that I woll devise with hym upon suche thinges, as may be thought best to be done after his commyng home, for the weale of the yong King, the contynuance of his ereccion, and the keping of hym from the devocion of Fraunce. In the communicacion wherof, I trust to trayn hym for the space of 3 or 4 daies, whiche wolbe the most; and in that season I trust to have some knowlaige from you howe the Quene of Scottes shalbe mynded, aswel towching his said retourne, as also concernyng the sending of thArchbishop of Saint Andrewes unto Berwik, being veray glad that ye write ye be nowe in some good hope of the likelihode therof. For, as I have heretofore writen unto you, it is greatly to be doubted lest, the said Archbishop being in Scotland, some suche practises might be made for his delivery oute of pryson, as might fynally redounde either to the defeating of the sayd ereccion, and the accepting again of the Duke of Albany, orelles to the bringing of the said yong King to the devocion of Fraunce; the doubte of whiche matier is oone of the thinges, wherfore the Kinges Highnes wolde the rather that the said Erle of Angwish were in Scotland, to make a good part against any suche enterpryse, if it might be perceyved that his commyng thidder shulde not move the Quene, thErle of Areyn, and other, to suche displeasure and fere, that for thair strength they shulde either take oute the said Chaunceler, or, with or withoute hym, make a stronger parte than the Erle of Angwishe, and so declyne either to the Duke of Albany, or bring thair King

to

to the partie of Fraunce. So that the same thing, whiche is to be doubted might ensue by deteyning of thErle of Angwishe being here, is also feared to ensue by his retourne, and shulde by no waye so clerely put oute of doubte, as by sending of the said Archbishop to Berwick. In whiche cace than wer no suche danger coude ensue, whither thErle of Angwishe retourned into Scotland or not. Wherfore I require you that, if by your letters or otherwise, ye may eftsones do furtherance to the sending of the said Archbishop, and to accelerate a spedy resolucion therof, ye wol do what ye may; so as, the certeinte of that matier knowen, the said Erle of Angwishe may be ordred accordingly. For, if within the said 3 or 4 daies I shal have no more certain worde from you herin, inasmoche as ther is no colour to deteyne hym here any lenger, ther shalbe no remedye, but he must be depeched from hens, and shal, in the company of some officer of armes, be sent unto you, under colour to communicate some thinges with you, that shalbe geven hym here in charge to divise with you in. At whiche his commyng the Kinges pleasure is, that by some good meanes, faynyng, as of your self, that ther be certain persons whiche lye in a wayte to intercept hym, or upon some other good grounde or colour, proceding of your self, and not as though the Kinges Highness or I knewe any thing of it, ye shal fynde the meanes to tract and retarde hym ther; so as he entre not Scotlande, til ye shal perceyve that the same shal not be to the subversion and empechement of the affaires there, ne that therby the Quene and Erle of Arayn, delyveryng the Chaunceler oute of prison, shulde make a partie with hym against the said Erle of Angwish; wherby consequently the yong King myght be brought in to the devocion of France, or elles the Duke of Albany restored to his former auctorite and governement: whiche is the doubte that the King and I have in the retourne of the Erle of Angwish, bifore the peax may be made bitwene the Quene and hym.

And, wher as ye make mencion of the device of Mr Adam Oterbourne for bringing the same Archbishop to libertye by the Kinges meanes, and good pledges to be layde in the Kinges handes, and also suretie by bankers in good sommes, for observaunce of suche thinges as shalbe thought by His Highnes requisite to have hym bonde unto; if ye shal ones perceyve and knowe that the former divice for his sending to Berwik can in no wise take effect, than is that other waye in any wise to be experymented, and the said Archbishop rather to be enlarged by the Kinges meanes upon suche bandes pledges and suerties, than either to lye in prison in Scotland, wher sinister practises may be made, to the dangier of the yong King as is aforesaid, or also to be enlarged by any other labour. Wherfore, the first failing, ye shal set forthe that other the best ye can, whan ye shal see tyme; enserching what pledges bandes and bankers shalbe founde for hym, whiche wolbe bounde, that he shal assurydly adhere

adhere and leane unto the said ereccion, the utter exclusion of the Duke of Albany, the conservacion of the yong King in his oune governement, the contynuance of the Quenes auctorite, the conducing of good peax and loving intelligence bitwen England and Scotland, and the conservacion of the same yong King from any bandes, treaties, herkennyng, or adhering to Fraunce. And what towardnes ye shal fynde therin, I pray you in that cace to advertise me accordingly; wherupon, the specialties known, I shal in diligence, after suche advertisment, ascertain you what shalbe the Kinges pleasure ye do for knytting up and conclusion of the same.

Over this I signifye unto you, that here hath ben with the Kinges Grace and me diverse folkes of the costes of Norfolk and Suffolk, shewing howe they dare not in any wise aventure to fyshe at this tyme on the said costes, by raison that certain Frenchemen of werre, lately common oute of Depe and those parties, kepe the same costes. For whiche cause they have humbly desired the Kinges Highnes to provide some remedye in that behalve, offring that they wolbe contented to rigge and sett forthe oone good shipp of werre, at thair oune cost and charge, for thair suertie and defence, in cace ther may be a convenient nomber of moo shippes appointed to that porpose. Wherfore, considring that if, after the losse whiche hathe ben of the said Iseland flete, they shulde nowe also be disapointed from thair said fyshing, itt shulde not be oonly to thair undoing, but also a great losse and dammage unto this realme; and for that cause the Kinges pleasure is, that with all convenient diligence ye cause Paxforde, and suche other shippes as kepe those North Sees, to repayre unto the said cost, ther to joyne with the ship by the men of the same to be prepared, and so to kepe and defende theym from the malice of thair enemyes, as they may, withoute dangier, procede and contynue thair said fyshing: praying you to sende worde and knowlaige to the said costes, not oonly that suche shippes shalbe sent in diligence for the pourpose bifore specifyed, but also of the tyme and place whan and where they shall resorte unto; the substanciall ordring wherof the Kinges Highnes committeth to your wisedome and discrecion.

And veray well shal it be done, that according to your device ye cause suche money of the Kinges, as William Pawnes son shall bring hitherwarde, to be delivered unto thandes of Robert Lorde. Ascerteynyng you that by the next post I woll sende unto you the Kinges pardon for the man mencioned in your letter sent unto Brian Tuke, whose execucion ye may cause therfore to be differred accordingly. And fare ye hertily wel. At my manour of the More, the 28th day of September.

Your lovyng frende,

(*Signed*) T. Car^lis Ebor:

LXVI. WOLSEY *to* NORFOLK.[1]

MY Lord, I commende me unto you in my most herty maner, advertising you that, sens the writing of my last letters unto you, I have had sundry conferences and communications with thErle of Angwishe and his brother Sir George Douglas, whom I fynde to be a man of more perfite knowlaige and experience than the said Erle. And finally the same Sir George of hym self plainly hathe opened unto me the state of the realme of Scotland, and what may be the daungier, either of the Quene and Erle of Arayns chaunging unto the Duke of Albanyes parte, taking oute the Archbishop of Saint Andrewes for strenght of thair partye, after suche forme as I have heretofore writen unto you the doubt and perill therof, or in traynyng the yong King to the devocion of Fraunce. The said Erle and his brother have also geven unto me a bill of suche noble men in Scotland, as they afferme wol take the Kinges parte ther against the Duke of Albany; and of suche, as be the same Erles frendes, and woll take his parte; and also of suche, as wol take the Duke of Albanys parte, contrary to the yong Kinges ereccion; and finally of suche, as yet be newtrale, and may with polycie be had unto the said yong Kinges side: the copy of whiche bil I sende unto you herin closed[2], to thintent that ye by your wisedome may enserche and knowe, whither the said Erle may have suche a parte in Scotland as he affirmyth, or not; and whither the residue be of suche inclinacion, as is mencioned in the said bill: the knowlaige wherof wolbe moche necessary and expedient for ordring of the matiers accordingly. Ascerteynyng you that, ensuyng suche purpose as I wrote unto you in my last letters, I have hitherto trayned the said Erle of Angwishe here, and yet shal do for on day or 2, if I can, aboute the communication and perfiting of certain articles, whiche nowe be by hym and his said brother agred unto: the copye wherof, with a letter[2] of myn directed unto the Quene of Scottes and a copy of the same letter, ye shall receyve herewith. And by tenour therof ye shall mow perceyve, what direccion is taken here with the said Erle of Angwishe and his brother, whom though thErle hath offred to remayn here in pledge for performance of his promises touching the said Quene, I nevertheles have thought, for his wisedome and good conduyt, more mete to be contynually aboute the said Erle, where he shal do more good with his counsail, than to be here absent from hym; and therfore he shalbe sent, honestly

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 314.

[2] Not now to be found.

 rewarded

rewarded and enterteyned, to retourne with the Erle his brother. Ye shal also perceyve what I write unto the Quene of Scottes, aswell touching the reconsiliacion of the said Erle unto her favour, as also for the pacifycacion of the variances depending bitween hym and thErle of Arayn; not doubting but whan ye shall have red the copies of the said letters and articles, ye woll thinke this the most direct and sure waye to provide for all chaunces and daungiers, that may ensue by the instabilitie of the Counsaillours and noble men being in Scotland. And therfore the Kinges pleasure is, that ye, sending my said letters to the Quene of Scottes, with a copye of asmany of tharticles, and no mo, as touche the reconciliacion of thErle of Angwishe to the said Quene, and the pacyficacion of the differences bitwene hym and thErle of Arrayne, do set forthe those matiers the best ye can, geving by your writing, as of yourself, the best counsail and exhortacion unto the Quene of Scottes therin, that ye can divise, immyxting also some sharpe wordes of the doubte ye have, lest she, refusing the Kinges good avice, shal geve His Grace cause utterly to forsake her, and agreving somwhat the daungier whiche therbye might ensue unto her herafter. Semblably ye shal, asmoche as in you is, procure and further the agrement to be made bitwene thErle of Arayn and the said Erle of Angwishe; whiche is thought shal not be dificile to be brought to passe, considering that, as I understonde, they be bothe well inclyned unto the same. And at the commyng of thErle of Angwishe unto you, who shall departe to morowe, or the next day, ye may, under colour of the said agrement with thErle of Arayn, and in sending some wise servaunt of yours or other, to and from, for conducing therof, trayne the said Erle of Angwishe with you, till ye shal mowe perceyve somwhat of the Quenes mynde towching the said reconsiliacion to her favour. And so by your wisedome ye may order his going into Scotland, or tarying for a smale season, as ye shall see to stonde with the suertie and furtherance of thaffaires. For, as ye well knowe, the Kinges Grace may not, with his honour, moche lenger deteyn hym in this realme, onles than it shulde evidently appere that his retorne into Scotland shulde be cause of the totall subversion and disapointment of the Kinges pourpose, either by falling againe of the Lordes, and percace of the Quene also, to the Duke of Albanys parte, or by making a stronger partie, than thErle of Angwishe may be, to trayn the yong King to the devocion of Fraunce. In whiche matier great circumspeccion is to be used, though I veraily suppose that the Quene of Scottes, who is a wise Princesse, can and woll considre that the Kinges request soundeth somoche to her honour and suertie, that she can have no cause or colour to refuse the same. And veraily conformying her self therunto, ther shalbe no further doubte or feare to be had, but that all the residue shall

shall come unto honourable and good ende; wherin Mr Magnus also at his arrivall shal labour asmoche as nede shalbe, if bifore that tyme a fynal effect therin do not ensue: praying you to make hym pryvey aswel of the contentes of thise my letters, as of my said letter to the Quene of Scottes, and semblably of the articles passed by thErle of Arayn, for his better riping therin; to thentent he may set furthe and avaunce those matiers as shal apertain: which brought to good conclusion, you may the soner have licence of the Kinges Highnes to retourne into those parties, and therfore I require you by your wisedome to set it forthe accordinglye.

Over this I have shewed unto the Kinges Highnes the greate endevour whiche ye use in administracion of justice in those parties, wherwith His Grace is singulerly wel contented, and geveth unto you herty thankes for the same. And wher as, by your letters of the 25th of September and the copies therin closed, His Highnes and I perceyve that certain gentlemen of those countreys have made complaint, by thair bill to you presented, against the Lord Dacres; the Kinges Highnes and I note therin 2 thinges: on is, that thair complaint extendeth not unto any speciall particularities of the matiers wherin they pretende to be greved, but under generall wordes; the other is, that they afferme they can not ne wol ever be contented to be ordered by the said Lord Dacres, ner to favour or love hym in thair hertes, but rather to departe the countrey. As to the first, the Lord Dacres hathe desired, that he may be called to make answer unto any matier whiche they can object unto his charge, and to be ordered therin according to the course and processe of justice, and non otherwise; whiche thing, as ye knowe, can not reasonably be denyed, but that either ther or here he must be herde in his defence upon ever particler matier, and not to be condempned upon a generall surmise or complaint: wherin I pray you to advertise me of your opynyon and avice, whither the same shuld best be done, ther or here; for it is thought to the Kinges Highnes, me, and other of his Counsail, that it shalbe more convenient to have those matiers examyned here, wher the complaynauntes shal not drede to shewe the trouthe of thair grefe, and wher the Lord Dacres, found culpable, may be punyshed according to his demerites, than in those parties, wher the said complayntes may peradventure be suborned, and not so good commodite geven for condigne punycion, as the cace shal require. And therfore it is thought here it shalbe well done, that for the ease of the parties greved, they constitute 2 or 3 persons, well auctorised and instructed, to repaire hither with convenient diligence to shewe the particularities of suche matiers as they can object against the said Lord Dacres; and that he semblably repaire hither to make answer therunto. Whiche may be veray commodyously done in the

tyme that ye shalbe occupied aboutes the traynyng of the Scottish affaires. Howe be it, if those matiers of Scotland may be by your good industrye and diligence brought to a spedy conclusion, it shal not be the commyng hither of the Lord Dacres, that shal prolong your demore ther. For ye, taking bandes of suche persons in that countrey, as ye shal thinke convenient, for thair good abeiring, and to be forthe commyng, leving also with Sir William Bulmer, and other the Lieutenauntes of the Marches, order for governaunce of the same in the said Lord Dacres absence, shal not be retarded for that matier, whensoever the cace shal require. And therfore fynding non other reasonable cause to the contrary, ye may order thair commyng up accordingly. As to the seconde poynt, it is thought by the Kinges Highnes, me, and other of his Counsail, that the said complaynauntes excede the lymytes of humble and conformable subjectes, whan they absolutely afferme in thair supplicacion, that they can not ne ever wol be contented to be ordred by the said Lord Dacre, ner to favour or love hym in thair hertes, but rather to departe the countrey. For suche saying implyeth in it a great presumpcion, and is not to be pretermytted under silence, forasmoche as it becommyth not theym to refuse any officer, whiche the King shall constitute, though he were of moche inferiour degre than the Lord Dacres is; but to be obedient unto hym in all the Kinges causes, matiers, and commaundementes. And finding other demeanour in suche officer, than shal stonde with justice, it is convenient that they shewe thair grefe unto His Highnes or his Counsail, without exception of the person whom the Kinges Grace doth depute.

And therfore ye must in that mater be rounde and playn with theym, in suche wise as they may perceyve thair oune foly and presumpcion in that behalf; wherwith the Kinges Highnes is nothing contented, as ye may sharpely declare and shewe theym. And, contynuyng in suche mynde, ye may be sure ther shal be other waies provided for thair correccion and punishement, the repressing of thair high wilfull and obstinate myndes in example of all other, as I doubt not but by your wisedome ye can and do consider, that they do herin excede the lymytes of thair duetie; whiche ye maye declare unto theym, ordring this matier in maner and forme aforesaid accordingly. And hertily fare ye wel. At Saint Albons, the 3de day of October.

Your lovyng frende,

(*Signed*) T. Carlis Ebor:

(*Superscribed*)
To my right entierly beloved frende, the Duke of Norfolk, the Kinges Lieutenaunt in the North parties, Treasurer, and Admirall of England.

LXVII. ARRAN *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

SCHIRE, in my maist humile maner I commend my lauly service to Zour maist noble Grace. Plesit Zour Hienes I ressavit Zour Gracis writtingis delyverit be Carlile Heroald servitour to Zour Grace, be the quhilkis Zour Grace gevis to me maist acceptable gratificacionis and thankingis for my continuance persevering and effectuale assistance to ye perfit corroboracion and establischment of Zour Gracis derrist nevois, the Kingis Gracis, my Soverane Lorde and Maisteris, escaip, and governament of this his Realme; quharin I do myne honour and prayse, yerby deserwing thankis of my Soverane Lord and Zour Grace. Assuring yat I, persisting in ye samen, and proceding with effect to all sic thingis as may sounde to ye perfectione yerof, and conducing of perfit perpetuale peax betuix baitht thir Realmez, Zour Grace wil in liberale wise luke apone me, quharthrou I sal persave and knaw Zour Gracis gratuite and benivolencis towardis me; and yat Zour Grace sal not ceise to persecute all yame yat salbe to ye contrarie affectione: and as is at maire lincht, to ye weil surte and plesur of ye Kingis Grace my Soverane Lord and me, in yat behalf fullye in Zoure Gracis saidis writtingis specifyit, datit at Vindessor ye 16 day of September. Of ye quhilkis Zour Gracis maist plesand acceptable writtingis congratulacionis and lowingis send and don at me, and maire yan I can or may deserve, I cordialye and rycht humlie thank Zour Grace; quhais maist noble Hienes wil pleis to credably traist and fermlie beleif my sympilnes at my possibilite sal one na [*maner wey*] decist nor faile to persever constantlie be exponyng and spending of my herategeis, lif, and all [*other thin*]gis in my power, to ye perfurnesing corroboracione fortefying and mantennyng of all sic thingis as [*may be*] or sounde to ye prosperite conservatione and weil of ye Kingis Grace my Soverane Lord and Maisteris person, [*his*] estait, and governance of this his Realme. Not anely as I, quhilk be verteu of myne allegiance as [*true subget*] is abufe and befoire all uyer erdlie thingis desyrous adettit and astutlit yerto; and be naturale re[*soun*], be proximite of bluyd, in ye quhilk my simplenes standis to His gracious Hienes, as discendit of hi[*s house*] royale; bot als as I yat be His Gracis maist noble delectable forme, naturale constant and gud hawingis, and preeminent beweteis, all uyeris myne devoyris dett and motivis cessing, am one force cons[*trained*] yerto; in semblable way as, I I indouttitlie beleif, all uyer mortale creature, seyng and persaving [*His*] Gracis maist noble jocund walte, best formit personage, prudent degest, manlye and

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 17. It has been injured both by fire, and by the negligence of the binder, but the defects are supplied from a contemporary copy, Caligula, B. III. leaf 126.

ferme

ferme contenance, w[*ith requisite*] liberalite, and all uyeris vertuous naturale and princelye hawingis, not as ane pupile in[*juvente and*] lese aige, bot as ane maist noble excellent Prince of perfit mature aige, doing and hawing him in [*his affa*]ris and every behalf, tharthrou suld not onelye be affectionat, bot als coactit to have entier cordial lowingis, desyrous intentif and deliberat myndis, to oblise and dedice yair selfis, at yair possibiliteis e[*fferan*]d to yair estatis and degreis, corespondentlie to do His Hienes maist hartlie honouris, lovingis, acceptable assistanceis, corroboracionis, benevolencis, plesuris, and service. And as to ye conducing of ye said perpetuale peax betuix [*yir twa*] Realmez, I sal do procure solist and persuade yerto in all yat I can or may, to ye honour and weil of ye K[*ing my So*]verane, and this his Realme, and plesure of Zour Grace. It wil pleis Your Hienes be advertist and understand [*yat, if*] Zour Grace sendis or wil suffer the Erl of Anguse, now being within zour Realme, cum in Scotland, it sal [*not on*]ly be hurtable and annoye this the Kingis Grace my Soverane Lordis erectione, governance, and materis now weil b[*egan*], bot yerwith salbe impediment, utir expiring, and dissolwyng of treating of peax betuix thir Realmez, [*and other wayes*] doing heir to ye plesur of Zour Grace. For as now laitlye it was dewlgat yat ye said Erle was [*by Zour*] Grace fred and send in Scotland, quharby, give sa had bene, ye Ambassadouris now devisit and tocum to Zour Gr[*ace had*] not depart towardis Zour Grace, nor nane uyeris directionis send in yat behalf. And Zour Grace may assure[*dly traist yis reaport is for no private*] indignatione I beyr to ye said Erle, but anelie to advertise Zour Grace, [*as hereftir Zour Grace sal by experience fynd*] and apertlie knaw, give Zour Grace not anelye deteyne ye said Erl in captivite, bot als mak be Zour Gracis writtingis surte yerapon, as ye Quenis Grace Zour Hienes derrest sustir, my maisteres, perfitlie understandis. And as to my part, I have na maner ferre nor dout of ye said Erl nor his, in quhais contraire al uyeris my adversaris within yis realme I sall mantene and debait my part. For albeit he be gretlie estimet be report in England, I may and sal do als acceptable service to ye Kingis Grace my Maister, as ye said Erl, or ony oyer Barrone within yis realme; and my Soverane Lord and Maister being exceppit, yair sal nane uyeris have myne and ye said Erlis benevolentis and service, baitht at anys, considering ye cruelteis and injuris committit be him apon my frendis. And attour it wil pleis Zour Grace have remembrance, yat I am discendit of zour house, and standis in tendir degre and proximite of bluyd to Zour noble Grace[1]; quharby I think Zour Grace suld not, to ye plesur of ye

[1] This proximity seems to be no nearer than the degree of third cousin, the common ancestor of Henry VIII. and Arran having been the first John Beaufort Earl of Somerset; from whom Henry VIII. derived his descent through John the second Earl, Margaret Countess of Richmond, and King Henry VII.; and Arran, through Joan wife of King James I., King James II., and Mary wife of Lord Hamilton.

said

said Erle, nor nane uyer man of yis realme under ye Kingis Grace zour derrest nevoy, do or assist in my contrair, I doing to Zour Grace service requisit; in ye quhilk, Zour Grace doing to me as I fermlie traist, I sal not faile at my power. And God Omnipotent everlastinglie conserve Zour maist noble Grace. Sub[*scrivit*] of Linlithgw, ye thrid day of October, be ye hand of Zour Gracis maist humil servitour,

(*Signed*) Erl [*of Arren*].

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kyng of Englandis maist noble Grace.

LXVIII. Articles, divised concluded and agrede bitwene the Most Reverende Fader in God, the Lorde Thomas, Cardinal, Archebishop of Yorke, Legate de Latere, Primate, and Chaunceler of Englande, on the behalf of the Kinges Highnes of Englande and of Fraunce, on the oon partie; and Archibalde Erle of Angwish in the Realme of Scotlande, on the other partie; for the suretie weale and prosperite of the yonge King James of Scotlande.[1]

First, where as the said yong King of Scotlande, being nephieu unto the Kinges Highnes, is nowe, by the good avice counsail and supplie of His Grace, and by the feithful and loyal assistence and dexterite of the Quene of Scottes, moder to the said yong King, and of diverse noble men spiritual and temporal and other of the Realme of Scotlande, erected and admytted unto his highe astate and dignite Roial, the governement of hym self and of that his Realme, and the suspecte tutele of the Duke of Albany clerely revoked cassed and adnulled, aswel by the othe and promyse of diverse and many of the said Lordes, as also by the auctorite of the Parliament of Scotlande; by meane wherof he is, God willing, delyverd from the apparant dangier that his person and life was in by reason of the said suspect tutele, and is brought unto free libertie to ordre his people Realme and affaires to his most honour weale and suretie, wherin it shalbe expedient for His Grace, being yet yonge, to have notable sadde and substancial counsail: Forasmoche as the Kinges said Highnes of Englande and of France, tendering asmoche the suretie exaltacion and prosperitie of his derest and bestbeloved nephieu the said King of Scottes, as can be divised, shal take right grete joy and consolacion to here and under-

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[1] From the Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 395.

stonde

stonde that his said derest nephieu thus delyvered from the immynent daungier that he was in, may be nowe not oonly preserved and contynued from any other like peril, but also trayned in noble princely and vertuous maners, and his Realme nobles and subjectes prudently ordred and governed, to his honour, the weale and increace of the same; for the helping and furtherance wherof, the said Erle of Angwishe, like a true and feithful subject to his Soverain Lord, hathe lately escaped oute of France, and is commen unto the Kinges Highnes, offring hym self to put al his indevour furtheraunce and assistence to the Kinges said vertuous charitable and loving purpose: It is therfore divised, and the said Erle of Angwishe, by thadvice counsail and consent of his broder Sir George Douglas Knight, hathe faithefully and assuredly promysed, bynding and oblyging him self by thise presentes, upon his honour fidelite and loyaltie to his Prince, that he shall accomplishe observe and fulfill, truely feithfully sincerely and withoute fraude or default, the articles hereafter folowing, whiche for his parte be mencioned to be observed.

First the said Erle of Angwish, at his commyng in to Scotland, shal ratifie conferme and approve, forasmoche as to his part, as oon of the noble men of the Realme and Parliament of Scotlande, shal or may appertain, the ereccion, taking forthe, and contynuance of the said yonge King of Scottes in to his oune governement, and thexclusion revocacion and adnulling of the tutele and governance, whiche his Person and Realme was in by the Duke of Albany; and shalbe contente to passe by writing, bande, othe, worde, or otherwise, any thing that shalbe requyred of hym for corroboracion therof, with his consent and agrement, withoute delaye excuse or tract of tyme.

Item the said Erle of Angwishe shal, with all his studie, counsail, power, frendes and paretakers, faithefully truely and with effect, serve ayde and supporte, maynteyn and defende, the said yonge King of Scottes, and his frendes adherentes and partakers, in the contynuance of his said oune governement, aswel against the Frenche King or any his adherentes, as against the Duke of Albany and his partakers, and against all other of what nacion, countrey, degree, astate, dignite, or haveour so ever they be, whom he shal, with his power might and frendes, resiste and withstande, in any thing whiche may be procured, imagyned, compassed, laboured, or done, contrarye to the said ereccion and governement, and againste the contynuance therof, or in the favour of the Duke of Albany, or any other person of the Frenche faccion.

Item, in cace the said Duke of Albany shal fortune to retourne in to the Realme of Scotlande at any tyme bifore the said yong King shalbe common unto his perfite and full age of 21 yeres, in asmoche as suche retourne can not sounde but the hurte and destruccion of the same yong King, the said Erle of Angwishe

Angwishe therfore shal, wyth all his power frendes and parttakers, employe and endevour hym self to resist and withstande the arrival of the said Duke, and really and effectuelly shal procede against hym, in assistence of suche as take or shal take the said yonge Kinges parte in his said ereccion and his oune governement, expelling or repressing the said Duke or his adherentes, either by batail, or suche other way as shalbe founde most expedient therunto, withoute ceacing or desisting to persecute the said Duke and his adherentes to the uttermost, to their total expulsion and defeating; in suche wise as the parson of the said yong King may in any wise be preserved and kept oute of their handes, possession, and daungier.

Item the said Erle of Angwishe shal never do or procure to be don, ne as nighe as he may resist, shal suffre to be done or passed, any acte or other thing, in Parliament, Counsail, or otherwise, wherby the ereccion and governement of the said yong King and Realme of Scotland by hym self, may be hyndred, revoked, or deroged, or the tutele governement or auctorite of the Duke of Albany, or any other of the Frenche faccion, renewed or restored; but, aswel by hym self, as by al those whiche he shal mowe adquire to his side and partie, shal fermely persist and contynue contrarious therunto, as to a loyal and true noble man to his Prince shall and doth aperteyn.

Item, whither the said Duke of Albany shal fortune to retourne, or not retourne, in to the Realme of Scotlande, the said Erle of Angwishe, who right wel and discretely dothe perceyve and knowe, howe the Frenche men, only for their oune weale strenght and commodite, do alwais allure and drawe the Kinges, nobles, and subjectes of Scotlande unto their devocion, procuring them unto werre and hostilite with Englande, wherby the Realme of Scotland hathe suffred no smal hurte detriment and dammage, shal, with al his wit studie and power, conserve and kepe the said yong King from adhering inclynyng or herkenyng unto the ways of Fraunce, and from renewing confermyng treating or concluding any bandes convencions amyties alliaunces or intelligences with Fraunce, other then suche as by the Kinges Highnes of England and France, unto whom the said yong King is in grete apparance and possibilite of succession, aswel to the Realme of Englande, as to his titles and pretences in France, shal be thought convenient; but to the best of his power shal, with his counsail avice and other good and due meanes, resist and withstand the drawyng or inclynyng of the said yong King to any suche intelligence or devocion of Fraunce, and shal do his best at al tymes, for increace of love unite concorde conjunccion and adhering of the said yong King unto the amyte of Englande; putting al his helpe and furtherance to the increace of perfite intelligence and

sincere love bitwene the Kinges Highnes of Englande and of France and his said dere nephieu the King of Scottes, the establishement, norishing, increace, and contynuance of perfite peax concorde and perpetual amytie bitwene the bothe Realmes, to the weale honour and increace of the same.

Item the said Erle shal, to the best of his power, norishe good ordre quiet and justice upon the Bordres of Scotlande, within his oune landes rules auctorities or governances, or whersoever he may further helpe or avaunce the same, wherby all wrongful attemptates may be forborne, and, if any be committed, repressed and duely refourmed; and as ferre as in hym may lye, shal helpe to the correccion and punyshement of transgressours and malefactours of the said Bordres in tyme of peax or trieux, as shal apperteyn.

Item, where there is displeasure conceyved by the Kinges derest suster the Quene of Scottes against the said Erle of Angwishe, whom it hathe pleased Her Grace to take unto her husbande, the said Erle humbly submytting and ordering hym self unto the said Quene, as to honour and congruence it dothe apertayn, shal by al the ways and meanes to hym possible, aswel by letters, solicitacion of frendes, and otherwise, studie and labour to attayne and recovere the grace love and favour of the said Quene; and for that purpose shal omyt nothing that conveniently may be done, using hym self in suche gentil and lowely maner unto Her, with request and desire of remyssion of any thing wherin he myght be noted to have offended Her Grace, that, by the same, and suche other helpe and mediacion as the Kinges Highnes shal cause to be set forthe, he may the rather be reconciled to her said favour; and they to remayne and lyve in perfite love and charite, to the pleasure of God, their oune honours, and the weale of them selfes and that Realme of Scotlande: where as, by the contrarye, it shulde be bothe dishonourable and daungerous to them bothe, and no smal inconvenientes and trouble myght therof ensue and arise in the said Realme of Scotlande. For eschewing wherof, the said Erle feithfully promytteth, and byndeth hym self by thise presentes, that he shal forbere and differre to come unto the Kinges Courte of Scotlande, or unto the presence of the said Quene, til suche tyme as she shalbe wel contented and licence hym so to do; but shal remayne in his oune countrey, and uppon his oune landes, withoute attempting any thing by force or otherwise, that may be to the disturbance or empechement of the said Quene in any auctorite rule or governement whiche she hathe or shal have aboute the yong Kinge her son, and in the causes of that Realme; ne shall intromedle with any landes, goodes, patrymony, or substance of hers, or in any other thing to Her Grace belonging or apperteyning, by reason of her conjuncte feoffament or otherwise; ne also shal

shal make any partie or bande againste the said Quene or againste her auctoritie, but shal with al his power endevour himself to any thing that may sounde to her honour reputation contentament and conservation in good estymacion and rule aboutes the said yong King, and the conducing drawing and leding of him to the love devocion and amyte of England: promysing, and obliging him self also by thise presentes, that, in al suche maters of differentes or displeasure as be or may be moved bitwene the said Quene of Scottes and the same Erle of Angwishe, he shal at al tymes stonde to fulfil perfourme and obeye suche ordre and direccion, as the Kinges said Highnes of England and of France shal avise him, and thinke good and expedient for pacification therof, and for the reintegracion of sincere and perfite love bitwene the said Quene of Scottes and hym, withoute declynyng or varying from any thing, whiche the Kinges said Highnes shal avise desyre or wil hym to do concernyng the same.

Semblably, where there is matier of variance bitwene the said Erle of Angwish and the Erle of Arayn, whiche Erle of Arayn like an honourable man hathe acquited and demeaned hym self in the said ereccion; the said Erle of Angwishe, having good consideration to the directe and loyall proceding of the said Erle of Arayn, is contented, at the contemplacion of the Kinges said Highnes, and for the more unite and quiet of the Realme of Scotland, and the preservation of the said yong King from any synistre or daungerous adhering or leanyng to the faccion of France, to geve consent ere and harkenyng to a loving and amycable composicion pacifying and ordering of al variantes and differentes depending bitwene the seid Erles, and to the remytting of al rancours grudges and displeasures that is or hathe ben bitwene them for any cause and matier what soever it be: promysing, and bynding hym self by thise presentes, that he shal neither do, ne procure, or by his will knowlege or consent suffre to be done or procured, any thing, by way of hostilitie, or otherwise, for revenging or violent redresse of any different gruge variance or displeasure aforesaid; ne shal studie compasse or do any thing to the dammage or hynderance of the said Erle of Arayn or of his rule or auctoritie, aslonge as he shal adhere unto the said ereccion, and shal tracte and drawe the said yong King from the wayes of France to peax love and amyte with England; but rather shal concurre with hym in the same. And the said Erle of Arayn, doing the semblable for his partie, and being contente to come unto suche concorde and agrement with the said Erle of Angwishe, the same Erle of Angwishe shal frendely charitably and lovingly demeane him self in al his procedinges with the Erle of Arreyn; so as they 2 joyned in oon good love and intelligence to assist the said ereccion, to resist the Duke

of Albanys retourne in to Scotland, or the renewing of his governement, to kepe counsail and tracte the same yong Kinge from herkenyng and adhering unto any bandes confirmacions treaties or innovacions with France, and to conferme drawe and conduce hym to the love and amytie of England, may, as good Counsaillours and noble subjectes, either further the others auctorite, and kyndely lovingly and sincerely assiste the Quene of Scottes in the semblable. By whose meanes togiders, it is not to be doubted but, proceding in this maner, the said yong King shalbe vertuously ordred and brought up, justice administerd in that Realme, a substanciall Counsail established aboutes his Person of suche as wol be of the same good mynde trayn and disposicion, the yonge King shalbe oute of the dangier of his enemyes, and the Realme of Scotlande shal florishe and daily increace in honour weale and profite; being also the said Quene and 2 Erles, with al other that shal take that way, sure of the Kinges supplie aide strenght and assistence, with men money and counsail, to the uttermost, against al those that wol attempt any thing to the contrary. And if either the said Quene or Erle of Arayn shal take any other contrary way, the Kinges Highnes wol geve the said aide and supplie and assistence unto the Erle of Angwishe; defending him against them and al suche as wol take their parte: and at al seasons of necessite, being the said Erle of Angwishe not able to defende hym self againste them, wol receyve him in to this his Realme of Englande, and geve him honourable entertaynement as shal apperteyn, and also to suche other his frendes and kynnesfolkes, as for the execucion of the premisses shalbe in suche peril or dangier.

Item the said Erle of Angwishe, for the grete goodnes whiche he fyndeth in the Kinges said Highnes of Englande and of France, promyseth by thise presentes, that having the licence of his Soverain Lorde the Kinge of Scottes so to do, he shall, at all tymes when the Kinges Highnes shal require hym, serve His Grace with suche power as he may make, and take the parte of His Grace against any prince or person, what so ever he be, his said Soverain Lorde only excepte.

Finally the said Erle of Angwishe, aswel in his oune reconciliacion to the said Quenes favour, as also in componyng of the variances and differentes bitwene him and the said Erle of Areyn, and in al other matiers concernyng either the bringing of the Archebishop of Saint Andrews in to England, or the drawing of him from the devocion of the Duke of Albany and the Frenche partie, the furtherance of sending ambassadours in to England for conclusion of final peax, and in other his doinges, promyseth to folowe such advice and counsail, as shalbe geven unto him on the behalf of the Kinges said Highnes

of

of Englande and of France, either by my Lorde Legate, the Duke of Norfolke, the Lorde Dacres, or other; and to be ordred avised and guyded by the same, as oon, whom the Kinges Highnes taketh, and is mynded to use, as a veray feithful and sincere frende to His Grace, and a loyal and true noble man to his Prince; having good cause and occasion, aswel for the yong Kinges sake as his oune, to be adverse unto the faccion of the Duke of Albany and Fraunce, and to leane and adhere to the love and amytie of Englande; considering the dammages and dishonours that the said Duke hathe done unto hym, and that he is so nere alied unto the Kinges Highnes of Englande and of France, by mariage of his derest and bestbeloved suster, whose exaltacion and furtherance must nedes be to the honour and profite of the said Erle, like as her dammage or hinderance must nedes be to his hurte and detryment. And in thys his good honourable and vertuous proceding he may be sure to have suche favour at the Kinges hande of Englande and of France, who is mynded so largely to do for hym, that, God willing, he shal nede to leane seke or adhere to none other Prince lyving, but shal fynde His Grace so benigne and bounteous unto hym, that besides the merites and thankes whiche he shal adquire hereby of the said yong King of Scottes, he shal have cause to thinke his doinges herin in the best wise employed and bestowed.

All whiche said articles promyses convencions and agrementes, mencioned to be observed on the partie of the said Erle of Angwishe, he promyseth and byndeth him self by thise presentes wel and truely, feithefully, and sincerely, upon his feithe, honour, loyaltie, and othe upon the Holy Evangelies, to observe fulfil and accomplishe; like as the said Most Reverende Fadre hathe promised that suche thinges, as be mencioned to be don on the Kinges partie, shalbe semblably fulfilled and perfourmed accourdingly. In witnesse wherof the seid Erle to thise presentes hathe subscribed his name, the 4th day of October, the yere of Our Lord a thousand fyve hundred and foure and twenty; and of the Reigne of the said King of England and of France the 16th.

(*Signed*) ARCHBALD ERL OF ANGUS.
(*Signed*) GEORGE DOWGLAS.

LXIX. KING JAMES V. *to* POPE CLEMENT VII.[1]

BEATISSIME Pater, devotissima ad pedes oscula. Arbitramur Vestram Sanctitatem jampridem intellexisse quemadmodum in Regni nostri gubernium atque administrationem, Ducis Albaniæ jugo, quo nostra tenerior etas diu premebatur, tandem excusso, erecti sumus, in eoque universalis Parliamenti statuto omniumque nobilium procerum ac subditorum nostrorum constantissimo assensu confirmati, quam nostram ad regie dignitatis culmen exaltationem, curantibus Regni primoribus, cum fidissimis Consiliarijs, et carissimus nobis frater et avunculus Henricus Anglie Rex serenissimus potentissimusque prudentissimo suo consilio simul et auxilio juravit, ut plane obsincerissimum ejus erga Nos animum fraterne voluntatis benignissimique parentis significationem, dum status noster componeretur, serenissima Sua Regia Majestas Nos sibi plurimum devinctos reddederit. Nunc vero ob Nostram predecessorumque nostrorum in Sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam antiquam observantiam, dictique Serenissimi nostri avunculi intuitu, proculdubio speramus Vestram Beatitudinem pro nostrarum rerum stabilimento et conservatione esse nobis ex corde affuturam. Dum itaque una cum fidelissimis Consiliarijs nostris status nostri summam perpenderemus, extemplo cognovimus bella, hostilitatem, inimicitias, odium, simultates, intestinasque seditiones in nostrum gravissimum dispendium fuisse, dicti Albanie Ducis culpa arte industria atque perfidia, Regno subditisque nostris illatas, que ingenia mala quum ex hac potissimum occasione exorta fuerint, qui prefatus Dux eos omnes spiritualibus Regni nostri promotionibus sibi conciliavit, quos suarum insidiarum putavit aptissimos complices futuros, hinc Nos propter ea malo ceterisque belli fomentis quoad possumus occurrere, pacique omnia adversantia ex toto amovere, decrevimus. Proinde Sanctitatem Vestram, Reverentissime, precamur, ut Archiepiscopatus Episcopatus ac cetera omnia Sacerdotia spiritualesque promotiones, que nunc in hoc Regno vacant, imposterumque vacare contingerint, dignetur, juxta concessa Scotis Regibus ab ista Apostolica Sede privilegia hactenus observata, nostras ad octo menses expectare nominationis litteras, et hijs conferre beneficia quos Beatitudini Vestre simus commendaturi, nec ullam amplius dicti Ducis commendationem,

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[1] This seems to be the letter to the Pope, of which a note is stated in p. 146 to have been sent to James from England. It is printed from a copy, made from the original, in the Vatican, by permission of Pope Pius VII., and now in the State Paper Office. In this and in the other letters from the same source, there are manifest errors of the transcriber at Rome.

quem

quem a Consiliariorum nostrorum cetu omnino ambegimus, pro quoquam admittere velit; facile nempe res nostre quotidie in melius coalescent, si fideles nostros subditos meritis beneficijs decorandi Nobisque conciliandi affuerit facultas. Vestram igitur Sanctitatem iterum atque iterum impense rogamus, ut huic nostro desiderio nostreque petitioni satisfacere non gravetur; quo nomine, etsi non ambigamus quin eidem Serenissimo Nostro fratri et avunculo sit maxime graficatura sit, tamen Nos semper erga Beatitudinem Vestram Apostolicamque Sedem geremus, ut gratitudinem fidem observantiamque nostram integerrimam sit in rebus omnibus ipse semper agnitura, que ad felicissimum dominici gregis et rei Christiane moderamen diu prosperime valeat. Ex Edinburgo, quinto die mensis Octobris, anno gratie millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo quarto.

Excellentissime Sanctitatis Vestre
humilis obediens et devotus Filius,
Scotorum Rex,
JAMES REX.

Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Papæ.

LXX. QUEEN MARGARET *to* NORFOLK.[1]

MY Lord, I command me hartly to you. Vyt ze, yat I have resayved your vryteng wyth othar vrytengs fro the Kyngs Grace my brothar, and my Lord Cardynal, of vylke vrytengs I have made answar to ewery poynt; and, as to any thyng that I may do to the pleswr of the Kyng my brothar, Hyz Grace sal fynd Me of gwd mynd to ye sam, trustyng fermly on hyz part that He vol make Owz syk cawse, and not to dw the thyng that may be owr hurt, for that vyl not be nothar honnor nor profyt to Hyz Grace; prayeng you hartly, my Lord, that ze vyl here at length Carlyl haraud in schaweng you syk thyngs as I have comandyd hym. For, sen hyz being here, he ondarstandyz the manar of all thyng as yay ar now, and that ze vyl informe the Kyng Grace my brothar of the sam, and my Lord Cardynal, and that I may have answar agayn in all hast; for vhol then, I trust the Inbasytorz vol not entar vyth in Ingland, nor ne thing be throu endyd. And so it is in the Kyngs Grace my

[1] Holograph. From the British Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 404. The Queen on the same day wrote holograph letters to the same effect, to King Henry, and to Wolsey. The former is in Caligula, B. III. leaf 124, the latter (of which there are two copies, B. I. leaf 89. and B. III. leaf 112.) is printed by Galt in the Appendix to his Life of Wolsey.

brotharz

brotharz hand, to haf all mattarz at hyz pleswr. I thynke Hyz Grace suld not ourluke ye sam for the pleswr of my Lord of Angus, for ony profet that he vyl get be ye sam. And as to my part, and hyz desyrz be mare regardyd than myne, I vyl not labor ne mare to the pleswr of the Kyng my brothar, but lwke the best way I may for My selfe. And, gyf it be the Kyngs Grace pleswr to send in the Erl of Angus, it he can not cause Me to favor hym, nor to lat hym be in my company. And ther for, in so far Hyz Grace so dwyng, dwth gretly to my dyshonnor and dyspleswr, vylke I trast I have not desarvyd. Therfor I can say ne mare, bot I trast Hyz Grace vyl have consyderacyon on Me hyz systar, and dw it that may be for the wel of the Kyng my son. And in thyz behalfe I desyr to be aswryd of the Kyngs Grace, vhat I sal trast to, and not dayly to make mynttyz of hyz comyng. Here for I aswr you, my Lord, and any other in the vorld do Me yat dissplesor, thay sal vant my hart. And as to your part, my Lord, I am gretly behaldyn to you, beth of your gwd mynd and ded, vylk gyf ever I may qwyt, ze sal fynd ye sam; prayeng you, my Lord, as my gret trast iz in you, that ze vyl labor in thyz matar for Me, and to make Me swr of that abwffve vryten. Alsua, my Lord, touschyng the cowndytt that the Kings Grace my brothar hath vryten for, it sal be gottyn in contynent, bot I have haldyn the sam berar, vhol the Byschope of Dwnkel com, for to bryng answar agayn fro ye said Byschope of all thyngs at length vyl be vyl be here incontynent; and I have delyver thyz berar, that I may have hast answar of my said wrytyng fro the Kyngs Grace. For I insure you, my Lord, that my part takers vyl not sufar the Inbasytarz to be speed away, vhol that answar com fro the Kyng my brothar, as my Lord off Arren hath vryten in that behalfe to Hyz Grace, and in a part to zour selfe. Vharefor I pray you, my Lord, make hasty expedycyon for the fwrtherying of all matarz. Alswa, my Lord, I have sent you a hauke, the vylke I trust ze salbe ryght wel contentyd vyth, and ze sal have otharz vyth in schort tyme. My Lord of Arren hath sent a nothar auke to you vyth the sayd berar; vharefor I pray you take wel vyth hym. And God have you in Hyz kypeng. My Lord, in my Lord Cardynal vrytengs he sayth that Mastar Tomaz Magnoz and the tothar jentylman swld not entar in Scotland, vhol owr Inbasytorz enterd in Ingland; and therfor the sayd condyt nedyz not to be hastyd, vhol Ve send for a cowndyt to owr Inbasytours. Vryten the 6 day October.

Yours,

(*Signed*) MARGARET R.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord of Norfolke.

LXXI. NORFOLK *to* WOLSEY.[1]

* * * *

Also plesith it Your Grace to be advertised that, upon Satirdaye at 11 a clok, Master Magnus and Master Ratclif camme to this towne, and they and I have debated all their chardgis to be doone in Scotland at good lengthe, loking hourely for the retourne of Carlizle the harroult, and for their saufconduyt, for whiche I sent to the Quene the 2de daye of this moneth.

Post Scripta. Yesternight camme hither Carlizle the harroult, and brought with hym all suche letters and writingis as your Grace shall receive with this. And where as, by the contynue of dyvers of the same, your Grace shall perceive the resolute answer of the Quene and thErle of Arren to be, that, and thErle of Anguyshe comme into Scotland, they will not onely be discontentyd therewith, but also let the commyng of thEmbassatours, with other very high and presumptuous wordes, conteyned in the seid Erlis letters sent to the Kingis Highnes and me, as I doo take theym; and also that the saufconduyt for Master Magnus and Master Ratclif shall not as yet comme; it is thought to me and theym that it shuld be mooste convenyente to detayne here your Graces last letter sent to the Quene, and the copie of suche articles as were merked to be sent unto hir; considering that both she and the seid Erle hath at this tyme made resolute answere unto theffectes of the matier conteyned in theym.

And bicause I perceive, aswell by hir letter sent to me, as by Carlizle the harroulte, that she hath some confydence in me, I have determyned tomorowe erly to send my servaunte Hals, whome I knowe she doth right well esteme, with a letter to hir, and a nother to thErle of Arran; whereof, with this, your Grace shall receive the copies; being yet in some hope, that, notwithstanding she is mervelously wilfully set againste thErle of Anguyshe, that when she, and thErle of Arren, hath well seene and degested the contentes of my seid letters, with suche other good perswasions as my seid servaunte shall shewe and use unto theym, that somme bettir effecte shall ensue. And if not, I shalbe in dispaire that any other wayes of entreatie shall prevaile to make a concorde bitwene theym and the seid Erle of Anguyshe. And if my seid servaunt shall perceive that they bothe woll doo what they canne to let the commyng of

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 311. The first part of the letter is lost. B. III. leaf 185, is a copy of the postscript (as if it were the entire letter) in the handwriting of Wolsey's Secretary.

thEmbassatours, he shall practise with the Erle of Cassellis, the Busshop of Donkell, the Abbottes of Passheley, and Holy Rode Howse[1], that the seid Ambassatours shall come with diligence. Wherin I doubte not all they woll doo the best they canne. And if there were any good nombre of the Lordes at Edenburghe at his commyng, I wold not doubt greatly that thEmbassatours shuld comme, though the seid Quene and Erle wold be never so wilfull too the contrary. For thErle of Cassels, Sir William Scot, and Adam Ottirburn, auctorised by the King of Scottis commyssion, and by the consent of all the Parlament, have bound theym by their handes and seales to send ambassatours bifore the 28 of November. Whereunto I doubte not they woll fermely stik, and speke very sore, rather then to bee reproched that they have broken their promyses. Mooste humble beseching the Kingis Highnes and your Grace, not to be discontented with the detaynyng here of your Graces seid letter and articles, ner alsoo with the contentes of my letters nowe sent to the seid Quene and Erle; whiche thoughe peradventure in all pointis shall not be thought to be ordred of the best soorte, yet, God to my recorde, I have entended theym to the best purpoos; and Master Magnus and Master Ratclif doo like theym, and the detayning of the seid letters, right well; fearing that, if the seid Quene and Erle shuld have received theym, that incontynent they wold have taken out of prison the Bushop of Sainte Andrewes, whiche long or nowe had be doon, if thErle of Arren might have hadde all his myend folowed. And where, in your Graces letters to me, ye wold I shuld advertise you of myne opinion consernyng the retournyng of thErle of Anguyshe into Scotland, or detaynyng of hym here; there doth depend so many doubtis upon the same, that I dare not adventure to write, whiche me think shuld be the best. For one wayes I perceive that, with the good will of the Quene and thErle of Arren, he shuld not come; onles thies letters, that I have nowe sent, shuld do any good. And if he come againste ther will, suerly they will take out the old Chauncellour, and make theym as strong againste hym as they can; whiche as I beleve wold litle prevaile, if he were there, notwithstanding a great busynes wold arrise thereby in that realme. Also, by suche wordes as I perceyve by Master Magnus and Master Ratclif, as the seid Erle of Anguyshe spake unto the Kingis Highnes, it doth appere that he camme out of Fraunce with the Frenche Kinges consent, whereof he wold never be knowen to me, nor my Lord Dacre, ner yet to your Grace at his furst being with you; whiche me think is moche to be suspected. And if he have any untrewe entent, and

[1] In the Chapter House, State Papers Scotland, p. 276. is a letter from these two Abbots to Norfolk, dated on the 5th of October, and probably transmitted by Norfolk in the body of this despatch, in which they profess a good disposition, but do not allude either to the return of Angus, or to the mission of the English Ambassadors.

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folowe the Frenche facion, it is not to be douted that at his commyng into Scotland he shall doo therein as he list. For the Quene and thErle of Arren, in withstaunding thereof, shall have a right small partie, as I beleve. And on thoder side, if he shuld be detayned here without a good and probable grounde so to [*do*], considering howe all direccions hath proceded with hym sith his first commyng into this realme, I doubte what dishonour might bee spoken thereof. And also I doubte that the good will of hym and his frendes shalbe lost forever. And assuredly I see no great apparaunce that the auctoritie of the Quene and thErle of Arren shall long contynue, considering the small ordre for justice that they use, the lytle advyse and counsell that they take of the noble men and wise men of the realme, and that alredy unyversally all the hole realme be very sore discontent, save a fewe of thErle of Arrens faccion, aswell for the premyssis, as for keping thErle of Anguyshe oute of the realme without good cause, as they saye. Wherefor, bothe thies doubtfull perplexed wayes considered, it is no meate parte for me to playe, to advertise your Grace whiche shuld be the best to use, but is onely to be ordred and determyned by the Kingis high wisedome, your Graces, and others of his mooste honourable Counsell there. Mooste humble beseching His Highnes and your Grace to pardone me, that I have thus largely written, and that it maye pleas your Grace, by the next post, tadvertise me howe I shalbe ordred in detaynyng the seid Erle here, or letting hym goo into Scotland, and not put it to my discression. For suerly if your Grace so doo, I woll detayne hym here, and woll never suffre hym to depart, unto the tyme I have expres commaundemente from the Kingis Highnes, and your Grace, so to doo.

And, under your Graces correccion, after my poore opinion, good it were that if, notwithstaunding my letters nowe sent to the Quene and Erle of Arren, they woll not be contented to falle to aggrement with thErle of Anguyshe, and yet the Kingis high pleasure and your Graces shalbe, that he be suffred to depart; that then the sonner he went, the better, for feare that in the meane tyme that he shuld be detayned here, to knowe what the seid Quene and Erle wold doo, upon newe letters to be sent from your Grace, they might make newe bandes with suche as favour the faccion of Fraunce; whiche, he commyng sodenly thidder, they shuld have noo leysoure to doo. And, if he shalbe detayned here, then I beseche your Grace that he maye be commytted to the custody of my Lord Dacre, who hath his owne castell of Morpath, and dyvers other sure howses to kepe hym in, without daunger of eskaping; and I have noone suche, wherefore I shalbe enfourced to have a secret watche upon hym every night. Also, if he shall, with the Quenys contentement or otherwise, goo into Scotland, me think it were good for a season to see what he wold doo,

that his brother George shuld remayne in this realme for one moneth, and the next moneth his brother William, and the 3de moneth his uncle Archbold; whiche be the best hostagis that he can laye, save the Master of Kilmawrus, who I think is the best of all others, if he might be had.

Fynally, aftir my poore opinion, if the sending of my letters and servaunte nowe into Scotland shall not prevayle to make thaggrement, ner that somme good likelihode shall ensue of the same, it shall litle prevayle tattempte hir with other perswasions. Wherefore, me think, good it were that then your Grace shuld devise twoo wayes, and to send theym both to me at one tyme; the one waye to serve, if she wolbe contente with thaggreement; and thoder waye that the Kingis Highnes and your Grace shalbe resolved to take, if she woll noone thereof; to the entente that, upon answere received from hir, I might use thone of thos wayes accordinglie. And assone as I shall have answere from my servaunt, who shalbe with hir upon Thursdaye, I shall advertise your Grace of the same. And bicause your Grace maye be moche better instructed of thaffaires and ordre of Scotland by mouthe, then I can write, I have sent Carlizle the harroult to your Grace by post, and I doubte not, sone aftir the receipte of thies letters, he shalbe with your Grace. And good it were your Grace shuld gif hym an othe, to shewe you the trouthe of that ye shall ask hym; for he, being an officer at armys, els wolbe lothe to speke any thing to the reproche of any noble man or woman.

Furthermore, that it maye pleas your Grace tadvertise Master Magnus and Master Ratclif, howe they shalbe ordred in going to Scotland before the commyng of thAmbassatours or not; and alsoo what sommes of money they shall gif to the King and Quene and others there, whiche is moche loked aftir and desiered. And thus Our Lord have your Grace in His mooste blissed tuycion. Written at Newcastell, the 10 daye of October.

Yours most bownden,

(*Signed*) T. Norffolk.

LXXII. Magnus and Radclyff *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleas it Your Grace to wete, we arived and came hider on Saturdaie the 9th daie of this moneth, and did suche diligence in our commyng hider, that daily we made a good journay withoute tarying by the waye, soe that withynne 9

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 344.

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daies we were here; the Kingges horses thenne not being commen hider, nor any ansuer of our sauf conduyt, till twoe daies after; at whiche tyme my Lorde of Norfolke received sondery letters frome the Quene of Scottes, thErle of Arren, and other; the letter frome the saide Erle being written in hawte and high maner, as we doe conscider. Whiche letter, and Carlill harot at armes, my saide Lorde of Norffolke doth sende unto your saide Grace at this tyme; by the contynues wherof, and the reapoorte of the saide Carlill, your Grace shall conceive many thingges contrarious ayeinste the commyng into Scotlande of thErle of Angwisshe, proceding oonly, as farre as we canne conceive, booth by Einglisshe and Scottishe men lately commen frome oute of Scotlande, of the Quenes mynde and of thErle of Arrens, and of noone other. The Quenes occasion of displeasure in that behalve we be sory to wete, and to here of suche rule and governaunce, as by all persons commyng from thoos partes is bruted and spoken. Oone waye, besides other, that the Quenes saide Grace is not assisted by sadde counsaill, whiche by reapoorte Her saide Grace mought have at her pleasur. Howe be it, she woll not, but is oonly advised and ordoured after her oune mynde with the counsail of thErle of Arren and of the Lorde Maxwell, and of twoe or three yong men, breder and kynnesmen and allyed to the saide Erle of Arren, and specially by the counsaill of oone of thaym, the saide Erle and thay being gret frendes and alliaunces to the Chauncelour, soe as noe justice procedeth nor good ordour is had aboute the yong King. Wherof, as farre as we here, many men both spirituall and temporall in Scotteland be sory, and wolde see these thingges refourmed and amended, but that thay spare for drede of the Kingges Grace our maister, and for suche love hoope and truste as at this season they have to His Highnes, upon the receipte of his and youres mooste honourable dulce and pleasaunt letters. And yet, what woll come of this matier it is to be douted, by cause ther is an other Parliament intended and spoken upon. Your Grace shall understande what study and polecy my saide Lorde of Norffolke useth, till further advertisementes and commaundementes shall come hider frome the Kingges saide Highnes and your Grace; wherunto we be privea. Humble beseching your Grace, for somyche as yet we have not the sauf conduyt frome oute of Scottelande, nor doe not looke for hit by a good season, that we may knowe your pleasure, aswell what we shall doe, as, in case we shall goe into Scottelande, what sommes of money shalbe geven to the King and the Quene there, and to other that shalbe assingned, specially by cause we understande by my saide Lorde of Norffolke the saide Quene moore desireth and moore requireth a convenient somme of money, thenne any other thing at this tyme, though it were of gretter valour. Your

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gracious pleasure knowen in these premisses, we shalbe gladde with our poore studies and diligent service to folowe the same. As knoweth Almighty God, whoe have your saide Grace in His mooste blessed tuytion and governaunce. At Newcastell, the 10th daie of October.

Your mooste humble Preiste & bedeman,
(*Signed*) T. MAGNUS.
Your humble assewred Bedman,
(*Signed*) ROGER RADCLYFF.

(*Superscribed*)
[*To m*]y Lorde Legates [*Grace*] be this deliverde.

LXXIII. WOLSEY *to* NORFOLK.[1]

MY Lord, I commende me unto you in my right herty maner. And have receyved your letters, dated at Newcastell the 10th day of this instant monethe, with all suche letters copies and writinges of the Quene of Scottes, thErle of Areyn, and other, as be mencioned to be sent with the same; the continewe wherof I have declared unto the Kinges Highnes, who, liking veray well theffect of your letters sent unto the Quene of Scottes[2], and also of your others sent unto me, geveth you herty thankes for your good discrete and diligent acquitaile in the present affaires. And, bicause the particuler answers to be made aswel unto the Quene of Scottes articles, as to all her letters[3], and semblably to the yong King of Scottes, thErle of Areyn, and other, must require some tract of tyme, bifore the same can be substancially perfited, and that being thErle of Angwishe departed towardes you 10 daies passed, and of likelihode arrived with you bifore this tyme, whose commyng to the Borders may cause the Quene of Scottes and Erle of Areyn to thinke that he shalbe incontinently sent into Scotland, by meane wherof, they persisting in so great displeasure towardes hym, as in thair said letters and writinges appereth, might percace do some acte, by delyverance of thArchbishop of Saint Andrewes or otherwise, for their strengthing, whiche might be greately hurtefull and con-

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1 From the British Museum, Caligula, B. VII. leaf 87.

2 This seems to be Caligula, B. III. leaf 117. which is dated on the 10th, though catalogued as being of the 20th of October. Its object is to persuade the Queen to receive Angus.

3 Caligula, B. I. leaf 218. B. II. leaf 226. B. III. leaf 124. and B. I. leaf 89. are the Articles referred to, and Margaret's letters to the King and to Wolsey, dated the 6th of October. The last is printed by Galt in the Appendix to his Life of Wolsey.

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trarious to the Kinges good intent and porpose; it was thought convenient therfore, not abiding the perfiting of all the said answers, whiche shalbe done with as convenient diligence as may be by the waye of instruction to Mr Magnus and Rogier Ratclif, to be declared by mouthe to the Quene of Scottes, in the meane season, for the more spede and your better riping in knowlaige of the Kynges mynde and pleasure, to depeche thise my present letters unto you; by tenour wherof ye shal mowe perceyve and know, what is and wolbe, in effect, the Kinges resolucion in al the residue, being thought mete and convenient to be set forthe and practised, first in your oune name, because ye, knowing there soner than can be knowen here, howe your last letters sent to the Quene of Scottes do take effect, may order your writinges and messages to thaccomplesh-ment of the Kinges mynde and pleasure accordingly.

First, the Kinges Highnes and I and other of His Graces Counsail do perceyve that, oonles your said last letters have any thing moeved the Quene of Scottes and Erle of Arayn to change thair wilfull myndes, and to agree unto some good composition to be made bitwene theym and thErle of Angwishe, it were, and is like to be, to the utter disapointment and subversion of al thenter-prises nowe wel bigonne, if thErle of Angwishe shuld yet enter into Scotland. And therfore, fynding the said Quene and Erle of Arayn to persist in suche mynde, that thentre of the said Erle of Angwishe shulde be to thair extreme miscontentement, and the utter revolucion and hindrance of the said affaires, ye shal in no wise suffre hym to depart into Scotland, but in good maner gentilly and humanely intreating hym, persuade and cause hym, as of your self, to make his demore for a season in Newcastell, wher having some of your folkes to attende upon hym by way of enterteynment and accompanyng, and not as he may thinke that they kepe hym as a prisoner, suche good watche and regard for the tyme may be had unto hym, that he shal not mowe escape away. And, whan further knowlaige shalbe had, whither hys entry into Scotland shalbe commodious or not, other direccion may and shal be taken for his lenger deteynyng or departure, as shal appertain.

And to thentent he shal not take unkindely his retardment in those parties, whiche if he can wel considre it, the matiers standing as they do, is most to his honour weale and suertie, I remyt unto you at this tyme the original letters of the said Quene and Erle of Areyn, whiche you sent hither, and also a copy of tharticle writen by the said Quene touching thErle of Angwishe; unto whiche article the Quene referreth some parte of her letters, declaring in the same letters theffect of the said article, whiche is sufficient for the said Erles knowlaige, though the original article be not sent. Ye shal plainly frendely

frendely and famylierly shewe unto thErle of Angwishe al the said original letters and copie, making hym pryvey not only what ruyn and utter subversion might and shuld, as ye may well see and perceyve, ensue by his entre at this tyme into Scotland, bifore the Quenes mynde be better appeased and modifyed, or the maters in other trayn and disposition then they nowe be; but also howe largely they do and wold aggreve the doinges of the said Erle of Angwishe, making demonstration to take hym as a suspect person adhering to the Frenche faccion, and being suspect of the crime of lese majeste, for doing and consenting to thinges contrary to the yong Kinges suretie astate and erection; desiring therfore to have hym delivered as prisoner into Scotland, or at the lest to be deteyned as prisoner within this realme. And what daunger it were, he being thus reputed and taken by those that now have the principall governement in Scotland, for hym to come in that realme, seing he is yet in the dominion of the Kinges Highnes, who is so good gracious and benigne unto hym, his wisedome can facilly judge and considre. And therfore ye shal saye unto hym, as of your self, that albeit ye had commaundment of the Kinges Grace to suffre hym to passe, trusting than that his departure into Scotland shuld neither have beene to his oun so great dangier, ne also to the total subversion of thaffaires; yet nowe ye dare not so do, til suche tyme as ye shal knowe what answer the Kinges Grace shal make unto your last letters, whiche ye may say ye have not yet receyved. And thus it is not to be doubted but, if he regard his oun weale, and meane faithfully and truely to serve the King according to his promise, he wol rather desire to tary than to passe, til good and convenient waies may be made for his entre, and he pourged of suche thinges as be arrected unto his charge. But, whatsoever his desire shalbe, ye shal order hym for the tyme as is aforesaid; not doubting but that ye of your wisedome wol handle hym in suche doulce and pleasant maner, that of reason he shal have cause to be contented, and in no wise suspect that his deteynyng is by the Kinges commandement consent or knowlaige.

The Kinges mynde is also, that in cace Mr Magnus and Roger Ratclif be not yet departed into Scotland, ye shal cause al the acceleration possible to be made for thair saufeconduyt and departure, making theym pryvey, by mowthe if they be yet with you, or by letters if they be departed, of al this answer nowe made unto you; like as ye ful discretely have done of the contentes of your letters sent hither; so that at thair commyng to the court of Scotland they may set forthe and avaunce the maters, according to theffect of this letter, and also of thair instructions, wherin this that foloweth is the Kinges pleasure.

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Ye shal with al diligence incontinently write a letter in your oun name to the Quene of Scottes, without demonstracion or knowlaige that theffect procedeth from hens; shewing howe, sens your last letters sent unto Her Grace, and thothers sent unto the Kinges Highnes, wherof ye perceyve the answer wolbe somwhat the lenger by reason that I am at London occupied in causes of justice, and the Kinges Grace distant from London 60 miles, ye have substancially pondred considred and studied with your self, the contentes of her last letters and writinges, whiche with tharrival to you of thErle of Angwishe, sent onely to be the nerre hande for the more facile and easy componyng of the variances and displeasures bitwen the said Quene and hym, and of the maters bitwen thErle of Areyn and hym, is the cause that ye nowe thought convenient eftsones to declare unto Her Grace further of your avice and opynion in this perplexed cace; beseching the same not onely to accept your entier and perfite mynde and service, born towardes her, in good parte, but also to regarde your counsail accourdingly.

First, whan ye groundely consider and remember what is and hath alwaies ben the plat and fundacion of the Kinges mynde and intent in thise maters of Scotland, established upon none other thing, but oonly upon the weale suretie and exaltacion of his derest nephieu the King of Scottes, for whose preservacion, and thexclusion of the suspect tutele of the Duke of Albany, His Grace hath made the werres against those that have adhered to the said Duke; and whan ye cal to your mynde the wordes conteyned in the said Quenes articles and letters, being so cowched that they be to be taken as commynations and threates, that non ambassadours shalbe ent, ner the Kinges waies favoured in Scotland, onles His Grace make assurance and promise to deteyn thErle of Angwishe in Englande, whiche is but a particuler thing, and no mater towching or concernyng the amyte of bothe the realmes, and that the said Quene and Erle of Areyn do pretende and thinke that the sending of ambassadours, and taking and concluding of good peax with the King and this realme, shulde be more nedefull and beneficiall to His Grace than to the yong King of Scottes; whan ye considere the premisses, and howe ferre the same soundeth from gratuite and the Kinges expectation, loking and trusting to have his good and loving demeanour thankfully accepted and considred, forasmoche as al that His Grace hath done hitherto herin, and intendeth to do, is oonly for the said yong King and Quenes sake, and for the weale of theym, thair nobles, and realmes, ye can not but be sory that ye sent up to the Kinges Highnes and me the said letters. For verailly ye knowe wel that al that hath bene be proponed for reconciling of the Erle of Angwishe to the said Quenes favour, and for pacification of the differences bitwene thErle of Areyne and hym, hath bene only

for the weale and suretie of the said yong King, and for the more assured corroboracion of the said Quenes and Erle of Areyns auctorities. For, considring that thair Prince is yet yong, and but rawly setled in his astate, having many whiche percace wold be glad to disturbe this his ereccion, ther can nothing be more daungerous unto hym, than division discorde debate and parties betwene the Lordes of his realme; ne nothing more sure, than to have theym unyte and knyt in oone conformyte love and tendernes. And therfore the Kinges Highnes, mynding the weale of that realme, hath bene the more glad to set forthe this matier, not for any particuler affeccion that His Grace bereth unto thErle of Angwish, or that he shuld suppresse disturbe or dymynish any part of the auctorite of the said Quene and Erle of Areyn, who so largely have deserved to be in the same; but to thentent that, suche concorde ones established, the yong Kinges person and his astate might be in better suretie, his causes and affaires by the said Quene and Erle of Areyn the better conduyted and ordred, justice the more quietly administred in that realme, and al hostilite rancour and intestine debate and division be extincted within the same. For if His Highnes were of other mynde than to the weale of that realme, there coude nothing more conduce to suche porpose, than rather to maynteyn and norishe discorde in Scotland, than to helpe theym to quietnes or pacificacion.

Besides this it is to be considred that, assone as the King sawe and understode the said Quene, Erle of Areyn, and other thair parttakers, mynded to assist the yong King in his ereccion, His Grace shewed hym self incontinently prone and redy to desist from his werres against that realme, and to herkenne unto overtures of peax, mynding to receyve benignely and gladly suche ambassadours as they shuld sende for that pourpose; and neither sens ne affore hath omytted any kinde demonstracion, whiche a most tender and loving uncle might do unto a bestbeloved nephieu, not for any profite that His Highnes loketh to have therbye, mynding not to take from the yong King, but rather to geve hym, like as His Highnes, if he had the realme of Scotland in his oune handes, coude be contented that his said derest nephieu shuld have the same; but oonly for the tender mynde that His Grace alwaies hath had and borne, both to the same yong King, and also to the said Quene. And, whan ye considre howe ferre from good congruence and mutuel correspondence of kindnes it soundeth, that the said Quene and Erle shuld so write unto so gracious and benevolent a Prince, that ther shal non ambassadours come, ne his wayes have favour in Scotland, onles than His Grace shal delyvere or deteyn the said Erle of Angwishe as prisoner, having none honerable or just cause, yet to His Grace knowen, so to do; and by this maner to impone unto His Highnes,

Highnes a lawe, as it were, by coaccion or constraint, in recompence of his kindnes, and to make commynacion unto His Grace of non perfourmance of that thing promised by thair Ambassadours, whiche most soundeth to the weale of Scotland, and nothing for the benefite of His Grace; howe this may accorde or stirre a princely and most loving corage to contynuance of his gracious goodnes, is wisely to be regarded and considred. And therfore, if ye had so well remembred and digested thise maters as ye have done sens, ye wold not have sent up the said letters and writinges, but remytted theym to the said Quene, to have bene otherwise qualifyed and reformed to a due order of reason; specially for that, over and besides al the premisses, it was never ment or entended that thErle of Angwishe shuld be sent into Scotland without the agrement favour and consent of the said Quene, being bounden also that he shuld attempt no maner of thing by force violence or otherwise to the displeasure of Her Grace, ne in the revenging of any thing against thErle of Arreyn, or the empechement or dymynucion of thair auctorite, ne come in the Courte, or aboute the yong King or the said Quene, or intromedle with any landes, conjunct feoffament, goodes, or patrymony, but to remayne in his oun countrey; and finally to fulfill, stand to, and obeye, al suche directions as the Kinges Highnes shuld devise for the honour of the said Quene and Erle of Areyn, his reconsiliacion to the Quenes favour, and the final concord and agrement with the same Erle.

Wherfore, ye shal exhorte and desire the said Quene, at the reverence of God, that calling unto her the said Erle of Areyn, and suche other sadd persones as she doth trust, she and they wol loke substancially to this great and weighty mater, and neither to desire require or exacte of the Kinges Highnes thinges dishonerable, ne to geve His Grace suche recompence as this is for his high and excellent kindnes and goodnes, but that conformyng theym selfes unto suche reasonable overtures as be made unto theym for thair oune weale, and the suertie of the yong King with the benefite of his Realme, they wol geve the Kinges Highnes better cause to do theym good, than by suche meanes, whiche they may be sure the King intendeth to do as largely and more, than hath bene writen or spoken of at any tyme heretofore: and in this mater of thErle of Angwishe, if there be non extreme or gretter cause, than is yet here knowen, to shewe theym self confourmable for the Kinges sake and by his mediacion to do good to theym selfes; whiche shalbe the honerable wise discrete and direct waye, and surely shal most conferre and helpe unto the sure establishment of the said yong Kinges ereccion, and of the contynuance and encreace of thair oune auctorite and reputation. Assuring theym neverthelas that ye be not mynded ne com-

manded to suffre thErle of Angwish to passe into Scotland, til the Quenes good pleasure knowne in that behalf, ne he was sent to the Borders for other cause, but to be nerre at hand for componyng and pacificacion of the said variances and displeasures; wherin ye be redy to do all the furtherance that in you may be possible, not sparing to come to Berwyk or other places on the Borders, to mete and speke with thErle of Areyn for that pourpose; trusting that, if they wol inclyne and be confourmable herunto, ther shal succede therof thinges to thair high contentacion gladnes rejoise and comfort.

Over this, ye shal write that, wher as mencion is made in the said letters and articles of a letter of the said Erle of Angwish hand, redy to be shewed, that he departed Fraunce with the knowlaige consent and pasport of the Frenche King and the Duke of Albany, and that he hath had by his brother, certain privey practises and intelligences with the Capitain of Donbarr, and that his frendes and servauntes do by his commaundement favour and receyve those that be adverse to the yong Kinges ereccion, and that adhere to the Duke of Albany, with other thinges sounding to untrouth dissymulation and infidelite in hym; if ther be any suche mater, whiche can be truely objected and proved against hym, or that his commyng to the realme shuld be occasion of a generall revolucion to the subversion of the Kinges erection, and that they wolde he, being so knowen, shuld be deteigned in England; expedient it were that the King of Scottes by his letters a part, and the Lords by thair like letters, shuld advertise the Kinges Grace therof; requiring and desiring His Highnes to deteyn the said Erle for those causes, and not to suffre hym to repaire into Scotland, wher he, having a good partie, may be meane of great inconvenientes to ensue, to the daunger of the said yong King. And thise letters, writen upon good groundes, may be an honourable occasion, wherupon the Kinges Grace may deteyn the said Erle; as ye shal say they may be wel assured, and ye dare undertake promise and bynde your self in this cace, that it shalbe done accourdingly. Wher as yet hitherto the Kinges Highnes hath no suche cause, howe, with his honour, His Grace may deteyn the said Erle, not being his subject, ne his enemye, ne also knoweth, whither the nobles and other of Scotland wold rather for his deteignyng be myscontented than otherwise, ner whither he hath digressed from his duetie to his Soverain Lord, or fallen into any privey intelligence or practise with Fraunce. And therfore ye do avise the said Quene that if ther be suche probable matier, she wol cause thys to be done for the Kinges honour; in suche wise as His Highnes be not by Her Grace required to do thing that might be noted not to accorde therwith; as ye doubt not but Her Grace wolde

wolde not avise hym otherwise to do, for any particuler displeasure or cause, whatsoever it were.

And seing thise maters be in non other trayne, ne nothing shal be done, but as shal stonde with the said Quenes honour and good contentment, ye do exhorte her that she delay, tract, ne put over, any thing that may be to the conclusion and establishement of good peax amyte and intelligence bitwene bothe the realmes, ner to immyxt any particuler mater of displeasure with the commyn causes of the same; and that ye do thinke it shal not a litle conferre unto her suretie, and the mayntenaunce and contynuance of her auctoritie, to send thArchbishop of Saint Andrewes into this realme, not to be kept in captivite and prisoner, but deteyned here for a season, till the yong King shalbe better corroborate in his astate, and good waies founde for the allecting and drawing of hym to take surely the said Kinges part, and assist the Quene in her said governaunce and auctorite. And being here also, he may be redelivered, continewe in his promocions, or deprived from the same, as to Her Grace shalbe thought expedient; wher as remaynyng in Scotland, it shalbe veray difficile and herde, either to her or to thErle of Areyn, or suche as take thair partes, so to do: by whose contynuance ther, either in prison or at large, she may be well assured, what soever promise shalbe made to the contrary, he shal not faile to practise and set forthe all suche thinges, as may be to her hindrance, utter distruction, and dymynution of her auctorite. And therfore, in asmoche as she is sure that thErle of Angwishe shal not entre Scotland otherwise than she shall be pleased, ye may say the Kinges Grace wol loke that she shal make no maner tract in sending the said Archbishop accordingly.

Ye may also assure her that the King, having an honerable grounde and cause to deteyn thErle of Angwish, wold be as lothe as she, that he shuld entre into Scotland to her miscontentment, and the hinderance of the present affaires. Neverthelas, to send hym into Scotland, ther to be put in pryson, it shal not stond with the Kinges honour, ner he wol avise her to styk therupon, ne to desire any suche reprochable thing of the Kinges Grace; putting her in comforte that, if the said reconsiliation and concorde may take effect by your travaile, the Kinges mediation and desire, the same shal undoubtedly be the best and most assured waye for the contynuance of the yong King in his astate, and of her in her auctorite.

Fynally, ye shal make a post scripta, saying that, after your letters writen signed and sealed redy to be sent forthe, arrived the post with a letter to you from me, with the saufeconduyt for thAmbassadours, and that ye perceyve nothing by my letters, whiche shuld cause you to alter any part of your said letters,

letters, but that the distance of the Kinges Highnes from London is cause that answer is not made particlerly to al her writinges sent by Carlile, and that ye suppose veraily thanswer wol not be moch discrepant from that ye nowe presently do write, as by myn original letter she shal mowe perceyve more at large; beseching eftsones the said Quenes Grace therfore to regarde it accordingly. And so ye may send her my other letter, to you directed, being herwith divised only for that pourpose. Ye shal also signifye unto her that nowe the saufeconduyt, accourding to the yong Kinges requisition, is sent for the commyng of Ambassadours, yf for this mater of thErle of Angwish they shuld be tracted or delayed, not only the bandes and promyses of the Commissioners of Scotland auctorised for taking of the truce were violate and broken, but also therbye the same truce shuld be expired, and the King consequently have occasion to renewe the werres against all those that have bene the causers therof. Wherof what daunger may ensue unto her, not only in dymynishing of her auctorite, but also in thempeching of so many honerable and great apparances of good peax and intelligence bitwen these 2 realmes, to the no litle benefite profite commodite and avantage of the said yong King, her, and other her parttakers, ye desire her wisely, all displeasures, rancour of mynde, or particler subornacion set a parte, vertuously to considre and imprinte in her mynde; not omytting for the same, any thing that may be to the setting forth of the said peax, wherof she to be auctrice and procurer shalbe to her perpetual praise honour and lawde; wher as the contrary is not unlike to be to her dammage dishonour and reproche.

LXXIV. Norfolk *to* Wolsey.[1]

Plesith it Your Grace to be advertised that this present houre I received a letter from my servaunte Hals oute of Scotland, which your Grace shall receive with this; and after my poure opinion the resolute answere, that he shall have, shalbe moche like unto the Quenes furst saying nowe to hym, that she wold be contente at all tymes to folowe the Kingis pleasure, but in conclusion she, having none other counsell with hir, but onely the light unwise Erle of Arren, Thomas Hamelton, a light lerned man in the lawe, kynnysman

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 162.

to

to the seid Erle, and Henry Stuard mooste entierly in favour, shall saye by their advyses that she is enfourced, for keping of her promyses made to the seid Erle of Arren, to do as he woll have her, whiche shalbe in nowise to suffre thErle of Anguyshe to come into Scotland with their good will; and that they woll let the commyng of thAmbassatours, if he come. One thing doth make me to conjecte the same to be the resolution, that thAmbassatours, being appointed to have come from Edenburgh towardes Berwike the 23th daye of this moneth, be nowe retourned home to their houses; so that it is not possible for theym to kepe that daye. And, where it is conteyned in Hals is letter, that thErle of Arren woll make a journey into Liddersdale, I beleve he woll not be so hasty; and if he do, and thErle of Lennox kepe his daye at Peples, your Grace shall here of affraye betwene theym. For suerly I beleve that, and the seid Erle of Lennox have but a right meane poure, he woll set upon thoder, who I beleve hathe no hart tabide hym. And nowe the Lord of Bukclugh being eskaped, I beleve the seid Erle of Arren shall not dare come in Lydersdale; and my Lord Dacre is of like opinion; as your Grace maye perceive by his letter sent to me with the letter from Hals; whiche I caused hym too open, and all other that shall come, and to send me his advyse thereupon.

Upon Thursdaye last I went to my Lord of Westmerland to Raby Castell, where I appointed thEre of Anguyshe to come to me; and so he did upon Fridaye in the mornyng. And aftir that he had shewed me tharticles passed betwene your Grace and hym, he desiered me to be contented to let him depart into Scotland; saying, that the Kingis Highnes and your Grace had promysed hym that I shuld not detayne hym one houre, and he was assured it was your pleasures that in nowise I shuld so do. Whereunto I made answere that of trouthe your Grace had sent me the copie of the said articles, and that ye had by your letters advertised me that he shuld come to me, but that in the seid letters was neither conteyned, that I shuld detayne hym, nor let hym goo, and that I had written by post to your Grace to knowe, for my dischardge, what I shuld doo therein, and that also I had sent my servaunt Hals to the Quene of Scotland, with letters and credence devised of suche a soorte, that I was in good bileve he shuld in breif tyme retourne into Scotland with the Quenes consent, and a good aggrement to be made bitwene Her Grace the Erle of Arren and hym; and that I doubted not by Tuysdaye to have answer from my said servaunt, and shortly aftir from your Grace; effectuelly desiering hym to be contented to remayne at Raby, unto the tyme I had received the said answers. The cause why I wold have had hym to tary there was, that he, being there, was without daunger

daunger of eskaping, whiche he cannot be in this towne without watching. Whereunto he made answere, that for my pleasure he wold be contented to remayne at Newcastell, but in anywise he desiered me that I wold not desire hym to remayne there. And so yesternight I came to this towne to provide for his sure keping, and this daye he wolbe here. I have sent Norrey bak, and left myne owne servauntes with hym. Wherefore, considering I can no lenger kepe hym with his contentmente, I beseche your Grace that with all possible diligence I maye knowe the Kingis resolute plesure and your Graces, what I shall do with hym. And in the meane tyme I shall do my best with his good will to kepe hym here; but howe soever he shalbe contented, with Godes grace he shall not departe from me, unto the tyme I shall have a clere commandement from the Kingis Highnes or your Grace to let hym goo, without remytting any part thereof to my discrecion; as I wrote to your Grace in my last letters. And, after my pore opinion, if your Grace have not upon my last letters taken resolucion with the Kingis Highnes what shalbe doone with hym, your Grace maye do the same at this tyme, without abyding newe letters from Hals, whiche I feare shalbe of none other effecte then thies. And suerly I beleve if the seid Erle be true, that he being onys in Scotland, thErle of Arren woll not onely sue to be aggreed with hym, but also shortly leve his high threat of not sending thAmbassatours, and of the recovery of the goode will of Fraunce. Moost humble beseching your Grace that, assone as your Grace maye convenyently, I maye be advertised what I shall doo. And, aftir my poore opinion, in nowise his brother shuld be suffred to goo, but to ly for pledge for perfourmyng of his promyses; wherewith the Quene shalbe right well contente. And if the matier were of no more emportaunce then of the los of all that I might make, and that no man shuld be in daunger to loose therby but onely myself, I wold advyse that rather he shuld be suffred to goo into Scotland, his brother being left here, then any lenger to be detayned. But this matier is of so great emportance, and persones of so unstable demeanour that be the cheif parties, that I dare not gif myne advyse to thone nor thoder. Eftsonys mooste humble beseching your Grace that I maye with all expedicion be advertised of the Kingis high pleasure and your Graces, howe I shall further procede in the uncertayn affaires of Scotland, and that it maye pleas your Grace to considre what busynes I have to doo this terme, of myne owne. And Our Lord have Your Grace in His mooste blissed tuycion. Written at Newcastell, the 16th daye of October.

Yours most bownden,

(*Signed*) T. Norffolk.

(*Superscribed*)

To my Lord Legatis good Grace.

LXXV. Norfolk *to* Wolsey.[1]

Plesith it Your Grace to be advertised that upon Tuysdaye at night I received your Graces letters with the saufconduytes, and dyvers other writingis sent by me bifore to your Grace from the Quene of Scottes. At the receipte whereof and ever sith, I have beene so sore vexed with the tothe ache and with an impostumacion risen within my mouthe, that God knoweth I have had small remembraunce howe to write my letters to the seid Quene. Notwithstaunding, I have, as nere as I could, touched theffecte of your Graces plesure conteyned in your long letter sent to me at that tyme; and if any default be therein, I beseche your Grace to arrecte the same unto themportable payne and anguyshe that I doo yet susteyne. Sith my last letters sent to your Grace, I have had no knowlege from my servaunt Hals; thoccasion whereof I think is, that the Quene doth delaye hym with faire wordes, unto the retourne of thErle of Arren from the rode whiche he entended for to have made in Liddersdale, and is retourned upon Tuysdaye at night too Edenburgh without any thing doone of great effecte. I think also that she doth tracte the tyme with Hals without making hym answer, to thentente that she wold be furst advertised from your Grace of thanswere to hir last letters and articles.

And this daye I sent to hir thre letters, whereof your Grace shall receive the copies[2] with this, and have sent theym to Hals to be ordred as shal ensue.

Furst, he shall rede the copies of theym all, and if he can perceive assuredly that she and thErle of Arren wolbe contente to falle to aggremente with thErle of Anguyshe, the greate letter, your Graces letter, ner my letter that dothe make mencion of your seid letter, shall not be delyvered. And if he perceive that she and thErle of Arren woll not so doo, then he shall delyver the greate letter, beseching Her Grace, after she hath red theym, and well debated with hirself the contentes therof, that he might speke with hir secretly in hir prevy chambre, as he doth oftymes; and then he shall desire hir to shewe unto hym the hole resolucion of her myende. And if he shall perceive that she is fermely determyned not to condiscende to the commyng into

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[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 159.

[2] Caligula, B. II. leaf 358. is a copy of one of the letters from Norfolk to Margaret here alluded to, and (as it does not mention Wolsey's letter) is probably the great letter. Among the Miscellaneous Letters in the Chapter House, Vol. VI. leaf 116, is a copy, by Norfolk's secretary, of the postscript, which Wolsey had directed Norfolk to add. The letter from Norfolk, mentioning Wolsey's letter, has not been found; nor any letter with a mark corresponding to that in the margin.

Scotland of thErle of Anguyshe, then he shall furst delyver hir my letter marked in the margent with this mark[1], to se what that woll doo. And if that woll nothing altre hir myend, then he shall delyver unto hir myne other letter, and the letter that your Grace sent to me to be sent to hir; and shall shewe hir that suerly many wise men in Scotland doo feare right moche that suche, that she doth bere great confidence unto, work mooste by thadvyse of the Bushop of Sainte Andrewes; whiche is apparant to be trewe, aswell for that no perswasions that can be made the seid Bushop is not sent into England, nor that thAmbassatours have not kept the daye appointed to have come towardes Berwik, whiche was the 24th of this moneth; beseching hir, without any lenger tracting of tyme, tadvertise me of the resolute answere of hir myend; saying that I have commaunded hym to come his waye, and that no answere shall come from the Kingis Highnes ner your Grace of hir last letters and articles, unto the commyng of Master Magnus and Master Ratclif: whiche shalhave the same sent to theym by instruccions to declare. And suerly, after my opinion, if all thies letters and perswasions woll not altre hir myende, as I feare they woll not, it shalbe but wastfull tassaye hir with any moo, but then either incontynent to send thErle of Anguyshe into Scotland, orels to assure hir by the Kingis writing that he shall not come; whereunto she woll gif credence, and I feare me neither to your Graces letters ner myne.

And, according to your Graces commaundement, I have as pleasauntly as I can detayned thErle of Anguyshe here; desiering hym to be contented so to doo unto the commyng of thanswer from my servaunte Hals; trusting by hym to be advertised that he shall maye well goo into Scotland with the good contentacion of the Quene and a good agrement made bitwene thErle of Arren and hym. But all that I and my Lord Dacre can saye to hym woll not serve to kepe hym here any lenger with his good will; saying that the Kingis Highnes and your Grace promysed hym that he shuld not be detayned here one houre lenger then he wold, and that he knoweth the King is a Prince of so high trouth and estymacion, and that your Grace wold for nothing saye one thing and do a nother, and that ye esteme your honour somoche, that he thinketh verely there is no default in neither of you, but only in me. Notwithstaunding he sayeth he doubteth not I meane the same for the best purpoos, but I, not knowing the manour of Scotland so well as he, shall at length evidently perceive that the lenger he be detayned here, the lenger it shalbe or the aggrementes be made; and peradventure in the meane season all the Kingis purpoos quayle and come to noone effecte, the noble men and

[1] A mark is in the margin.

wise

wise men of Scotland being in nowise contented with thordre and rule that nowe is in that realme. Insomoche that he saith he doubteth not, if the Duke of Albany doo retourne bifore his commyng thidder, he shall have all at his pleasure; for his mooste frendes in Scotland have nowe the mooste rule; and his brother doth saye that your Grace red a letter to hym, whiche ye sent to me, commaunding me to speke with the seid Erle, and incontynent to suffre hym to depart. And thus I assure your Grace I am contynually assayled by the seid Erle and his brother, too suffre theym to depart. Notwithstaunding, with the best wayes my Lord Dacre and I can devise, I shall detayne hym unto the tyme I shall knowe your Graces pleasure to the contrary; mooste humbly beseching your Grace that I maye knowe the Kingis resolute pleasure and yours, what shalbe doon with hym, so that, and he shalbe detayned, he maye knowe the same is by the Kingis commaundement, and that then he maye be commytted to some other custody then myne. For assuredly I cannot kepe hym in this towne, but that he shalbe at all tymes in daunger to eskape, onles he shall evidently perceive he is watched both daye and night.

And, the seid Erle either suffred to goo into Scotland, orels determyned to kepe hym here, and Master Magnus and Master Ratclif[1] onys being at Edenburgh, I trust your Grace woll opteyne me licence to depart hens. For, under your Graces correccion, I knowe not what I shuld doo here, but onely waste the Kingis money, and not a litle to my payne, and moche to my hurt, to be absent from this terme, having so great busynes of myne awne to doo. For asfor levying any people, to invade Scotland withall, this winter, to helpe to assist either of the parties, I doubte not your Grace doth knowe, it woll not be, aswell for lak of vitell as cariagis. And asfor treating of any matiers with the Quene, the said Master Magnus and Master Ratcliff, being there, can moche bettir do it then I, being here. Wherefore eftsonys mooste humble I beseche your Grace to be so good Lord unto me, that I may have licence to depart. And Our Lord have Your Grace in His mooste blissed tuycion. Written at Newcastell, the 20th daye of October.

Yours most bownden,

(*Signed*) T. Norffolk.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legatis good Grace.

[1] There is a letter from them to Wolsey, of this date, from Newcastle, in which they state that Archbishop Betoun was in Edinburgh Castle, making good cheer with his friends, and that Bishop Dunbar was in no ward, but at liberty at Linlithgow. Caligula, B. VII. leaf 77.

LXXVI. NORFOLK, DACRE, MAGNUS, AND RADCLYFF *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLESITH it Your Grace to be advertised that this mornyng my servaunt Hals is retourned, and hath brought two letters, one from the Quene[2], and thoder from thErle of Arren[3], whiche your Grace shall receive with this; and by the same your Grace maye perceive the wilfull myendes of the seid Quene and Erle againste hir husband. And notwithstaunding that onys my servaunt Hals had brought thErle of Arren to be contented to falle to aggremente with thErle of Anguyshe bifore the Abbot of Holy Rode Hous, as maye appere by an article of the wordes of the seid Erle at that tyme, whiche your Grace shall receive with this; yet, notwithstaunding, the Quene and Henry Stuard incontynent torned his myend. Your Grace shall also receive, with this, articles sent to me from Adam Ottirburn, by the whiche your Grace maye perceve that the Bushop of Sainte Andrewes is myended to take thErle of Anguyshe part. The seid Master Adam, by thadvyse of my seid servaunte, wente incontynent after his comming to Edynburgh, to mocion hym to laye in pledgis to the Kingis Highnes, for to take good part with the King his Soverain Lord, and to helpe the advauncemente of good concorde and peas to be made bitwene England and Scotland, and to cause Scotland to folowe the wayes of England, and not of Fraunce; whiche he was contented to doo. And then incontynente came to the said Bushop thErle of Arren, and was with hym two houres, and so handled hym that he was not after that soo well myended to put in pledgis. Notwithstaunding aftir that Master Otterburn went to hym agayne, and found hym of suche myende, as is expressed in tharticles. And I assure your Grace my seid servaunt doth saye, that he doth see and perceive evidently, that the Quene and thErle of Arren and the Lord Maxwell have their onely truste on Fraunce, and doo what they can to folowe that wayes, and noone other of Scotland but onely they; which be of right small poure. For all the noble men and commons doo muche desire the amytie of England, and the commons unyversally hate the Duke of Albany of all men living, and thErle of Anguyshe is desiered unyversally amonges theym; so that againste hym there shalbe no partie, notwithstaunding thErle of Arrens great crakes. And the yong King wold right fayne have thErle of Anguyshe with hym, but he dare not speke thereof, but previly, for feare of the Quene. And to prove that thErle of Anguyshe is not myended the faccion of Fraunce, one of his

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 317.
[2] Caligula, B. I. eaf 266.
[3] Caligula, B. VII. leaf 74.

kynnysmen

kynnysmen and mooste trusty servauntes, called the Lerd of Drommeller[1], hath slayne the Lord Flemmyng upon Wedonsday last past, the best Frenche man of Scotland, and hath taken his sonne and heyre[2] prisoner. And upon Wedonysdaye at night was sevenight thErle of Lennox, the Master of Kylmawrus, and dyvers others, noble men and others to the nombre of 500 tried horsmen, assembled within 3 mylis of Edenburgh. And if one Jamys Pryngle, that was of counsell thereof, had not beene, they had not fayled to have slayne thErle of Arren in his lodging within Holy Rode House. And I think the King and Quene had goone with theym. Their skaling ladders were redy, and the seid unhappy Jamys so let a good deede to have beene doone for the welth of Scotland and England; as I and others here do think.

The seid Erle of Anguyshe doth make instaunte labour to depart hens; and assuredly every thing well considered it is best, aftir thoppinion of my Lord Dacre, Master Magnus, Master Ratclif, and me, that with all possible diligence the seid Erle shuld be sent into Scotland, for feare that in the meane season they might send into Fraunce, and in likewise assaye too wyn mo frendes in Scotland. And, asfer as I can perceive, assuredly your Grace maye truste that thAmbassatours shall not comme with the consente of the Quene and thErle of Arren. And, to saye trouthe, I cannot well perceive, that they could in maner honestly write, more playnly then they have doone at this tyme, that they woll take the French partie; for they saye they woll seeke a waye for theymself, whiche can be in no place but in Fraunce; for in Scotland they can get small helpe, as I beleve.

Also I perceive by Halis that he had knowlege by the Priores of Caldstreme, being nowe at Edenburgh, that, assone as he shuld be comme thens, the Bushop of Saint Andrewes shuld be put to libertie.

Also Hals hath brought the saufconduyt for Master Magnus and Master Ratclif; and tomorowe they shall depart hens. And Hals doth think that their commyng thidder shall do moche good in staying the Lordes, and bringing theym to the Kinges devosion; and in likewise he doubteth not, that by thadvyse of Adam Ottirburn they shall do so moch good to the wynnyng of the Bushop of Sainte Andrewes. And if your Grace shall send theym worde, before the receipte hereof, what money the Kingis pleasure shalbe they shall gif to the Quene and others, under your Graces correccion, the matiers being in the state that they nowe be, it were well doone your Grace shuld, with newe letters, remyt the giving therof to their discreccion. And if it might pleas your Grace to instructe theym, howe they shuld ordre theym towardes the Chaun-

[1] John Tweedie, of Drummelzier.

[2] Malcolm, third Lord Fleming.

cellour

cellour and thoder Lordes, in case they shall perceive the Quene and thErle of Arren to bee contrarious to the Kingis myend and pleasure, me thynk it wer well done. Moste humble besechyng your Grace, to hast the answere of this letter, whiche I doubte not shalbe the resolucion of the Kingis pleasure and yours consernyng thErle of Anguyshe. And to thentente your Grace shall understaunde that all our opinions here is, that there is no waye to bring the Kingis entended purpoos to pass, but oonely by the helpe of thErle of Anguyshe, and that for that entente he shuld be sent thidder with all possible diligence, we have subscribed this letter with all our handes.

Also with this your Grace shall receive the copie of a letter sent me yesterdaye by thErle of Lennox; and the credence of the same was, that onles thErle of Anguyshe were sent home, thErle of Arguyle, thErle of Murraye, thErle of Glencarne, hymself, and many other noble men of that realme shuld be enfourced to seke a newe waye. For they wold not contynue under the rule that is nowe in Scotland; and that, if he comme, they woll never folowe the Duke of Albanys waye, but withstaund hym to thuttirmooste of their poure. And Our Lord have Your Grace in His blissed tuycion. Written at Newcastell, the 23th day of October.

Yours most bownden,

(*Signed*) T. Norffolk.
(*Signed*) Thomas Dacre.
(*Signed*) T. Magnus.
(*Signed*) Roger Radclyff.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legatis good Grace.

LXXVII. Norfolk *to* Wolsey.[1]

Plesith it Your Grace to be advertised, that I commanded my servant Hals to speke with the Bushop of Donkell consernyng the matier he spake off before to Carlize and to my seid servant. And now, the seid Bushop being at Edenborow, he desyred hym to advertise the Kynges Highnes by his writyng, what they wer, that wer so fals aboutes his royall person: and he seyd in no wise he wold so do, onles he had the Kynges Brode Seale, that they shuld neyther suffer deth, nor lose their goodes nor londes. He desired to know, whether they wer Inglishe men or strangers; and he sayde that sewerly they wer

[1] Holograph. From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. VIII. Part 2. No. 41.

Inglishemen,

Inglishemen, and that the French Kyng had pencioners in Inglonde, that the Kynges Grace never knew off. He asked how many they wer in nomber; and he sayde he wold not tell. He desyred hym to shew hym, whether they wer above the nomber off 3 or 4; and he answered they wer nere that nomber: saying he wold shew no more, what qwestion so ever he asked. But he sayde he cowde devyse the way, how the Kynges Highnes myght be crowned Kyng off Fraunce within 6 monethes. I here by the report off dyvers, the seid Bushop is no thyng ashamed to ly; and thErle off Anguyshe doth rekon hym to be moche Frenche. I have made Mr Magnus pryvie to this matier, to thentent he myght assay to get more off hym. And, after my poure opinion, gode it wer, that the Kynges Highnes shuld send hym the Gret Seale accordyng to his desire. And also he desireth your Graces promes under your seale; wheroff I thynk can com no hurt, but moch gode, to prove the trouth. Scribbled the 23 day off October, with thande off

Yours most bownden,

(*Signed*) T. Norffolk.

LXXVIII. Instructions, geven on the behalf of the Kinges Highnes, by the Most Reverende Fader in God the Lord Legate, Cardinal, Archbishop of Yorke, Primate, and Chaunceler of England, unto the Kinges trusty Counsaillours and servauntes Mr Thomas Magnus Archdiacon of Estriding, and Roger Ratclif oone of the Gentlemen of the Kinges Chamber; being nowe resident aboutes the the yong King of Scottes.[1]

First the Kinges Highnes and the said Lord Legate understonde that the Duke of Norfolk, the Kinges Lieutenaunt in the North parties, Treasurer, and Admiral of England, hathe made theym privey of suche direccion as, sens thair depeche from the Kinges Grace, was taken for the repaire of thErle of Angwishe unto the Bordours, and his reconsiliacion unto the favour of the Quene of Scottes, with composicion of the variances depending bitwene thErle of Arayn and Erle of Angwishe, and also of thanswer made by the said Quene and Erle of Arayn to suche letters, as by the Kinges Highnes, the Lord Legate, and the Duke of Norffolk were sent unto theym for that porpose, with

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 385.

tharticles

tharticles that the Quene of Scottes sent therwith. And by letters of the said Mr Magnus and Roger Ratclif it also appereth that they were made privey of theffect of certain newe letters, afterwardes sent by the Duke of Norfolk unto the Quene of Scottes and Erle of Arayn by his servaunt Hals, wherin sundry good exhortations were geven to theym for admitting and consenting unto the said reconsiliation and composition. And what was thanswer therunto appereth by a copye of a letter sent by the said Hals to the Duke of Norfolk, whiche is herunto annexed. So as the said Mr Magnus and Roger Ratclif by the premisses be and shalbe sufficiently riped in knowlaige, howe that affaire stode at such tyme as the said last answer was made; which is in effect, that though the Quene of Scottes, upon knowlaige of the Kynges mynde and desire, shewed her self to be right conformable unto the said reconsiliation, and thentre of thErle of Angwishe into Scotland, so thErle of Arayn wolbe contented with the same; yet, nevertheles, the same Erle ful obstinately and highly answered, that if the Kinges Highnes sent thErle of Angwishe into Scotland, ther shuld non ambassadours be sent from thens to His Grace: with other presumptuous wordes mencioned in the copy of the said Hals letter, ferre discrepant from good maner, and not mete ne convenient to be by the Kinges Highnes accepted in good part, as hereafter shalbe declared more at large.

The Kinges Highnes and the said Lord Legate trust also veryly that long bifore this tyme the Duke of Norfolk hath made the said Mr Magnus and Roger Ratclyf privey of an other letter sent by the said Lord Legate to the said Duke, wherin was mencioned theffect of a letter to be newely sent by the same Duke to the Quene of Scottes; in which letter, amonges other thinges, is specifyed that with convenient diligence thanswer unto the Quene of Scottes and Erle of Arayns sayd letters, sent to the Kinges Highnes and the said Lord Legate with tharticles aforesaid, shuld be sent by way of instruccion to the said Mr Magnus and Roger Ratclif, and shuld be moche conformable unto the tenour of the said letter, devised to be sent unto the said Quene from the Duke of Norfolk. And, forasmoche as it is yet unknowen unto the Kinges Highnes and the said Lord Legate, what hath bene done in sending of that letter, or whither, accourding to the Kinges mynde than declared to the Duke of Norfolk, the said Mr Magnus and Roger Ratclif have bifore this tyme entred any communication with the Quene of Scottes and Erle of Arayn upon that mater, His Grace, being mynded by all the good and honorable waies possible to experiment the uttermost that may be done for the said reconsiliation and composition, hathe nowe willed the said Lord Legate, ensuying the tenour of his said last letters directed to the Duke of

of Norfolk, to geve instruction to the said Mr Magnus and Roger Ratclif as foloweth: that is to say:

If the said reconsiliation and composicion, bifore the arrivall of these present instructions, be not made, they shal, at some convenient tyme with diligence after thair first accesse, repaire unto the Quene of Scottes, whan they shal thinke to have her best at leysure. And, after delivery of the Kinges letters credencialles to her directed, whiche shalbe with this, inasmoche as by the Quene of Scottes said articles, and thanswers at sundry tymes made by her and thErle of Arayn, it shuld seme that they repute the sending of ambassadours to the Kinges Grace and the traynyng of the yong King from the devocion of Fraunce, with establishing norishing and encreacing of love peax amytie and perfite intelligence bitwene England and Scotland, to be as a thing desired and required by the Kinges Highnes for the special benefite and commodite of His Grace; the said Mr Magnus and Roger Ratclif shal therfore take the grounde and fundacion of thair overture to be made in this mater: declaring first, what is the veray plat of the Kynges mynde and intent in thaffaires of Scotlande, that is to say, oonly the weale suertie and exaltation of his derest nephieu the King of Scottes, and the conservacion of the said Quene and her adherentes in thair auctoritie honour and reputation. And the cause, moeving His Grace herunto, is the proxymyte of blode being bitwen theym, whiche naturally must dispose and lede the myndes and inclynations of every of theym to the mutuel love of thother, besides the great apparance and possibilite, wherin the said yong King of Scottes is and may be, to the Kinges enheritance; added therunto the sundry vertuous and good qualities, whiche be noted to be in his person. Thise they shal say be the thinges that have moeved the Kinges Highnes, first to studye waies and meanes howe to fatigate and wery the Duke of Albany, making warre against hym, and suche of his faction as were not unlike to conspire the dethe and distruction of of the said yong King. And upon this ground, and none other, the Kinges Highnes gave his avice comfort and counsail to the same yong King, to issue from his Castel of Striveling unto Edinburgh, taking upon hym his oune governement; promising not only to assist hym with men and power for that pourpose, but also with money, counsail, and any other thing that might be thought necessary and requisite therunto. Whiche deliberation and intent, proceding of a charitable princely and gracious disposition, hath not come or can do, but only of a tendernes of mynde that remayned in his oune arbitre, thus to do, or otherwise; not for that the Kinges Grace or his Realme can have emolument or profit by Scotland, ne, God willing, shal ever have nede of theym, thair helpe counsail

socour or assistence, ne care or esteme thair enemyte, or with what so ever Prince they be conjoyned; but for that occasions of love, nowe chaunced by the said proxymite of blode, His Highnes might shewe his benignite unto his so nere kinsman, being yet in tender yeres, and having great nede of supportation strenghing counsail and assistence, and to do honour and pleasure unto his said derest suster, who hath susteyned many troubles by the said Duke of Albanyes meanes; furthering also the auctoritie of her, and suche as take her part. Ensuyng this plat, determynation, and charitable entent, His Highnes hath bene glad and contented hitherto to shewe, for a commencement, suche demonstrations as might sounde to this pourpose, mynding fermely to contynue in like disposition, if mutuel correspondence of kindnes can be shewed unto hym, as to reason honour and congruence dothe apertain; whiche hath bene amply inogh, both by letters articles and messages, shewed bothe unto the said King and Quene of Scottes, and also to thErle of Arayne and other nobles of that realme, neding no more rehersall at this tyme, forasmoche as the same is hytherto approved aswel by dedes as by wordes.

And, when the Kinges Highnes, perceyving his said derest nephieu to be entred into his oune governement, lakking yet so great experience and knowlaige as to the ordring of a realme dothe apertain, called unto his remembrance what faccions yet be in the realme of Scotland, howe many do secretely favour the Duke of Albany, what payne the said Quene had to content the nobles and subjectes, what a great change and alteracion this was, sodeinly to come in maner oute of prison unto the regal trone, out of captivite unto libertie, out of extreme daunger into evident apparance of good suretie, if every thing may be well governed established and ordred; whan also His Grace considred, that the late Chaunceler of that realme and principal Archbishop and Primate therof, being a man of grounded experience, with sundry other Counsaillours and noble men, having great frendes and parties there, were in this change deprived from thair offices, committed unto prison, and so deteigned; no knowlaige also had, what the Duke of Albany wold yet attempt for extincting of the said yong Kinges ereccion, the Castell of Dunbarr with the most part of artillary of Scotland remaynyng yet in his handes; and consequently for these and other causes it well and evidently appered unto His Grace, that the said yong King was not yet so surely established in his astate, but that without discrete and substancial proceding he might be brought again unto the former daunger; His Grace like a most tender and loving uncle, or rather like a natural fader, mynding to occurre unto all suche daungers, most discretely remembred that oonly division and parties in Scotland might be cause therof; and unite and concorde a principall remedye to the same. In avoiding

avoiding of whiche division and parties, His Grace coude studye nothing so good, so sure, and so convenient, as 2 thinges, whiche His Highnes for the suretie of the said King, Quene, and thair adherentes, hath proponed and set forthe. On is the reconsiliacion of thErle of Angwish, being a man of great strength and power in that realme, unto the Quenes favour, and the composition of the differences depending bitwen thErle of Arayne and hym. An other was, that the said late Chaunceler, in avoiding suche practises as might be made by those that be of his partie, being no smale nomber ne unwise or inexpert men, might be conveyed unto Berwik, ther to remayne, be ordered, and kept, at the will pleasure and divice of the said King Quene and thair said parttakers. These be the 2 thinges that most highly and principally do sounde to the suretie of the said yong King, the conservacion and encreace of the said Quene and Erle of Arayne in thair auctorite, specially being qualified after suche forme as the said Erle of Angwish is contented to be bounded unto, as hath bene largely declared to the Quene of Scottes, and that do also sounde to the weale of the realme of Scotland; being the thinges most necessary nowe to be by theym substancially pondred and regarded. And for the good avice, whiche the Kinges Highnes gave in this behalf, His Grace assurydly loked to have high and speciall thankes. Nevertheles, in lewe and sted therof, the said Quene and Erle of Arayne have sent unto His Grace, and to the said Lord Legate, letters articles and clauses commynatoryes, that, if thErle of Angwishe be suffred to come into Scotland, and onles than the Kinges Grace wolbe bounde by his writing to deteyne hym in England, neither ambassadours shalbe sent for conclusion of peax, ne the Kinges waies favoured in Scotland, but that they woll fall unto the devocion of Fraunce; with other wordes clauses and sentences, shewing evidently that in al this tyme, while the Kinges Grace hath of good will studied and divised for the benefite of the said yong King Quene and thair parttakers, they have interpreted the same unto an other sence, than ever on this side was ment or intended; thinking that the Kinges Highnes hath done this for some particuler benefite or proffyt, whiche might therby insurge or arise unto His Grace or this his realme; and therupon do make a demonstracion by waye of a threate, that they woll not send thair ambassadours, with other thinges, cowched so ferre from good reason humanite or discretion, that the same nedeth not to be rehersed. And surely, if the Kinges Highnes of his excellent goodnes shuld not herin remyt some part of thair errour, it were inogh totally to aliene and chaunge the entier mynde that His Grace hath to his said derest nephieu and suster, and to cause His Highnes to thinke that the said yong King, ones surely and quietly established in his realme without

daunger of this his ereccion, the said Quene and Erle of Arayne wold shewe right high demonstrations, seing that nowe, at the begynnyng and the maters yet being veray rawe, they do procede by suche straunge and extreme maner. Wherwith, they shal say, the Kinges Grace is nothing contented, ne pleased; supposing that his said derest suster, with whom His Grace procedeth so sincerely and lovingly, shuld never have cowched suche a commynacion or threate unto hym, ne consented that the Erle of Arayne, whom it becommyth not to impone a lawe unto a Prince, shuld have done the semblable: and, as it shuld seme by the last letters receyved, the said Erle of Arayne hath caused the Ambassadours, whiche ones were in thair waye, to be stopped, and that they be retourned home unto thair dwelling howses. Whiche maner of dealing were rather a meane to provoke the Kinges Highnes to sende in thErle of Angwishe with a sufficient power and strengthe, than to deteyn hym here; onles than they wold thinke that the Kinges Grace shuld be redy and glad to do all suche thinges as the said Erle of Arayne wolde desire, whose auctorite the Kinges Highnes hath bene and is mynded to forder and encreace, though His Grace, peradventure finding non other cause than this is, might forbere so to do.

Besides this, it accourdeth with wisedome to considre that the Kinges Grace ment not ner intended to suffre thErle of Angwishe entre Scotland, but with the good will of the said Quene, if she wold reasonably consent therunto, as to her honour dothe apertain; ne also without a loving composicion made with the said Erle of Arayne, as hath bene largely declared unto theym bothe, and under suche conditions as they of reason and congruence ought to be content; ne any thing can be honerably alleged, why they shuld not conforme theym selfes to suche reconsiliation and composicion, as ferre as the Kinges Highnes knoweth, onles than, for the pleasure of thErle of Arayne, the Kinges Grace shuld deteyn thErle of Angwishe, without grounde cause or occasion, to the great dishonour of His Highnes, and peradventure to the no litle miscontentment of the subjectes of Scotland. Wherfore, howe ferre discrepant the said commynations were from good maner or reason, is easy to be considred. For these causes the said Master Magnus and Roger Ratclif shal exhorte and desire the said Quene to pondre these maters, prudently and substancially noting with her self, what suretie may ensue unto the yong King her son, and what apparance she is in of auctorite rule and governance, with the high commodities to folowe unto her, if the said King her son be trayned to the waies of England; and semblably, what extreme dishonour, lakke, reproche, and utter ruyn shuld come unto theym bothe, if she or any other person shuld conduce hym to the devocion of Fraunce. And whan those thinges

thinges be prudently remembred, whither it is expedient to norishe concorde and unite amonges the Lordes of Scotlande without parttakinges to receyve the Erle of Angwishe, being a noble man of great strength in that realme, her oune husbond, glad to do her honour service and pleasure, contented also to be obliged to suche conditions as have been heretofore declared unto her, bothe for the partie of Her Grace and also for thErle of Arayne, and finally to satisfye therby unto the Kinges honour, who hath no convenient colour to detayne hym here; orelles, forsaking all these good vertuous and honerable waies, to put her son, her self, and that hole realme in extreme daunger, is highly to be considred. For she may be sure the Kinges Highnes intendeth nothing in thise maters more than the weale and suretie of the said yong King, the conservacion and increace of her auctorite, with suche as have taken and shal take her part, and the quietnes and tranquillite of that realme of Scotland. For, if His Grace ment otherwise, division shuld be procured amonges theym, rather than unite. And therfore expedient it shalbe, that the said Quene, with the consent of thErle of Arayne, if it possybly may be brought aboute, do condescende to the said reconsiliation and composition, and that they procede all of oone lyne, sending not only honerable Ambassadours to the Kinges Grace for conclusion of peax, but also the said late Chaunceler to Berwyk; by whiche doing she shal exchewe al daungers that by division and sinistre practyses in that realme of Scotland may ensue, not immyxting, in any answers or doinges, the commyn maters of bothe Princes and realmes with those of particuler displeasures and contencion; wherby it may be thought that the publique causes do geve place unto the private quarelles; but rather, for the generall benefite of the hole realme of Scotland, to remyt all rancour grudge and displeasure particuler. And this way shalbe bothe to the pleasure of God, the suretie of the said yong King, the preservation and contynuance of the said Quene and Erle of Arayne in auctorite, and to the universal weale of the realme of Scotland: where as taking other waies, not only all thenterprise honerably and vertuously begonne shalbe subverted, but also so great a ruyne and dammage is like to ensue therof, that the subjectes of Scotland shal have cause for ever to impute the blame of thair infortune unto those that nowe have the principall rule governement and auctorite. And, if this the Kinges good exhortacion can not synke in the said Quenes mynde, but that she woll for any particuler affection persist in her former deliberacion, the Kinges Highnes, for the tender love His Grace bereth unto the said yong King and to her, shalbe as sory therof as any Prince lyving may be, and shal thinke that it is not thair grace or fortune to take and receyve the high benefites and gratuities offred and apparant to ensue unto theym;

theym; but rather, as hath bene sene of a long contynuance heretofore, the realme of Scotland, by taking sensuall and wilfull waies, shal soner chose to lyve in warre trouble inquietnes and adversite, than to florishe in joye riches wealth and prosperite. The premisses well and prudently declared unto the Quene of Scottes shalbe a meane undoubtedly to bring her unto reason, and to condescende for her parte unto the said reconsiliation. And the semblable, in effect, the said Mr Magnus and Roger Ratclif shall shewe unto thErle of Arayn, persuading hym, aswell upon the said considerations, as upon hope of enterteynment reward auctorite and otherwise, by generall wordes, to condescend herunto, and that an amycable composition may be made betwen hym and thErle of Angwishe. Wherin they shal labour the best they can, and by al the dexterite to theym possible, bifore all other waies, to conduce a fynall concorde and agrement, bothe bitwene the Quene of Scottes and thErle of Angwishe, and also bitwene hym and thErle of Arayn; or at the lest to bring it unto that, that al the partyes may compromyt thair differences in to the Kinges handes, if they can not be incontinently componed; so that by thair consentes thErle of Angwishe may entre into Scotland; like as the Duke of Norfolk woll also put all his effectuell helpe to the doing therof. Neverthelas, if they shal fynde that all or the moste parte of the difficultye of this mater resteth in thErle of Arayn, and that he can be in nowise persuaded to come unto reason, but shall remayn in suche lymytes as he yet dothe; than they shall experyment by thair polycye what they may do with the Quene of Scottes apart, and howe they may fynde her, of her oune mynde, with thair persuasion, to be inclined herunto, if the said Erle of Arayn were not. For finally, to be playn with the said Mr Magnus and Roger Ratcliff, whiche they shall reserve unto theym selffes, it were no wisedome for thErle of Arayns pleasure, if it be not founde extremely to myscontent the said Quene of Scottes, to forbeire the sending in of thErle of Angwishe, who may and woll do more service in Scotland, to the benefite of the King his master and to the Kinges contentment, than 5 Erles of Arayn can do. And as they shal fynde the Quene of Scottes disposed herin by her self apart, or her or thErle of Arayn both to geders, they shal advertise the said Duke of Norfolk in as good diligence as may be; to thentent he may order the sending in of thErle of Angwishe as shal appertain.

Astouching money to be geven to the said King, Quene, Erle of Arayn, and other; the strange answer, made by the same Quene and Erle of Arayn, is a good colour not to be hasty in profusion of money amonges theym. Notwithstanding, if the said Mr Magnus and Roger Ratclif shal perceyve that, for the better conducing of this and other the present affaires, it shal do good

to

to bestow some money at this tyme, they shal, rather than faile, deliver unto the Quene of Scottes the some of 200 markes, and to thErle of Arayn 100£, as they shall thinke convenient: so that they may see theym to be in good trayne of sending Ambassadours with diligence, conveying of thArchbishop of Saint Andrewes to Berwike, and composition of the said variances. In whiche maters they shal use all suche good exhortations and persuasions, as be mencioned in the letters lately sent by the said Lord Legate to the Duke of Norffolk, wherin the premisses be also full amply specifyed and declared, whiche may be a further good riping unto theym; like as also their first instructions conteyned right good mater sounding to the same pourpose. All whiche they shal take for thair better knowlaige, and by good polycye so handle this thing, that the said reconsiliation and composicion in any wise may, if it be possible, ensue. Advertising the Duke of Norfolk, as afore, what mynde they shall fynde the Quene of, towching the entre of thErle of Angwish, whither thErle of Arayn shewe hym self conformable or not. Neverthelas they shall do thair best to conduce bothe thone and thother; and, as they shal spede, so to geve advertisment in diligence accourdingly.

And for the rest, whiche concerne thair thankefull acceptation of the Kinges gratuities, thair intent to sende Ambassadours, the Quenes desire to knowe part of the Kinges mynde touching the demandes that thair Ambassadours shall make, to thintent she may somwhat helpe furthe the same before thair departure hitherward, and fynally the contynuance of the wages to the 200 persons being aboute the yong King of Scottes as a garde; the first requireth non other answer but that all, whiche the Kinges Grace hath done, and shal do, unto theym of gratuite and pleasure, His Grace is right well contented, so He may fynde in theym mutuel correspondence of love and kindnes as afore. And contynuyng in thair entent to send Ambassadours, they shal do discretely and prudently, for the weale and suretie of the King thair master, thencrease of theym self and thair auctorite, and the benefite of the realme of Scotland, whiche wold not be pretermitted for any particuler causes or maters as is aforesaid. Wherin the said Mr Magnus and Roger Ratclif shal by thair wisedomes geve theym, as of theym self, the best counsail and exhortation they can, not only to sende the said Ambassadours with all diligence, but also thArchbishop of Saint Andrewes to Berwyk, for such reasons as, bothe in thise instructions and also in thair former instructions and letters, be specifyed at large: inferring as of theym self, if nede be, to thErle of Arayn, that, if it shuld come to the Kinges knowlaige, that he had caused thAmbassadours, ones being in redines to departe, to retourne home; it is doubt whither the

the Kinges Grace, who is so good unto hym, wold take unkindnes therin or not; and avising hym to make all the acceleration possible therin.

As to the 3rde, the said Mr Magnus alone, at some tyme, having the Quene apart, shal say unto her that so Her Grace woll promise hym upon an othe not to disclose it to any person lyving, he woll shewe unto her what he knoweth to be the Kinges resolucion touching the mariage of my Lady Princesse. And, she making suche othe and promise, he shal say that it is not to be doubted but she hath herd ther is a promise made by the Kinges Highnes to thEmperour, that he shal have my said Lady Princesse, and that for the Kinges honour His Grace, mynding to bestowe her elleswhere, can no les do but fynde the meanes to have the same promise discharged: whiche to be done, and that in breve tyme, His Highnes hath noo maner of doubt, being utterly resolved and determyned, incontinently after the said discharge brought aboute, to conclude the mariage bitwen my said Lady Princesse and his derest nephieu the yong King of Scottes, and with none other Prince cristened. Wherfore the said Quene, knowing nowe the Kinges expresse determynacion, keping it to her self, may be the more bolde to trayne all the maters to the wayes and devocion of England, being sure that, with Goddes grace, the said mariage shal ensue; whiche, though it be not concluded immediatly, is the better, considring that neither the said yong King, ne also my Lady Princesse, be yet at yeres of consent; and may therin take somwhat the more leysure, specially the Kinges mynde ones affixed and determyned herunto, as is aforesaid. And thys shalbe inogh for answer of that mater.

Fynally, as to the contynuance of the said garde they shal say that, proceding lovingly and kyndly with the Kinges Grace, there is neither that, ne moche greater thinges, whiche His Highnes woll refuse to do for theym, but that they shall dailly perceive ther came never suche a frende unto the realme of Scotland as the Kinges Grace (being mutuel correspondence of love shewed unto the same) wolbe unto theym; as the experience shall dailly shewe more and more; exhorting and avising them therfore to regarde the premisses accourdingly.

And, in thair divices and communications with the Quene of Scottes, it is not to be forgoten that the said Mr Magnus and Roger Ratclif make mention of the bande and promise made by the Commissioners that were on the Borders for conclusion of trieux; wherby they were bounde that ambassadours shuld be sent, before the same shall expire; for non performance wherof the trieux is violate, and the said convencion is broken, and the Kinges Grace at his libertye to retorne into the warres against all those that have bene the impechers of sending

sending of the said Ambassadours; like as they shal loke for non other, but that His Grace, being thus handled, and thAmbassadours not sent, wol in no wise condescende to any prorogacion of the trieux, ne it were honourable for His Highnes so to do; specially considring, that, as His Grace is informed, the Quene of Scottes was consenting, that thAmbassadours of Scotland, being in redines to take thair jorney, were sent and remitted home. And what inconvenientes might ensue to the said yong King, Quene, Lordes and realme of Scotland, by renewing of the warres, wherby they shuld utterly lose and amyt, not only the Kinges gratitude loving mynde and kindnes, but also the great benefites like to ensue by assistence of power counsaill and treasour, with often remembrances of money, plate, and other kinde demonstrations, besides many pleasures that may growe unto theym, as, in enterteynment of the 200 men of the garde, and generally in all thinges that may be to the weale honour and exaltacion of the said yong King, Quene, and thair parttakers; the said Mr Magnus shal avice Her Grace prudently to consider. For surely, if for none sending of thAmbassadours, the werres shal fortune to be renewed, all the evill successe that shall ensue therof shal for ever be imputed and arected to the blame of the Quene of Scottes, having nowe the principall governement and auctorite in her handes. And neither her frendes, ne her enemyes, shal commende, but utterly dispraise and abhorre, her so doing, whiche finally shal redounde to her destruction: wher as, modyfying her displeasures, and preferring the commyn maters of the realme to any private or particuler affections or displeasours, she shal and may attayn as great a renowm and glory as any Princesse hath done of many yeres passed; and be the veray auctorice and conducer of the realme of Scotland unto rest quiete riches and prosperite, to her great lawde fame and reputacion for ever.

LXXIX. Wolsey *to* Norfolk.[1]

My Lord, I commende me unto you in my most herty maner. And have receyved your letters dated at Newcastell the 16th day of this instant moneth, with oon sent to you from your servaunt Hals, perceyving therbye that the Quene of Scottes is right well inclined to folowe the Kinges desire touching thErle of Angwishe, if thErle of Arayn did not geve empechement and let

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 13.

 therunto,

therunto, whiche Erle, aswell in his letters sent hither, as in thanswer made to your said servaunt, useth hym self more highly and obstinatly than becometh hym. I doubt not but, long bifore this tyme, ye have receyved my last letters, wherin I wrote unto you theffect of a letter to be by you sent, as of your self, unto the Quene of Scottes, and that, according to the porporte of the same, ye have made Master Magnus and Rogier Ratclif privey of the continewe therof, to thintent they might also solicite those matiers by mouthe, to the best of thair powers. By meane wherof, considring that ther was some good apparance and towardnes of the said Quenes conformable mynde to folowe the Kinges avice and desire, it is thought that by this tyme some good frute and effecte is ensued therof; nevertheles, for the more suretie, newe instructions be divised to the said Mr Magnus and Ratclif, conformable to my said letter, whiche wel declared to the said Quene and Erle of Arayn, it is to be supposed they wol herkenne unto reason, and not refuse the thinges proponed, somoche for the honour and suretie of the yong King and theym selfes. Wherunto the Kinges Grace desireth you to put your helpe the beste ye can; so that, if by any waies possible it may be brought to passe, not only the reconsiliacion of thErle of Angwishe to the said Quenes favour, but also the accorde bitwene hym and thErle of Arayn, may be made, bifore thErle of Angwishe entre into Scotland. Notwithstanding, if ye shal perceyve and knowe the Quene ones to be contented with his entre, and that the difficultye resteth only in the obstinacye of thErle of Arayn, it were not convenient that the Kinges Grace shuld for his pleasure deteyne the said Erle of Angwishe, ne shewe hym self to do any thing upon his comminacion or proude threte. Wherfore, fynding suche conformite in the Quene, if thErle of Arayns consent may be opteyned, it is the better; but if not, ye shal not let, for hym, to suffre the said Erle of Angwishe to departe into Scotland at his libertie and pleasure; to whom I do nowe write a letter for his better satisfaction touching his deteynyng here, as he hathe bene; wherby if it be requisite for hym to tary somwhat lenger for the said reconsiliacion and pacificacion, he shalbe the gladder and better contented so to do; as by the copy of the said letter, being herewith, ye shall mowe perceyve. Praying you that, whan ye shal have red the instructions made nowe to Master Magnus and Rogier Ratclif, ye wol sende to theym the same, and also the letters credencialles, directed to the Quene of Scottes and Erle of Arayn, in all diligence, with your further avice howe they shal ordre theym selfes, as ye shal at the arrival hereof knowe the trayne and disposicion that the mater be in; so as finally ye perceyve that, if the said reconciliation and composition may be made with the Quene of Scottes and Erle of Arayne bothe, that is the best waye. And than, that done, ye shal no lenger deteyne thErle of Angwishe, but suffre hym to

to departe into Scotland at his pleasure. And semblably, if the Quene of Scottes shewe her self conformable towardes his commyng, and thErle of Arayn, persisting in his obstinacye, wol not consent therunto, and that ther be non other lett or impediment, but the wilfulnes of thErle of Arayne, ye shal not deteyne thErle of Angwishe for his pleasure, but in that cace suffre hym also to departe into Scotland, if ther be no remedy in pacifying theym al to geders. Neverthelas, if the Quene of Scottes and Erle of Arayne bothe extremely also persist contrarious to his commyng, than is all the labour and persuasion possible to be made by your letters, and also by Master Magnus and Rogier Ratclif, to bring her alone at the lest, or bothe if it may be, unto conformyte. Whiche done, ye may suffre the said Erle to entre as is aforesaid.

Fynally I sende unto you herin closed 2 original letters, the one writen by Hob a Barton[1] unto the Duke of Albany, and thother writen by oon namyng hym self Parson of Glaiston unto Mr David Betoun, Ambassadour of Scotland in the Court of Fraunce[2]; by tenour wherof ye shal not only perceyve that ther appereth to be some subtile dealing in the said Hob a Barton, but also what labour and practise is made for putting the late Chaunceler to libertie, and to have his cause called unto the Court of Rome. Wherfore ye, having therby good grounde to write and labour the more largely, bothe for the reconciliation, and also for sending of the said late Chaunceler to Berwyk, may mowe extende to the Quene of Scottes the daungers, whiche may be by suche pryvey practises, if bothe concorde and unitie be not in tyme established in Scotland, and also the said Chaunceler sent hither as is aforesaid. And right shortely ther shalbe knowlaige had of other like practises appering in letters in cifres not yet totally discifred, which with the said 2 original letters were taken by certain Flemynges lately upon the see. Wherfore ye may the better write in this matiers accordingly, making Mr Magnus pryvey therof, or otherwise ordring it to the best porpose, as ye shal thinke convenient.

And yet, my Lord, eftsones again mynding to inclose this my letter, and considring howe perplexed a matier this the entre of thErle of Angwishe into Scotland is, I thought convenient to advertise you of one other poynt concernyng the entre of the said Erle; whiche is, that in cace neither upon the letter that ye have writen to the Quene upon my last advertisment unto you, ne by suche instructions as I do nowe sende unto Mr Magnus, ner other

[1] Robert a Barton, Comptroller of Scotland. His letter does not appear to be extant.

[2] Caligula, B. III. leaf 189, is a copy, or a decypher, of this letter from M. Istringe. It is dated from Edinburgh, September 15, and is in the same writing as the decypher of Gonzolles' intercepted letters to Albany, which give him a detailed account of events in Scotland, subsequent to his departure. One of them is dated on the 3d, 5th, and 6th of September, Caligula, B. I. leaf 47, the other on the 16th of September, Caligula, B. III. leaf 90.

 politique

politique and goodly meanes by you alredy set or to be set forthe, the Quene in no wise wolbe reconsiled to thErle of Angwishe, but that she and thErle of Arayn shal persist in thair former wilfulnes, in non sending of ambassadours, without considring the manyfolde gratitudes that the King hathe and intendeth to shewe unto theym, but shall arrogantly thinke that no waye shalbe taken bitwene thise twoo realmes concernyng thestablishement of peax, onles thErle of Angwishe be deteyned here; than and in that cace the King thinketh it shuld to highly touche his honour, not only thus to be thretned and dalt with, as though he had more nede of thair amyte than they of his, but also it shuld be no wisedome ne good policye to deteyn thErle of Angwishe any lenger here, but in loving maner, with promise and assurance to have the Kinges assistence, to be suffred to entre into Scotland, he keping suche convencions and pactions as by his writing and othe he hath bounde hym self unto. And, in this cace and al other, it is thought he shuld be dismissed into Scotland, that he myght perceyve the King hathe no scruple of mystrust in hym; wherfore the deteynyng of his broder for any suretie of his proceding were not good, but only his broder to remayn with you by colour of and for advertisment to be made to the said Erle of Angwishe from tyme to tyme, and also to passe to and from, as the necessite of thaffaires shal require, til these incertain matiers may be trayned and brought to some good conclusion, for the weale and suretie of the yong King. So that, resolutely, this is the Kinges determinacion, if without long tract of tyme ye may, by al thise waies that be nowe set forthe, reconsile the Quene and thErle of Arayne, or at the lest the Quene, causing her, or hym, or her only, to be contented with the entre of the said Erle of Angwishe; the experymenting wherof the King trusteth by your good meanes he wol be contented to abide; ye shall in that cace, after suche reconsiliacion had, suffre the said Erle of Angwishe, in plesant maner as afore, to passe and entre into Scotland.

And semblably, if, in shorte space after ye shal have experimented the reconsiliacion of thErle of Angwishe to the Quenes favour, ye shal perceyve that by no meanes the same can be had or atteyned, but that they persist stil in thair wilfulnes, withdrawing forbeiring and putting apart sending of ambassadours, and all other thinges that may be to the conducing of good peax and intelligence bitwene thise 2 realmes, and alienacion of the yong King from the devocion of Fraunce; than and in that cace ye shal also suffre the said Erle, without lenger deteynyng, to passe and entre into Scotland; trusting that he wol performe suche his convencions and couvenauntes as he hathe passed with the King. In doing wherof he shal not faile to have the Kinges assistence as shall appertain.

For

For the King and I veraily thinke that it shuld be daungerous, dishonerable, ner no good policye and wisedome, to deteigne any lenger the said Erle of Angwishe here, for the onely pleasure of the said Quene and Erle of Arayn, without, by thair meanes, and by keping thErle of Angwishe here, ther might be sure ferme and perfite peax and intelligence established bitwene thise 2 realmes, with the total alienacion of the realme of Scotland from the waies and devocion of Fraunce; wherin that by the said Quene and Erle of Arayn suche thinges shuld succede, the wilfulnes, lak of good counsail, and inconstancye, with other thair qualities considred, ther is litle or non apparance. And greately it shuld touche the Kinges estimation to condescende to the desire or request of any person, the same proceding by the way of commynacion manacing or threate. Wherfore this matier by your wisedome policye and dexterite must be regarded, and set forthe accordingly.

And, bicause howe thise thinges wol succede is doubtfull, the King thinketh convenient and hertely prayeth you so to be contented to make your abode ther for a season, till it may be sene to what good porpose this present maters, nowe being in confusion and ruffling, may be reduced and brought unto. And moche the lesse shalbe your abode nedeful ther, in cace the Quene may be induced to be contented with the said entre of thErle of Angwishe. Praying you in suche dulce and pleasant maner to declare this mater to thErle of Angwishe, that he take no mistrust in the King for his abode ther; like as in dede he hathe no cause to do, considring that the King dothe asmoche as he can possibly imagyne for his entre, to his honour and suretie, and weale of the yong King; like as, by thise letters, and also by the instructions sent unto Mr Magnus, evidently dothe appere. Thus fare ye hartely well. At my place besides Westminster, the 24th day of October.

Your lovyng frende,

(*Signed*) T. Carlis Ebor:

LXXX. Wolsey *to* Norfolk.[1]

My Lord, I commend me unto you in my most herty maner, and have at 3 of the cloke this day receyved your letters dated at Newcastell the 23th day of this moneth, with suche letters and copies as were mencyoned to be sent with the same. And albeit by my last letters to you addressed, with instruc-

[2] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. III. leaf 128.

tions

tions sent unto Mr Magnus and Roger Ratclif, I largely and amply advertised you the Kinges mynde and pleasure concernyng thentre of thErle of Angwish into Scotland, either with the Quene of Scottes and thErle of Arains consent, if bothe togeder might be had, or with the consent of the said Quene alone, though thErle of Arayn were not pleased; if either of those 2 waies might be practised and brought aboute without long tract of tyme; or fynally without thair consentes, if upon suche mocyons and persuasions, as had bene set forthe and than were mencioned in the said instructions, she wold in no wise condescende therunto; as in my said letters and instructions, appered more at large: wherupon, all thinges well consydred which have been writen unto you oute of Scotland, aswel by your servaunt Hals duering his being ther, as at his retorne unto you, I verily think, ye, upon receipt of my last letters, wold deliber and determyne to suffre the said Erle of Angwish to entre into that realme, and have done the same or this tyme: yet neverthelas, doubting whither ye wold so do till suche season as ye had experymented what answer shuld be geven to the said Mr Magnus and Roger Ratclif in that behalf, I thought convenient to ascertain you, that, inasmoch as it plainly appereth by suche letters as the said Quene and Erle of Arayn have writen unto you, whiche ye nowe sent with the last post, that ther is no maner of hope of the reconsiliation of the said Erle of Angwishe to the Quene of Scottes favour, ne of a concorde to be made bitwene thErle of Arain and hym, aslong as by thair threates and commynations they may have hym deteyned in England; the Kinges expresse mynde and pleasure is, that considring first the instable and unlike waies that the said Quene and Erle of Arayn do take to conserve the yong King and that realme long in good order, the affeccion that the same Erle of Arayn by many waies semeth to beire unto the Duke of Albany and Frenche faccion, the non apparance that, though thErle of Angwishe wold forbeire to entre into Scotland, ther is, that they wold sent the late Chaunceler to Berwyk, and Ambassadours for conclusion of good peax, the good towardnes also that semeth to be in the said late Chaunceler to take thErle of Angwish parte, and to favour the waies of England, abandonnyng utterly the faccion of Fraunce, the great parte that the said Erle of Angwish hath in Scotland, the good conjecture and evident demonstration that may be had upon many groundes, and nowe of late confermed by the killing of the Lord Flemmyng, that the same Erle doth not favour the Frenche partie, and finally the great desire that thErle of Lyneux and many other noble men of Scotland have to his retorne, shewing to kepe theym selfes fermely to take his part, and to mayntain the yong Kinges ereccion, wher as, he not entring Scotland, they must be compelled to take other waies for thair suretie; all thise

thise thinges considred, it is the Kinges pleasure that, if bifore the receipt herof the said Erle of Angwish be not passed into Scotland, ye, with as good and gentle maner as can be divised, without long abiding answer from Mr Magnus, shal suffre the said Erle to entre into that realme; saying unto hym on the Kinges behalf that His Grace, having ferme trust and confidence in his fidelite honour and loyaltie, is contented, albeit the said Quene and Erle of Arayn be yet contrarious to his entre, not oonly to suffre hym to passe into Scotland, but also to assist hym with power substance and counsail to do that thing whiche maye be to the contynuance of the said yong Kinges erection, thexclusion of the Duke of Albany and the Frenche faccion, and the traynyng of that realme unto the amyte of England. In whiche doing he may be sure to have the Kinges Highnes a gracious and loving Prince, who can and woll so honour and exalte hym, as he shal have cause to thinke the service, thus done to his oune Soverain Lord and to His Grace, in the best wise employed and bestowed. Neverthelas, ye shal say unto hym, that inasmoche as the instructions nowe last sent unto Mr Magnus be cowched more roundely and playnly, and with moo extreme and vehement sentences and persuasions, than any other sent heretofore, and that it is veraily to be thought the Quene of Scottes, hering theffect of the same, and knowing the said Erle of Angwish to be ones entred in the realme of Scotland with the Kinges good consent and favour, wol relent and alter her obdurate and herd mynde and determynation, whiche she now sheweth herself to be in, and percace thErle of Arayn wol do the semblable; your avice is, that the said Erle of Angwishe, at his first entre, shuld not be to hote, or attempt any thing by violence or power, but make his abode amonges his frendes for a season, til it may be experymented, what frute may come of the motions and overtures to be made by Mr Magnus, and the solicitation and meanes whiche ye for your part also woll sett forthe, after the said Erle of Angwish entre; confourmyng hym self alwaies to wayes of concorde, if the same may be in reasonable and convenient tyme opteyned. And, if upon suche motion and labour no good effect shal ensue, than, notwithstanding the great commi-nations that the Quene and Erle of Arayn do make, aswel in non sending of ambassadours, as in falling in to the Duke of Albany and Frenche faccion, he may be sure that the Kinges Grace woll effectuelly assist hym against al persons to thuttermost; he doing and perfourmyng suche thinges as he hath promised the King, by his othe, bande, and writing. Wherin it shalbe wel done ye dyvise with hym, what may be the best way of assistence if suche nede be, and that the cace shal so require; dymitting hym from you in as frendely loving and gentle maner as by your wisdom ye can divise, wherby

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he may be the more encoraged to observe his promises made unto the Kinges Grace as bifore; and reserving his brother, by his consent, not as an ostage, but under suche good colour as in my last letters was conteygned.

And by the next post I shal make you answer unto all other particuler maters conteyned in your last and penultyme letters, whiche I forbeire to do nowe, bicause of thexpedition and celerite that ye desire and is convenient to be made in answering of this mater. And astouching money to be geven unto the Quene of Scottes and other, Mr Magnus and Roger Ratclif were advertised in the said last instructions, howe to order theym selfes, if the reconsiliation and composition coude be made. Notwithstanding, inasmoche as ther was no mencion made of the yong King of Scottes, ye shal write unto theym, that, if they may perceyve upon thair persuasions good effect to ensue, the Kinges Highnes remitteth unto thair wisedomes to geve suche money to the said King and other, as they shal thinke expedient. And most hertely fare you well. At my place &^ca^.

LXXXI. Magnus and Radclyff *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleas it Your Grace to be advertissed that, albe it we taried and contynued at Newcastell by the space of 16 dais for want of our sauff conduyt frome oute of Scottelande, yet ymmediately uppon the receipt of the same we made all the spede possible we couthe into Scotlande, and came to Edinburgh on Saturdaie the 29th daie of October. And, upon advertisment geven to the Quenes Grace of Scottes of our commyng thider, we thought we shulde have repared to the Kingges and the saide Quenes presence the next daie after thenne, being Sondaie. Howe be it, the saide Quenes Grace delayed our commyng to the Courte to Tuesdaie after, being All Halowes daye, as we suppoosed, purpoosely that the King and Her Grace mought be well furnisshed at our commyng thider with a good noumber of noble personnages.

The same day afore Masse we came to the Courte at Holy Roode House, and there we deliverde our furste letters booth to the Kingges Grace and the Quenes Grace, and accoording to our instructions shewed our credence openly afore a great noumber of noble men, booth spirituall and temporall; amongges other the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes and the Busshop of Aburdyne,

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 341.

being

being present, booth at libertie nowe[1], as your Grace knoweth, wherof we doute not; and the Erle of Arraine absent, as is saide, by cause he wolde not be here at our commyng. The King our Maisters letters with our credence were right joyously accept, aswell of the yong King as of the Quenes Grace his moder, and of all other, as farre as we canne perceive; and furthwith the trompettes and shamulles did sounde and blewe up mooste pleasauntely; and soe the King and the Quene his moder paste to Masse to the Abbay Churche, and we booth ordoured in our going with the beste. In the Masse tyme the yong King, with his maister[2], was a good season occupied, as it appered, to his mooste singuler counforte, in looking upon the King our Maisters letters, soe lovingly and in soe cherefull maner, that in our oppynnyons, though he were the King our Maisters oune sonne, we couth not have thought he shulde have doone moore.

And for somyche as ther was a gret noumber, booth of the Lordes Spirituall and Temporall, we devised that thay were assembled into an oratory or chapell there; and deliverde to thaym the Kingges mooste honourable letters, and shewed unto thaym our credence, accoording to our instructions. Whiche thay received and harde at large right thankefully, and furthwith shewed theffecte of the same to the Quenes Grace, whiche was myche to her counforte.

And, by cause we had privea woorde that thErle of Angwisshe was commen into Scottelande, we devised, for the better opteynnyng of the Quenes gracious favour, to present Her Grace with suche thingges at the furste as were mooste pleasaunte. And ymmediately after that we had dyned at our oune lodging, we brought to the King his coote of riche clothe of goolde, and the sworde sent by the Kingges Highnes our Maister. Wherof boothe the Quenes Grace his moder and His Grace were soe glad, that furthwith it was putte upon His saide Grace, as mete as was possible, and soe he did were the same all that after noone in the sight of the people; saing oppenly: "Ye "may see howe well my good uncle doth remember me with many thingges, "and yet I was never able to doe His Grace any pleasur." After this, fynding the said Quenes Grace veray pleasauntely disspoosed, wee furste made your loving recommendations to Her Grace, shewing howe good, gracious, and howe assuredly your Grace is determynned towardes her and all her causes; and thenne touched three thingges conteynned in the laste instructions sent unto us, that is to wete; furste, the King our Maisters ansuer to the thankes that the Quenes Grace gave to His Highnes for his gret charge coste and

[1] Caligula, B. III. leaf 76. is a letter from Sir George Douglas to Norfolk, dated at Bonkil, 24th Oct., acquainting him that Betoun had been set at liberty by the Queen and Arran.

[2] Gawin Dunbar, afterwards Archbishop of Glasgow.

 kyndenes

kyndenes shewed to the yong King her sonne, and to Her Grace; secondely, the Kingges mynde for the contynuaunce of the garde; and thirdely, touching sending of the Ambassadours: wherynne Her Grace is and wolbe of as good mynde as we canne desire. And upon this point I, Thomas Magnus, secretely having Her Grace sworne unto me not to discloos the thing that I wolde shewe unto Her saide Grace, declared what was the Kingges high pleasure and purpoos touching mariage to be betwene the yong King of Scottes and my Lady Princes. This mater shewed, with other circumstaunces to allecte Her Grace to our purpoos, and that Her Grace shulde not oonly be the autorise of the peace, but the highest avauncer of the commyn weall that ever was in Scotlande; Her Grace was right joyous therof, and therupon did hoolly put the yong King her sonne and Her Grace to be at the King our Maisters ordour and high pleasure, shewing that, as faste as she couth, Her Grace wold sette forwarde the Ambassadours.

All this tyme we never touched neather thErle of Angwisshe, nor thErle of Arraine. And thenne upon the deliveraye of the King our Maisters other letters, furthwith we induced that there were twoe letters paste frome Her Grace, and frome thErle of Arrayn, that were not all the best cowched nor ordoured, but rather to the provocation of the King our Maisters displeasure: insomyche that the saide Erle of Arraine soe highly did take upon hym to say or write, that if thErle of Angwisshe shulde come into Scotlande, there shulde noon ambassadours passe into Englande. In hering this matier with the circumstaunces apperteynnyng to the same, Her Grace was somedeall busyed to make us a good aunsuer, and saide it was an over sight, booth of Her Grace and of thErle of Arayn, and for her partie, Her saide Grace was sory that suche a writing paste her. After we had shewed to Her Grace what considerations the King our Maister had, wherupon His Highnes did somyche for Her saide Grace, and for the yong King her sonne, and noe thing for the private avauntage, naither of His saide Highnes nor of his Realme, but oonly for thair oune weales and suerty; thenne Her Grace desired us to have our counsaill, whiche Her Grace wolde folowe, and hoolly be and stande at the high pleasure of the King our Maister, though it were to her payn; saying she wolde never offende His Highnes, considering howe good and gracious broder His saide Highnes is to Her Grace. Even upon this commynnycation had betwene the Quenes saide Grace and us, aloon in her privea chaumber, oone came sodeinly knokking at the chamber doore, saying he muste speke with Her Grace in all haiste; and soe he did; and as it appered by her countenaunce, and as it was of trouth, the haisty tidingges were, that thErle of Anguisshe was commen into Scotlande. At this tyme for a while, we had some busynes with Her Grace, and

and furste Her said Grace discloosed the matier unto us, and furthwith we confessed the same, shewing it was not possible to be the contrary, and that the King our Maister with honour couthe not nor mought reteynne hym ayeinste his mynde, foreseing he escaped frome oute of Fraunce, and came to the Kingges Grace our saide Maister for socour; and soe, specially for her sake, he was received, and had myche honour and pleasure doone unto hym, with gret giftes, naither the Kinges Highnes nor your Grace being privea, nor having any maner knowelege of her displeasure towardes the saide Erle of Angwisshe, naither that there was a grudge betwene hym and thErle of Arren; and that as soone as the Kingges Highnes and your Grace had perceiving of these displeasures, albe it the saide Erle of Angwisshe had his leve and licence to departe, and was at Barwik hoomewarde, the Kingges Grace our Maister, by your discrete advice and counsaill, to his charge, sent for the saide Erle ayeine to his gret payn to goe soe farre southewardes: albe it also the King our Maister and your Grace did fynde the saide Erle loyall true and faithfull to the King his Maister, being also mynded to doe unto the saide Quenes Grace the moost humble service he canne, with the pleasure and honour to be shewed by hym to the same possible; yet the saide Erle, for perfourmaunce of these premisses, and to take an hooll parte ayeinste the Duke of Albeny, if he attempt to arrive into Scotlande, and that he shall not come into the Quenes presence, nor intromitte, nor medle with any thing apperteynnyng to Her Grace, but at her pleasure, is so straitely bounden, that, if he alter or transgresse any parte of the saide bande, it shalbe to soore for hym to bere or to aunsuer unto. And over this, as trouth is, we shewed to the Quene, that if the saide Erle offende, upon monition geven by us to the contrary, the Quene shulde have the body and liff of the saide Erle in her oune handes at her pleasure. Wherwith, and with the shewing of his goodly personnage, and like demeanour, and howe well the Kingges Highnes, and your Grace, and the noble men of Englande doe commende his stature and maners, added therunto that the saide Erle is farre altred sethenne his departing frome oute of Scotlande; Her Grace beganne roundely to incline, saying these woordes, "God forbede that "my Lorde of Anguisshe, being soe noble a man of this Realme as he is, shulde "be in any suche daunger for my sake": shewing to us also that, insomyche as the saide Erle of Arren did take a good parte with Her Grace in the erecting of the yong King, Her said Grace therfore wolde full fayn there shulde be some good waye of a grement taken betwene thaym. Wherynne she saide, though yet she couth not be famylier with the saide Erle of Anguisshe, remembring the displeasures that he hath doon to Her saide Grace, yet she wolde folowe our counsailles in that matier; and hath promised to sende for the saide Erle of

Arrain to come hider unto us: and in like maner we woll sende to thErle of Anguisshe to stay him upon his oune landes, till he shall knowe further of our myndes. The Quenes Grace also, commynnyng with us of the Lordes, shewed that, notwithstanding thErle of Lennoux were suster sonne to the saide Erle of Arren[1], yet he wolde take parte to dye for hit with thErle of Anguisshe; wherfore, Her Grace saide, she was myche moore desirous to have an unitye and concoorde amongges thaym, and fered myche, by occasion of thair contrarietes and busynes, any daungers shulde ensewe to the yong King her sonne. Upon this we shewed there was noe waye soe convenient to be a remedye for the apeasing and refourmyng of these contraversies and other like thingges, as for Her Grace to have an honourable Counsaill aboute her; and that we had perfite knowelege, sethenne our commyng into these parties, that it was grudged she shulde kepe thoffices and Seales in her oune handes. And to this Her Grace saide she wolde be glad to folowe counsaill; shewing by these woordes: "Here is the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes, late Chaunceler, being a great "wise man, and of high experience, having gret substaunce of gooddes and "many freindes, whoom if it were possible I wolde fayn wynne, trusting if I soe "couth doe, it shulde be right beneficiall unto me." Upon whiche motion we saide unto Her Grace, we couth not a litle marveill to see that Her Grace had committed hym to warde for high causes and trespases, and therupon advertissed the King our Maister, and required His Highnes not oonly to have his counsaill, howe she shulde ordour hym and the Busshop of Aburdyne, but also moved His saide Highnes to procure to Poopes Holynes to sende into these partes some solempne personnage fully autorised to deprive booth the saide Busshops; and soe sodainly had put thaym to liberty, and specially the saide Archebusshop, withoute the consent aither of the Kingges saide Highnes or of your Grace, considering that prosses is sewed fore to the Courte of Roome touching deprivations of the saide Bussheps. As to the Busshop of Aburdyne Her Grace saide there was noe gret matier ayeinste hym; and as to the Archebusshop of Saint Andrues, hit was complaynned to Her Grace that, if he were contynued any longgar in warde, it wolde coste hym his liff, by reason that he is a contynuall sekelewe man. And over this, Her Grace saide, that thErle of Arren made the mooste speciall sute for hym, in suche maner that, if Her Grace had not consented therunto, the saide Archebusshop shulde have bene deliverde contrarye her mynde; and therfore Her Grace saide, better it was to agree to his putting at libertie, thenne if the same shulde have bene doon contrarye her saide mynde. Wherfore we ar practising

[1] Arran's sister Elizabeth married Matthew, second Earl of Lennox.

to

to bring the saide Archebusshop to the devotion of the yong King and of the King our Maister, notwithstanding the procuring for sending of hym to Barwik; in whiche practise we truste of good spede. And as to the Busshop of Aburdyne, is in maner at a good point; oone preiste woll have secrete intelligence with an other; insomyche, as the saide Archebusshop saide to me, Thomas Magnus, that he was vereye desirous to speke with me aparte, and withynne these twoe daies we suppoos we shalbe with hym at dyner. The Quenes Grace hath hym, thErle of Arren, and other, booth spirituall and temporall, soore bounden to stande at the Kingges waies, and to take full parte ayeinste the Duke of Albeny. The Quenes saide Grace saith, that the saide Archebusshop is soe desirous of honour, that if we geve hym faire and pleasaunt woordes, puttyng hym in counfort, that the King our Master woll doe hym to be avaunced to be a Cardynall, hit shalbe the mooste redieste meanes to trayne hym frome the Frenshe faction, and to induce hym to the King our Maisters devotion; and if thus it mought be, the good Quene wolde remitte all his trespases aforepassed. Nevertheles, under the correction of your Grace, good it were the playn trouth were knowen, if any evill matier be comprised in the letter not yet dissifered.

We have received a letter written in Frenshe to the Duke of Albeny from Hob a Barton, touching the signefying of sondery causes from oute of Scotlande, and specially the vitelling of Dombarre, and wanting of woode and fewell. As farre as we canne conceive, aswell by reapoorte of the Quenes Grace, as of sondery other persounages to whoom we geve firme credence, the said Hobbe is and hath bene a speciall good frende to the Quenes saide Grace, and at this tyme taketh suche a faste parte with her, that if the Duke of Albeny doe come ayeine into Scotlande, it woll putte hym in daunger and joperdy of his liff. Wherfore, till we shall here and conceive moore, we will not shewe the saide letter; suppoosing the same to be but a thing feynned, grounded upon some likelihoode that the Duke shall not have the saide Hobbe in any high susspition for avoiding of daungers that may ensewe after.

The Quenes Grace full hartely requireth the Kingges Highnes to make sure that the Poopes Holynes doe not confer any benefices withynne this realme, at the Duke of Albenyes sute, but at the nomination of the yong King.

As to the accepting the Ordour of the Garter by the saide King, the Quenes Grace thenketh the same shulde be doone after a good ordour and conclusion taken by the Ambassadours, and not afore. As we shall doe in our further procedingges, nowe that we ar in a trayne of begynnyng, your Grace shall

shall here ofte from us; specially as the causes shall require; by the grace of Almighty God, whoe have [*Your sa*]ide Grace in His mooste blessed tuytion and governaunce. At Eddynburgh, the seconde daye of November.

Your mooste humble preiste and bedemen,

(*Signed*) T. MAGNUS.

(*Signed*) ROGER RADCLYFF.

(*Superscribed*)

Unto my Lorde Legattes good Grace.

LXXXII. MAGNUS AND RADCLYFF *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace to be advertissed, That albe it by occasion of diffarring of tyme by the space of 16 daies in sending unto us of our sauf conduyt frome hennes to Newcastell, and in delaying of tyme by 4 daies sethenne our commyng hider, or that we couth come to the presence of the yong King and the Quenes Grace his moder; we have not acertaynned your saide Grace of any the matiers and causes committed unto our charge by the Kingges Highnes and your saide Grace. Yet, upon suche good woordes and good counfort, as we had in many causes of the Quenes saide Grace upon Allhalowe Daye, by a long season, we wroote and devised a letter yersterdaie to your saide Grace, whiche herynne incloosed we sende unto the same, conteynning sondery thingges at large, myche for the tyme to our counforte, specially that the Quenes Grace was soe conformable in every thing touching the high pleasure of the King our Maister, and that Her Grace was content and pleased we shulde write as is conteynned in our saide letter. And even as we were at a point yersterdaie for the sending forwarde of a pooste with our saide letter, the King sent for the horses that the King our Maister hath sent unto hym, and the Quene desired us booth to speke with Her Grace. After the deliveray of the said horses, well ridden, shewed, and presented, gretely to the pleasure and counforte of the yong Prince, and to the contentation specially well of the noble parsonnages and commynnalty that were present, the Quenes Grace did take us with her into her privea chamber, and in maner did clerely goe from every thing that Her Grace did agre unto the daye and night afore, as is conteynned in our saide other letter; soe that as yet we ar in noe suerty that

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. VIII. Part I. No. 20.

Her

Her Grace woll accomplisshe any gret parte of thoos matiers, but saith she woll make her frendes, and woll see for her self; trusting the King her sonne shalbe sufficient to maynteyn her and her causes ayeinste thErle of Anguisshe. And notwithstanding howe well Her Grace did accept and ponder the King our Maisters good advertisment, and the hoolsome counsaill of your Grace for the weall and suretye boothe of the yong King her sonne and her self, and for the mayntenaunce and increas of thaire estates and honours, and also for the commen weall of the realme of Scotlande, Her said Grace not being highly contrarious ayeinste the commyng ynne of thErle of Anguisshe, remembring the Kingges saide advertisementes concernyng that mater, but content by our poore advice to folowe the King our Maisters pleasure in every thing; yet nowe Her Grace dooth myche moore ponder her oune will and mynde, thenne the counsaill of any person, oonles it be the counsaill of oone Harry Stewarde, a yong man aboute Her Grace, whiche kepeth, as is saide, all the Seales, and ordoureth all causes in suche a maner as is withoute any other connsaill aither of wisdome honour or reputacion. Whiche Harry Stewarde, with thErle of Arren all of oone bande, brought furthe of warde the Busshop of Saint Andrewes, the said Harry having therfore 40£ lande Scottishe. The saide Quenes Grace was well inclyned booth howe a good agrement mought be betwene thErle of Arren and thErle of Anguisshe, and for taking and admitting of good and sad counsale aboute Her Grace; and therupon expreste her advice making a good purpoos touching the saide matiers, and for the sure brynggyng ynne of the said Archebusshop to the devotion of Englande.

After that we departed frome the Quenes Grace, upon Allhalowe daie at night aboute 6 of the clok, as we ar infourmed, the Quene discloosed to the saide Harry every thing that we had concluded upon all the daie afore, and that night right late he went to the saide Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes and to other Lordes, booth the same night and in the mornyng after, and made gret sewtes, the secretes wherof as yet we knowe not; but, as is afore saide, the Quenes mynde is farre altred, as yet before it was, from our purpoos; insomyche as Her Grace hath directe oute letters to thErle of Anguisshe, that he shall not ride nor goe above 40 horses in his company, upon payn of treason; and a like injunction is geven to William Doglas, nowe in Coldingham, to avoide frome oute of the same. Whiche commaundementes, as we here, woll not be obeyed. And where the saide Archebusshop was of mynde to have had us twayn with hym to have commynned upon sondery causes; he hath sent unto us secretely, shewing he dar not medle myche with us, but if it be by the Quenes commaundement.

And

And notwithstanding the premisses, yet the Quenes Grace saith thAmbassadours shall come forwardes; but, as we here, thay woll not passe, but if thay be fully autorised by the hooll body of Parliament, aswell touching thair instruccions as commission. As we understande, the Parliament shall begynne Crastino Martini. And the Quene saith Her Grace douteth of commyng of the Lordes, and that she suppooseth many of thaym wolbe away. Withoute doute the mooste parte of Scotlande, as farre as we canne understande, be glad of the commyng ynne of thErle of Anguisshe, and right fewe doe speke ayeinste the same, but oonly a small soorte aboute the saide Quenes Grace; as, the saide Harry Stewarde, and some other his companyons.

We shall doe the uttermooste of our poore wittes and litle powers for sending forwarde of the saide Ambassadours, and shall applie us to the advauncement of all other our affares committe unto us; by the leve of Our Lorde God, who have Your saide Grace in His mooste blessed tuition and governaunce. At Eddinburgh, the 3de daye of November.

Your mooste humble preiste and bedemen,

(*Signed*) T. MAGNUS.

(*Signed*) ROGER RADCLYFF.

(*Superscribed*)
Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

LXXXIII. MAGNUS AND RADCLYFF *to* ANGUS.[1]

MY Lord, in our full hertie maner we recommend us unto your good Lordship. And right glad we be to here tell of your commyng into Scotland, not doubting but your Lordship doth and woll considre that the King our Soverain Lord and Master hath used hymself unto you like a noble Prince; wherefore we truste verely that ye woll remembre all and singler suche promyses as ye have made unto His Highnes, specially consernyng in effect the suertie of your Soverain Lord and Master, your dutie to be doone unto the Quenes Grace his mother, and that ye, nor noone of yours, do procure any trouble or busynes nowe at your furst commyng in, but that your Lordship wolbe conformable to all good rule and confourmytie as shalbe devised, where as any variance is depending bitwene your Lordship and any other. Thus doing, God shalbe furst pleased, the King your Master well served, and the Quenes Grace moche

[1] From a copy, written by Norfolk's secretary, in the British Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 372.

the

the bettir conconted, and the realme of Scotland in the moche bettir quietnes unytie and concorde. And albeit, my Lord, asfer as we can conceive, the grettest part of the Lordes and commynaltie be right well content with your commyng home, yet your seid Lordship, folowing our poore advice as is aforesaid, shall therby acquyre and get moche the more favour of many other. We have seen the copie of your letter sent to the Quenes Grace [1], being right singulerly well conveyed and chouched for the purpoos. We suppoos some tyme this daye to be with Hir Grace; at the whiche tyme, if we maye come to the knowelege of her pleasure or any part conserning theffect of your seid letter sent unto Hir said Grace, we shalbe glad, for asmoche as in us is, tadvaunce your requestes and peticions, and to declare your goodly demeanour shewed in that behalf. My Lord, we here that letters be sent furth unto your Lordship, and to your brother William, entred of late into Coldingham, commaunding you, upon payne of treason, not to ride in nombre above 40 hors in your company, and that your said brother shall avoue and withdrawe hymself from out of Coldingham aforesaid, orels tapere here to shewe why he ought not so to do. My Lord, we trust ye knowe what is the daungers of your lawes of Scotland, and specially what perill it is to incurre in your Princes displeasure by occasion of making any contemptes or disobeysaunce. Wherefore, the premyssis considered, with the suretie of yourself your servauntes and frendes, ye shall doo well to folowe thadvyse of good sad and discrete counsellers; whereby ye shall moche bettir attayne to all your desieres and more prosperously contynue and procede in the same. And as it maye lye in our litle

[1] Caligula, B. VI. leaf 371. "Madame, in my mooste humble and lowly maner I commende my "service to Your Grace. It woll pleas Your Grace to knowe that I have beene with the Kingis "Grace your brother, the whiche is oone of the mooste cristened Princes, and His Grace hath "entreated me so mervelous well, that he hath addetted me, and all that woll do for me, to do His "Grace service and honour in so farre as lyeth in my poure, myne allegeaunce except to the Kingis "Grace my Soverain. Madame, I am come into this realme to doo the Kingis Grace my Master, "and Your Grace, honour and service, in so ferre as lyes in my poure, and shall do the same as "gladly as any other in all the realme of Scotland; beseching Your Grace ye wold except it, for "ther is no maner of thing that maye be wele to the Kingis Grace my Soverain, ner to Your Grace "honour and pleasure, but I shalbe glad to fulfill the same. Madame, if there be any of my "unfrendis, that in my absence have made senestre informacion of me unto Your Grace, I wold "beseche Your Grace that ye wold stand so good and gracious Lady unto me, that ye wolbe "contente that I maye speke with Your Grace; and if I have offended to Your Grace in any maner "of waye, I shall refourme it at the sight and pleasure of Your seid Grace; beseching Your Grace "that ye woll advertise me of your myende in writing, as I that shalbe redy to fulfill the same. As "knoweth God, who preserve Your Grace eternally. At Boncle, the first daye of November, by "the hand of your humble servant."

 poures

poures reasonable to advaunce and set forewardes any part of your said causes, we shalbe right glad thereunto. As God knoweth &c. At Edenburgh, the 4th daye of November.

LXXXIV. Wolsey *to* Norfolk.[1]

My Lord, in my most herty maner I recommende me unto you. I have receyved your letters of the 26th of October, and sens that tyme your others writen at Morpathe the 30th day of the same. In the first, mencyon is made of enlarging of thArchbishop of Saint Andrews, and the Bishop of Aberdene, with the good hope ye have that the said Archbishop shall leane unto the ereccion of the yong King, favouring thErle of Angwishewaies, and what unkinde and unnaturall depeche the Quene of Scottes made unto Appleby the Kinges messenger, touching the letter whiche she promised that the Bishop of Dunkyle shulde sende unto the Kinges Grace; and semblably what was writen unto you by Sir George Douglas oute of Scotland, aswell of the occurrantes ther, as for sending in of the said Erle of Angwish, whiche ye forbare to do til ye shulde have answer of your former letters towching that matier. By the seconde letters the Kinges Highnes and I perceyve, howe, and after what good forme, ye upon receipt of the same answer suffred the said Erle to departe into Scotland, and what ye have writen unto Master Magnus, aswell touching further payment of the 200 souldeours, as for holding his hande from bestowing of any money upon the said Quene or Erle of Arayn, onles than they procede of an other sorte than they nowe do; and likewise what ye have writen unto the same Quene, and the newes of Scotland then commen to your knowlaige, wherby appereth that ther is not yet utter desperacion, but that she may condescende to the reconciliacion of thErle of Angwishe to her favour; and over that, your desire to knowe the Kinges pleasure touching the gonners at Berwik, Norham, and Werke, and also whither Candishe shalbe discharged of thordenaunce or not; requiring me fynally to be a mediatour to the Kinges Grace for your retourne, upon suche considerations as be mencioned in your said letters more at large.

As herunto the Kinges Highnes and I moche commende and allowe your discrete ordre taken with the said Erle of Angwishe, and semblably

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 7.

your

your writinges and advertisementes bothe to the Quene of Scottes, and also to Master Magnus, thinking that ye have made right convenient and reasonable answer touching her demaunde for payment of the 200 souldeours, and also in admonyshing the said Master Magnus not to be to hasty in geving of rewardes, as afore. For veraily, when the Kinges Highnes herde and understode by your said letters, howe the Quene of Scottes hathe ordred her self at this tyme, first in stopping and countermaunding thAmbassadours of Scotlande, making commynacions unto the Kinges Grace of thair not commyng, with other thinges, yf thErle of Angwishe were suffred to entre Scotland; secondly in putting the late Chaunceler to libertie, whome she hathe in all her writinges reaported to be the most enemye in all Scotland to her self and to the yong Kinges ereccion, and grettest frende aud favourer of the Duke of Albany, and the Frenche faccion; and thridly having knowlaige that the Bishop of Dunkele was mynded to discovere certain great maters touching the suretie of the Kinges person; that she wolde so long and with suche slakk and remysse demeanour passe it over; and fynally geve answer that he shulde not utter any thing therof, til suche tyme as she might perceyve what answer were made unto her unreasonable desires, whiche implyeth in it self that she not only litle cared or estemed what daunger the Kinges most roiall person were in, but also percace conceyving a malicious and rancorous displeasure towardes His Highnes, because His Grace wolde not fulfill and satisfye to her arrogant and dishonorable requestes, rather consented in her hert and mynde unto suche daunger, than studyed to exchewe the same: this maner of doing, with other her insolent behavours, sounding openlye to her extreme reproche, and the blemyshing of the roiall house, and bloode, wherof she is descended, causith the Kinges Highnes to thinke that she is not oonly the most ingrate and unkinde suster that ever was, to whom His Grace, neither in her tendre youthe, ne sens, hathe geven any suche cause; but also, that she, digressing from all good qualities and vertues, dothe in maner alter, varye, and declyne from the loving affecciones and direct operationes and course of nature towardes her self, her blood, and the house that she is come of; shewing therbye that she is to be accompted rather like an unnaturall or transformed person, than like a noble Princesse, or a woman of wisedome regarde honour or kindnes; wherby she so contynuyng shulde geve His Highnes occasion utterly to refuse abandonne and forsake her for his suster, and to repute her as oone whiche more desireth the destruccion of His Grace, than by her good helpe and meanes to put remedy or helpe to any daunger immynent to the same. And assured may ye be, that ther hathe been no matier, whiche in my life I have perceyved His Grace to take more

 unkindely,

unkindely, or that more hath moeved his royall and princely corage to thinke extreme high ingratitude and unnaturall dealing in any person, than this most strange answer geven to the said Appleby, and the contynuall delay whiche the said Quene hathe used in openyng and disclosing a matier, sounding, as it is saide, so moche to the daunger of the Kinges live and person. So that, to satisfye unto her oune malice, it semeth she not oonly wolde leane her self, and trayn her son and his realme to enemyte with the Kinges Highnes, relinquishing His Grace, and adhering to the faccyon of Fraunce, to her oune utter undoing, and the destruction of her said son; but also she coude be contented to conceile and not suffre to be discovered that thing whiche she might thinke shulde sounde to the daunger of her oun brothers life, and consequently do that in her is, rather to destroy her brother, her son, and her self, for revenging of her oune rancour and malice, than to folowe any holsome loving and honorable counsail exhortacion or persuasion geven her by her best frendes, sounding to the pleasure of God, the weale suretie and exaltacion of her said son, and her oune singuler benefite profite and comforte. And, whither this maner of proceding be to be reputed by any good and gracious Prince or other man, as a thing innatural or not, and what inconvenientes be like to ensue of suche demeanour, if she thus continewe, wherby many one shal hereafter have cause to be sory that ever she was born; I pray God she may have grace to considre.

And, forasmoche as it is here yet unknown, what waies she hathe taken, sens the entre of thErle of Angwishe, and whither she persist in this rancourous wilfulnes or not, it hathe been thought convenient to declare unto you howe the Kinges Highnes taketh the same, whiche ye shall plainly notifye unto her by a letter of yours[1], cowched with suche wordes and sentences as be bifore mencyoned, in cace ye shall perceyve that she do not altre and change thise her unkinde and unnatural dealing; exhorting her to loke better unto her self, and that betymes, lest that she thus entred into foly, procede so ferre into the same, that it shall not be in her power to revoke and call it again; shewing also unto her, that contynuyng in this maner, not only the Kinges Highnes woll withdrawe the lenger enterteynment of the 200 men and of all his favour and good mynde towardes her; but also give suche assistence to other, for the repression of her malice, as she shal have cause duering her life to repent this her most ungodly demeanour; like as His Grace wol, that ye in no wise suffre any more money to be payde for entreteynment of the said 200 men at her and thErle of Arayns nominacion, til suche tyme as, she

[1] Norfolk wrote accordingly on the 8th of November. Caligula, B. VI. leaf 375.

taking

taking other waies, ye shal knowe the Kinges further pleasure in that behalve; but persisting in this her wilfull demeanour, ye shal rather enserche and herkenne by your wisedome, whither suche a nomber to be entreteynned aboute the yong King, at the chosing and deputacion of thErle of Angwishe, may be a meane howe to represse the said Quene and Erle of Arayn, to conserve the same yong King in his oune governement, traynyng hym to the Kinges waies and amyte, and be a supportacion strengthe and mayntenaunce to the said Erle of Angwishe. For it were no wisdome that the Quene, shewing her self adverse unto the Kinges Highnes, shulde have that nomber at the Kinges wages, with whom she might mayntayn her unfitting demeanour, to the disturbance and daunger of the said Erle of Angwishe and his parttakers; but in this cace, better it were that the same money, for a season, shulde be employed upon a like garde to be aboute the yong King, by the deputacion of theym that favour the Kinges partye, wherby they shalbe the more strong and puissant to mayntain the same, and to represse the contrary partye, who percace wolde elles studye waies and meanes to convey the yong King ferre northewardes, and so consequently into the Frenche Kinges handes; or do some other notable displeasure for fulfilling of thair malicious myndes and intentes. Wherfore the Kinges Highnes and I desire you, that, if ye do perceyve the Quene to persist in this her abstinate and perverse behavour as above, ye woll in any wise advertise me with diligence, what ye shall thinke most expedient to be done herin, and otherwise, for the debilitacion of the said Quene and Erle of Arayns power, and the strenghting of those whiche do and wol favour the Kinges amytye. So as, if no good counsail avice or frendely exhortacion can move her to the right waye, ther may at the lest suche other good remedies be founde, that it shal not lye in her power to disapointe so many good effectes, as by a perfite amyte and concorde bitwene thise twoo realmes is apparante, God willing, to ensue. In the substanciall ordring of the premisses, after as ye shal see the further proceding of the said Quene, and the disposicion of thaffaires of Scotland, the Kinges Highnes and I praye you to use your accustumable wisedome, and to advertise me of the successe with diligence as shal appertain.

Over this, it is veraily to be thought that the Quene of Scottes and Erle of Arayn, remaynyng in this thair malice, shal study all the waies and meanes to theym possible, howe to cover thair oune default, and shal make semblance and demonstracion to the Lordes and subjectes of Scotland, that the disapointment of the good towardnes, apparant to have ensued bitwene thise twoo realmes, hathe proceded of some unreasonable demaunde made by the Kinges Highnes, and so shall sowe and sprede an opynion that the Kinges Grace

Grace hathe required thinges to the dammage dishonour or prejudice of the yong King or realme of Scotland. For this cause it hathe been thought unto the Kinges Highnes, me, and other of his Counsail, right requisite that some convenient waye be devised, howe the Lordes and other of Scotland may perfitely knowe, what hathe been and is the Kinges entent in thise matiers of Scotland, and in whose default the said good effects be hindred and subverted; so as, though the Quene of Scottes, and other light folkes lenyng to those sinistre waies, shulde divulge or dissymule suche untrue reaport, the Lordes and other might nevertheles by good polycye be advertised of the trouthe. And therfore a letter is devised, in the Kinges name, directed to the said Lordes, and other noble men favouring and leanyng unto the said yong Kinges ereccion, whiche with the copy therof ye shal receyve herewith. By tenour whereof ye shal perceyve what is writen for knowlaige to be geven unto theym of the Kinges direct meanyng, loving and frendely proceding; whiche letter and copy, the Kinges pleasure is, ye, fynding the Quene in her former obstinacye, shal sende unto Mr Magnus and Rogier Ratclif, with instruccion and knowlaige to be geven unto theym, for what purpose and intent the same is divised; willing theym that not oonly they finde the meanes to delyver and present the said letter to asmany of the Lordes and noble men of Scotland as they conveniently may do, but that also they intymate and shewe theffect and copye therof to the residue, as nigh as they can; so as all sinister reaport and opynyon, that may be made and spred by the said Quene and Erle of Arayne, or any other in thair name, maye be extinct and excluded. Whiche shalbe a good meane to represse thair temerite, and to conserve the myndes inclinacions and disposicions of the Scottes unto the Kinges devocion; causing theym the rather to abandonne the indyrect waye, and (as they be wise men) peraventure contrary to the said Quene and Erle of Arayns mynde, to trayn the matiers unto the Kinges good and desired porpose.[1] Neverthelas, if the said Quene do not contynue in her contrarious and malicious mynde as is aforesaid, than your wisedome can considre what is to be done, writen, and sent, bothe unto her and to the said Lordes; whiche ye shal order accordingly.

Fynally, as to the gonners and Candishe; inasmoche as, for non sending of ambassadours the trieux ones violate, it shalbe expedient to renewe the werres, it were not wisedome to discharge any of theym, til suche tyme as

[1] Norfolk, on the 8th of November, forwarded this letter to the Scottish Lords (which has not been found) in a letter to Magnus and Radclyff, with instructions for their guidance in conformity with Wolsey's directions. Caligula, B. VI. leaf 374.

more

more certeinte of thise matiers may be known. And instantely as the Kinges Grace desireth you to considre, what audacyte and boldnes the said Quene and Erle of Arayn, contynuyng in thair frowarde mynde, shulde take, if at this first entre of thErle of Angwishe, bifore some meane be made for the strengthing of his partie, you shulde be revoked from thens; wherby the partye adverse unto the Kinges waies might be the more obstinate and herdy so to contynue, and thErle of Angwishe, and all suche as wolde take his parte, the more discoraged and enfeobled: praying you therfore to be contented to remayne ther for a season, til suche tyme as the further successes of this matier may be known. And suche causes of your oune, as by reason of your absence can not be done this terme, shal and may right well be performed the next terme, without any your losse or prejudice; wherunto doubt ye not I wol have good regarde. Thus fare ye hertely wel. At my place besides Westminster, the 5. day of Novembre.

Your lovyng frende,

(*Signed*) T. CAR^lis EBOR:

LXXXV. NORFOLK *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLESITH it Your Grace to be advertised that this night past at mydnight I received the letters, that your Grace shall receive with this, from Master Magnus and Master Ratclif, by the whiche your Grace maye perceive the great unstedfastnes of the Quene of Scottis, furste by their good advertismentis condessending to the folowing of the Kingis myende and your Graces, and the nexte daye, by thadvyse of Henry Stuard, clerely tourned. I feare God is so discontented with her, that He woll not suffre her to ensue the best waye.

And where they do write that the seid Quene doth doubte of the commyng of the Lordes to the Parlamente, I am advertised dyvers wayes oute of Scotland, by thoos that I have mooste confidence in there, that without doubte thErlis of Lennox, Murray, Glencarne, Montrose, and Murton, with many other Barons and Knightes woll not come at the seid Parlament, onles thErle of Anguyshe send theym worde to come, and then they woll come with suche a poure that they woll rule all at their pleasure; whiche shall tourne

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 157.

to

to the Quenes and Erle of Arrens displeasure, if they so come (as I beleve), and that at that tyme their auctorities shalbe mynysshed. I am also advertised that thErle of Arguyle woll doo as thoders.

Also I am enfourmed by theym that, oneles the hole nombre of the Lordes do come to this Parlamente, and gif their consent to the commyng of thEmbassatours, they woll not take upon theym to come upon the Quenes commaundemente.

And yesterdaye came a servaunt of David Fawconers to me from thErle of Cassellis and the seid David, to knowe and I wold paye at London unto the seid Erle certain somme of money, that I am bounde to paye unto the said David for ships and fisshe, bought of hym by men of Suthwold and Donwiche. And, I answering to be contente so to doo, the man sayed to me that thErle of Cassellis bad hym shewe me, that he had beene in England or this tyme, if he might have had the consente of the Lordis of the land to his commission and instruccions; without whiche neyther he ner his felowes durste take upon theym to come; but assuredly I might trust that he wold do his best that his promes made at Berwike of his commyng might be kepte.

Also Master Magnus and Master Ratclif have nowe written to me a letter, thanswere whereof your Grace shall receive with this. And suerly, aftir myne opinion, it shuld not be good to gif the Quene any more money, onles she altre hir myende for the consideracions comprised in my seid letter.

Also, forasmoche as the daye of treux taken shall expire aboutes 3 wekes to come, it were good your Grace shuld send a newe commyssion to my Lord Dacre for the accepting of a newe treux. For, under your Graces correccion, though the Quene wold not greatly desire the same, yet good it were that it were taken, considering that no hurte can be doone on thEst ner Mydle Merches, but to suche as woll take thErle of Anguyshe part; and if the war shuld renewe, it shuld be chardgeable to the Kinges Highnes, and no hurt doone, but to thoos that the seid Quene and Erle of Arren wold have to be hurt. The seid Erle is at his hous, assaying to get all the frendes he can, whiche come to hym but slowly, as I here saye; and every daye he doth were the Frenche Kingis Ordre, whiche he was not wont to were so often. Whosoever have hym best, is no more sure of hym, then he that hath an ele by the tayle. And Our Lord have Your Grace in His blissed tuycion. Written at Newcastell, the 5th daye of November.

Yours most bownden,

(*Signed*) T. Norfolk.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legatis good Grace.

LXXXVI. NORFOLK *to* MAGNUS, &c.[1]

RIGHT wurshipfull, in my hertieste maner I commend me unto you. This night past at mydnight I received your letter[2] delyvered to the post at Edenburgh the 3de daye of this moneth at 2 at aftir none, by the whiche ye may perceive they have made no diligence, for in 20ti houres they maye be here, riding but 4 myles in one houre. I have sent theym sharp word to ride better.

And, where I perceive the unstedfastnes of the Quenes demeanour; notwithstaunding that I am sory for the same, yet I am nothing disseyved in myne opinion; for I knowe the love to Henry Steward is somoche, that he shall tourne all as he list. And, aftir myne opinion, onles ye shall see some good alteracion, it shalbe well doon that ye, Master Magnus, as a priste, in geving hir holsome counsell for hir honour in this world, and for the welth of her soule, shuld be playne unto hir; as I trowe ye be commaunded by your first instruccions to doo. And, onles ye see some likelihode that she woll falle to folowe the Kingis myend and my Lord Cardinallis, the sonner ye be round with her the better. And ye maye not spare to be playne, shewing that ye can no les doo then tadvertise hir, that all that realme doth mervelously speke thereof; as I doubt not ye here dayely they doo.

And where ye write to me that the Quene is good favour must be alewred with geving hir one other moneth wagis for 200 men, and that she desiereth to have for 300; I assure you I can see no good can come thereof, but rather moche hurt, for thies consideracions ensuyng.

Furst, if she persist in hir wilfulnes, and that thErle of Arren do use hymself strangely unto you, as I am enfourmed he woll do, then, she having the money, the seid Erlis frendes and servauntes shalbe mayneteyned with the same, as they have been unto this tyme, and the Quene put in suche a pride, that she shall think we dare not saye her naye, of any thing that she woll demaund, so that she shall set the les by your good advertismentes.

Also ye knowe dyvers great wise men of Scotland hath advertised me, that the geving of hir of the seid money for the wagis, hath been the onely occasion that she hath not regarded the advyse of the wise men of that land, thinking that with the streingth of the seid men she shall enfource al men to

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. VII. leaf 85. Copy in the handwriting of Norfolk's Secretary, entitled by the Duke himself, "Copie off my lr̃e sent to Mr Magn⁹ and Mr Ratclyff."

[2] This has not been found.

folowe her myend; whiche, ye shall see, shalbe as Henry Steward woll have it, and that shalbe nought for us. And nowe the Lordes assembling at this Parliament, whiche I doubt not wolbe all contented to have a good waye with this realme, shuld, with the help of the said men and thErle of Arren and his band, be peradventure enfourced to condessend to that they wold not, if it were not for feare of theym. Also, if ye se no likelihode of the folowing of the Kingis myende and pleasure, ner no certentie of the comyng of thAmbassadours, and that thErle of Arren doth not shewe hymself favorable to the Kingis wayes, then I see noo remedy to bring the same to pas, but onely by the helpe of thErle of Anguyshe and his part takers; and then it shuld not be well doon to fortifie the said Quene and Erle of Arren against hym.

And suerly, if thErle of Anguyshe do come to this Parlament, he and his frendes woll rule all, or be beton therfor; and if he maye rule, I bileve all shall folowe as the Kingis Highnes wold have it. Wherfor, the premysses considered, I see no good nor no reasonable cause, why the said money shuld be advanced to hir. Notwithstaunding, ye, being there, shall see dayly more then I shall understaunde here, I shall remyt the seid geving of the money to your discressions; praying you to laye oute the same, of suche money as ye have of the Kingis, and I shall sende asmoche more to my Lord Dacre to send to you when ye woll have it. And if ye shalbe determyned to delyver the same, yet by myne advyse ye shall not so doo, onles that first she make you one writing under the Great Seale, subscribed with the Kingis hand, and an other under her oun seale subscribed with her owne hand, that thAmbassatours shall come, and a sort daye prefixed therein for their being at Berwik. Ye be wise men, and I doubt not ye woll handle this matier more substauncially, then I can advertise you to doo.

I mervayle in your letter is not mencioned of the receipte of my letters sent to you from Morpath on Sondaye laste, wherewith I sent you the copie of my Lord Cardynallis last letter sent to me. I praye you by your next letters tadvertise me of the same, and not to spare often to write to me of your newes; for the postes shall have asmoche wagis lying as riding.

Also it shalbe well doon that, by the meanes of Master Adam Otterburn, ye assaye to wyn the Busshop of Saint Andrewes, aftir suche wayes as I shewed to you before your departure from me. And in any wise falle in famyliaritie with thAbbot of Paslaye, by whome ye shall knowe moost of the secresis; but in any wise speke nothing to hym of the said Busshop of Saint Andrewes, for he doth not love hym. And thus hertely fare ye well. Written at Newcastell, the 5th daye of November.

LXXXVII. MAGNUS, &c. *to* NORFOLK.[1]

PLESITH it Your Grace to be advertised, that yesterdaye we were with the Quenes Grace, and found hir some deale more pleasant and more applying to our opinions, then Hir Grace was bifore, aswell for sending in of thEmbassatours, as for serching and declaring hir opinion, whiche of the Lordes wolde be mooste inclyned to the Frenche faccion, and which to the devocion of Fraunce.

Hir Grace also confessed dyvers tymes, as the hole opinion is here, that she could not have doone suche interprises, as she hath attempted in the ereccion of the Kingis Grace hir sonne, but that the same hath beene suffred for drede of the Kingis Grace our Master. And when the commyng of thErle of Anguyshe is called unto hir remembraunce, then all pacience and inclynacion to all goodnes is set apart by Hir seid Grace, saying that she canne neither well bileve the writingis ner sayinges that ar made out of England: taking hir ground that promes was made, that the seid Erle of Anguyshe shuld not come into Scotland, till that she were contented and pleased, onles that at the leeste an unyte and concord had been made bitwene the seid Erle and thErle of Arren. No reason can be admytted againste this hir seid opinion, neither that the King our Maister could detayne the seid Erle of Anguyshe with his honour any lenger within his realme; remembring the maner of the commyng of the seid Erle, and the King our Mastres promyse and saufconduyt graunted for fre passage thorowe that his realme, ner that Her Grace wold not inclyne to your offer made for commyng to Berwik to make the seid concord and aggrement.

Fynally, Her Grace hath instauntly desiered us to write unto your seid Grace, and to requyre the same on hir behalf, that, for her sake and the better apesing of all contraversies, and specially bitwene the seid Ellis of Anguyshe and Arren, and that this next Parlament shuld the bettir be holden and kept with the presence of many noble men, and the King our Masters pleasure also moche the bettir followed and accomplisshed, your Grace wold take the payne to come to Berwik, and to send for thErle of Anguyshe to mete you there, and that your Grace, for the tyme of the seid Parlament, wold by your good wisdome kepe and entertayne hym with you, and then that some good ordre mighte be

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[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 368. Copy, as the last, and headed by the Duke, "Copie off M. Magnus and Mr Ratclyffes lr̃e to the Duc off Norff:". The Duke's despatch, in which this and several subsequent letters were inclosed, has not been found.

 taken

taken for thies displeasures and great grudges that ar bitwene the seid Erles. Whereby the Quenes opinion is, this shuld be moche more for hir comfort honour and estymacion, then if thErle of Anguyshe shuld remayne here upon his commyng in, contrary to hir myend, and promyses made to her part takers, in doing for the yong King hir sonne at the tyme of his seid erreccion. And by the meane Hir Grace sayeth undoubtedly she knoweth there wolbe at the seid Parlament many moo Lordes, then ellis woll come to the same, for doubte of trouble and busynes that is likely tensue, to the great inquyetnes of the realme, and, as she sayeth, to no litle daunger of the King hir sonne. Herein Hir Grace requyreth you to help, and that she mought knowe your good myende again by your writing; whiche, aftir our myendes, muste some deale be pleasantly chouched, and your opinion besides playnly to be declared unto us in suche thingis as your Grace woll not write unto Hir Grace.

The seid Erle of Anguyshe hath written unto the Quenes Grace a letter, copy whereof with this we send unto you.[1] The Quene opynned and sawe the same, and sent it bak agayne, saying she wold not receive it, and woll not confesse to us that Her Grace had or wold have any sight thereof. We have written to the seid Erle, like as your Grace shall conceive by the copie of our letter, declaring what is our advyse and counsell unto hym. It is no litle thing to the Quenes displeasure, that in tharticles couching thErle of Anguyshe it is conteyned that, if Hir Grace and thErle of Arren woll take any contrary part, the King our Master woll then ayde assist and mayntayne the seid Erle of Anguyshe against theym both. That any like matier shuld be couched, touching or remembring Hir Grace in suche a soort, it greveth not Hir Grace a litle.

Some tyme this daye we suppoos the Bushop of Saint Andrewes woll send for us; and if he so doo, then we trust to come to the knowelege of some part of his myend.

In any wise wagis must be sent for payement of the gard, and the Quenes Grace full hertely requyreth your seid Grace, that during the next Parlament, which in maner shalbe the shoote anker for thexpedicion of our purpoos, that then there maye be 300 men in wagis. In this we doubt not but your Grace woll study, what is or maye be necessary to be doone. And Almighty God &c. At Edenburgh, the 5th day of November.

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[1] See note to p. 217.

LXXXVIII. Norfolk *to* Magnus.[1]

Right Wurshipfull, I commend me unto you. This mornyng at 4 a clok I received your letters dated at Edenburgh at 4 a clok aftir noone upon Satirdaye, and in the same I note specially twoo pointes; the one, that the Quene doth desire that I shuld come to Berwik, and to fynd the meanes to have thErle of Anguyshe there with me, unto thend of this Parlament; thoder, that I shuld send money for the moneth wagis of the 200 men, and tavance more for one other hondred.

As to the furst, I have at this tyme written unto thErle of Anguyshe to be contente to come thidder to me[2], condycionally that the Quene and thErle of Arren shall bynd theym by their handes and seales, to be sent incontynent to me, that, assone as the Parlament shalbe doone, the seid Erle of Arren shall come to me to Berwik, and a short daye prefixed of the same, and at that tyme to bring with hym suche frendes as he woll name to be arbitrers bitwene hym and thErle of Anguyshe; as thoder shall do for his part; and if thos cannot agre, tabide the umperage of me the Kingis Lieutenaunte here, and that in likewise the Quene shall do for hir part, and both theym to bynd theym by their seid writingis to be reasonable in their demaundes and contented to fall to a good agremente and concord.

I praye you shewe the same to the Quene and thErle of Arren; and if they be myended to have good ordre tensue in that realme, I doubte not they wolbe contented thus to doo, and if they refuse the same, then it maye evydently appere that all their desieres is onely to tracte the tyme, and tassaye to pluk thErle of Anguyshe frendes from hym.

And, considering that by the request of the seid Quene and Erle of Arren, the seid Erle of Anguyshe hath of long tyme been detayned here, I doubte, whether he woll come any more in our handes, but upon saufconduyt; whiche I shall with good will gif unto hym and his, in likewise as I shall do to thoders, if they woll come, and to depart at their pleasures.

And as touching the money to be sent for the 200 men, I doubte not, or this tyme, ye have received my letters dated the 6 daye[3], by the wiche ye maye

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[1] Copy, as the last, entitled by the Duke, "Copie off the Duc off Norff: lr̃e to Mr Magnº answeryng thoder before, and this to be shewde to the Qwene." From the British Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 370.

[2] Caligula, B. VI. leaf 373.

[3] Ibid, leaf 370,

perceive

perceive my myend therein; and the same I praye you to folowe. And as to the third hondred, I se no reasonable cause why tadvaunce the same.

And if the Quenes Grace and thErle of Arren be contented to gif their writingis according to the premyssis, then, assone as ye have receive the same, send theym to me, and in likewise the copie to thErle of Anguyshe; too thentent he maye be the bettir contented to come to Berwik.

Also I am enfourmed that ye be lodged without the towne, whereof I have mervayle, and me think the same a very strange dealing. For, considering the many faccions and mysordres nowe in Scotland, I see not but that ye be there in daunger to receive displeasure of some mysordred persones. Wherfore I praye you incontynent to remove into the town, and in nowise any lenger to remayne, for no promes of any personne; assuering you that I shall not be contented in my myend, unto the tyme I shall here ye be removed. At Newcastell, the 7th daye of November.

LXXXIX. Norfolk *to* Magnus, &c.[1]

Master Magnus and Master Ratclif. I have written this other letter to you, to thentent ye shuld shewe the same to the Quene and thErle of Arren; and at the writing of the same was here with me my Lord Dacre, Master Euers, and Master Tempest, and do think in that and this, as I do, and in likewise of myne other letter sent to you bering date upon Satirdaye. I assure you I mervayle ye be of thopinion the Quene shuld have the money for this moneth wagis, considring that ye maye evidently see that the same is onely to make her strong to withstaunde thErle of Anguyshe, and so consequently to folowe litle or no part of the Kinges pleasure. Notwithstaunding I remyt the same to your discressions, according as I ded in my former letters. And, onles ye may se some better likelihode of thErle of Arren tensue the Kingis pleasure, then he hath shewed to be of in his letters sent at 2 tymes last to me, it shuld be more convenyent to fortifie thErle of Anguyshe against hym, then to gif the Quene money to make hym strong against thoder, that woll suerly be our frend. Also I mervayle ye wolbe lodged out of the towne, where ye be not onely in daunger to receive hurt of some unthrifty persones; but also aftir

[1] Copy, as the last, entitled by the Duke, "Copie off the Duc of Norff: lr̃e not to be shewde to the Qwene." Caligula, B. VI. leaf 369.

myne

myne opinion purpoosly appointed thidder, bicause noone of that realme shulde have accesse to you, but that the Quene might be advertised thereof; whiche shalbe occasion to make you not to have somoche knowelege as ye shuld have had, being lodged within the town.[1] And therfore I praye you remove incontynent; shewing unto the Quene ye dare none otherwise doo, considering I have commaunded you so to doo. At Newcastell, the 7th daye of November.

XC. MAGNUS, &c. *to* NORFOLK.[1]

PLESITH it Your Grace to be advertised. We have received your letter dated at Newcastell the 5th daye of this moneth, and delyvered here this daye, the 7th of the same. And, forasmoche as we be myended to write unto my Lord Legates Grace the playne resolucion of the Quenes myend here, and as we shall conceive the opinions of thErle of Arren, thErle of Cassellis, thArchbushop of Saint Andrewes, the Bushop of Aburdyne, and the Bushop of Donkell, we cannot at this tyme write unto your Grace as we wold, bicause as yet we have not spoken with thErle of Arren, by occasion that he came hither but yesternight, and this daye is goone furth with the King and Quenes Grace upon solacing; trusting to have hym tomorowe at convenyent tyme and leysour for knowing of his myend in every behalf.

All other aforesaid, asfer as we can have knowelege, by such meanes and perswasions as after our poore discressions we could make, some part proceding of our instruccions, and some part of our own devises, do reasonable well inclyne to our purpoos, as by our letter to be sent to my Lord Legates Grace, whiche we be well assured your said Grace woll see and loke upon, ye shall more at large conceive and understaund.

Your Grace writeth, ye wold that by the meanes of Adam Otterburn we shuld assaye to wyn the Busshop of Saint Andrewes, after suche a waye as your Grace moved us at our departing from you. We have not pretermytted the same, but thereunto have added some deale more, trusting he wolbe a good man, making well by all apperance to our purpoos: the circumstances your

[1] The following memorandum is subjoined by the Duke: "Med. that they wer appoynted to be "lodged without the towne off Edenborow, halff a myle, wich me thoght not convenient, for the "causis premysed."

[2] From a contemporary copy, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 364.

Grace

Grace shall perceive in the comyng unto yow of our next letter. We can write nothing of the Abbot of Paslaye, bicause he hath not been here sithens our comyng, ner we have no knowelege of his commyng hither. Adam Ottirbourne, Patrik Synclere, and Master John Chesam, be very favourable and foreward in our causes.

We have written to your Grace in our former letter, touching the Quenes desire for having the 300 men in wagis, and some part have declared our opinions therein; but asto the wagis for 200 men, we see not, aftir our poore myendes, nor by the contynue of our instruccions, that as yet the same shuld be denyed or dischardged, onles the Quenes Grace had convenyent premonycion and warnyng bifore theroff, specially nowe at this the tyme of Parliament that shalbe. We considre your great and wise consideracions, proceding that in geving this money for mayteynyng of the gard shuld do moche more hurt then good, being oone part of Adam Otterbourns articles; yet, nevertheles, our poore myendes be, that the seid 200 shuld be contynued for the Quenes desire and pleasure; and some convenyent excuse to be had for the not having of the 3de 100; remembryng she is well myended nowe to folowe the King our Maisters pleasure. Albe it she is not, nor wolbe as yet, reduced to the favour of thErle of Anguyshe; to whom we trusteth your Grace understaund, howe we have written and geven our poore advertismentes.

Your Grace writeth that, upon suche consideracions as be mencioned in your seid letter, ye see no good nor reasonable cause, why the seid money shuld be advaunced to the Quenes Grace; notwithstaunding your seid Grace affirmeth, forasmoch as we being here, we shall see dayly more then your Grace shall understaund there, and that your Grace woll remytt the geving and payement of the money to our discressions; desiering us too laye out the same of suche money as we have of the Kinges, and that your Grace woll send asmoche to the Lord Dacre to send to us, when we woll have it. Shewing further, if we be determyned to delyver the same money, yet we shall not so doo, till that we shall have promes under the Kingis Great Seale and the Quenes Seale, with the subscripcion of their handes, for sending of thAmbassatours into England, and the same to be doon at a short daye to be appointed. Pleas it your Grace, albe it, as our dutie is, we have acertayned your Grace of the Quenes request and desire, with our pore opinions ever under your correccion, yet we doubte not your Grace considereth right well that, neither by letter nor instruccions, we have any commaundement to intromyt with payment of money for the wagis of the gard. And over this, seing your Grace remytteth the matier to our discrecions upon so strayte advertismentes, it is so doubtefull, that we thinke it not good for us to intromyt so fer in this matier.

Your

Your Grace knoweth the Kinges Highnes pleasure for the payementes of the seid money. And therfore if your seid Grace pleas to commaund the same to be brought hither, we shall, according to your speciall commaundement, see for the delyvere thereof; without that, that we woll take upon us, upon our discrecions, to make any suche deliveree of money for that cause, or that we woll stand further chardged with any some of money, but with the same, that with sore against our myendes was comytted unto us by my Lord Legates Grace, specially to be chardged with the conveyance thereof from out of England hither, onles we shuld have the conveyance of it in our owne persones with a good company. And bicause the money for the seid 200 men woll amount nigh unto the somme of 200£, we assertayne your Grace that, if acording to our instruccions we shall see convenyent occasion to gif suche somes of money as be assigned unto us to doo, we have not moche besides suche money as hath past from us sithens our comyng hither; all though we shalbe enfourced at our chardge, when tyme shalbe, to send into England for the rest of our money, yet wold we be sory to chardge us further in so daungerous a contre with that thing, being chargeable, not commytted unto us. And therfore, as our speciall trust is in your Grace, we beseche you to pardon us of this our writing, and that it maye pleas you to pondre theffect of the same. And onles I, Thomas Magnus, see some alteracion in the Quenes Grace, your seid Grace supposeth that I, as a prist, in geving Her Grace some holsome counsell, for hir honour in this world, and for the welth of hir soule, shuld be playne with hir: my Lord, sithens our comyng hither, both Master Radclif and I have had some busynes in condingn and convenient maner to declare theffect of our instruccions, and to make answer to the seid Quenes Grace. And, for my part, keping me within the lemyttes and boundes of our instruccions, I suppoos fewe men of my poore degre wold not have goon so ferre for refourmacions of suche thingis as shuld be for the Quenes honour, and the mayntenaunce of her astate and auctorytie, as I have doon; furst to the pleasure of God, the suertie of the yong King hir son, and the unyversall weale of the realme of Scotland. My poore dutie in this behalf I remytt to the reapoort of the seid Master Radclif. We think verely that all and every one here, by all apperance, both of the nobles and comynaltie, do inclyne to the cause of our comyng, mooste favourable; one, for the tyme, some deale except, which in conclusion we truste shalbe the best. By the grace of God, who have Your Grace in His blessed tuycion. At Edenburgh, the 7th daye of November.

Plesith it your Grace, your letter dated at Morpath on Sondaye was sevenight, with the copie of your letter then sent to the Quenes Grace, we did

 receive,

receive, and in our humble maner thank your seid Grace that amongis other matiers it liked you to make us participant of the newes which came unto your Grace at that tyme; beseching your Grace to pardon us for omytting that we certified not your Grace of the receipte of your seid letter, whiche was by occasion that we, not fynding the Quenes Grace pleasantly dispoosed to the accomplisshing of the King our Masters counsail and advertismentes, wer in maner so combred therefor, and so occupied with loking upon many bookes, that the same did put our specialltie out of our remembraunce. Howe be it, we couched generally a good part of the matier conteyned in your seid letter, and did not pretermyt the shewing of any part of your good and well penned letter to the Quenes Grace at that tyme, but then and sithens have at sondry tymes exorted Hir Grace accordingly; so as, we here, she wold full fayne we were both again in England. This letter shuld have passed furth yesternight, but we were soo occupied with sondry personnes, that we could not conclude till this mornyng. At Edenburgh, the 8th daye of November.

XCI. Magnus, &c. *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleas it Your Grace to be advertissed, that for somyche as, sethenne the furste daye of our reparing and commyng to the Quenes Grace here, we have not founde her so favourable and soe well inclyned to the King our Maisters pleasure, as we thenke and suppoos Her Grace shulde have bene; therfore we have devised wayes howe we shulde come in aquayntaunce with the Lordes, for knowelege of thaire myndes and oppynnyons touching our affaires and busynes here.

Furste, we have bene divers tymes with the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes, whom we fynde right well inclyned to our oppynnyons. And at our furste reparing unto hym by occasion of a letter directe to hym by our poor advice from the Lorde Dacre, his Lordeship received us into his privea chamber, and required that every of us shulde kepe other counsaill; and soe he promised for his party. And, furste, declaring in his oppynnyon, that the cause of our commyng was and is mooste for the yong King his Maisters surety, the preservation of the Quenes Grace in her autorite, and specially for the commyn weall of the realme of Scotlande, thenne he shewed unto us the maner and cause, whye he by the advice of light counsaill was committed to

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 329.

warde;

warde; proceding upon this, that the Quenes Grace mooved hym to putte his hande to a book devised for taking furth of the yong King; wherunto, as he saith, he mooved Her Grace not to be haisty therynne, till Saint Giles daye[1] thenne nigh at hande, by cause of the ooth made by hym and all other the Lordes to the Duke of Albeny, to kepe his parte to that daie. With whiche ansuer, as he alleggeth, the Quenes Grace was not content nor pleased. Wherupon, the saide Archebusshop saith, he thenne did putte to his hande[2], as he was required, protesting the same to take noon effecte till Saint Giles daye afore saide. And, by cause he wolde not otherwise agree in the Parliament, therfore he saith he was committed to warde; saying also, hit was shewed unto hym by suche his frendes as brought hym oute ayeine to liberty, that the same was not oonly doone by the procuring of the Kingges Grace our Soveraine Lorde and Maister, but also that His Highnes laboured the sending of hym to Barwik, there to have bene kept in strait warde and prisonne. At our departing frome my Lorde of Norffolk at Newcastell, his Grace did take unto us twoe letters directe frome your Grace to the said Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes, and not deliverde by cause he was committed to warde, to thentent we shulde putte thaym in experience, as by his advice thenne was devised unto us. And, by cause the oone of thaym conteynned myche effectuall and pleasaunt matier, we therfore, to declare that the Kingges Grace our Maister was never consenting to that his committing to warde, but mooste desirous, for his gret wisdom and the gret experience he hath withynne the realme of Scotlande, to have had hym to have commen of ambassade into Einglande for the better ordouring and concluding of all causes betwene Einglande and Scotlande, deliverde to hym the same your Graces letter, bering date the 15th daye of Auguste[3], at whiche tyme he was in warde, of trouth. And to avoide that the King our Maister never did intende to have hym in warde at Barwik, we shewed, His Highnes conceiving his trouble proceded of noe grete matier, but moore for the pleasure of his adversaries thenne upon any good or substanciall grounde, devised all the waies and meanes that His saide Grace couth, howe he the saide Archebusshop mought come to his presence, or at the leiste to mutuell commynycation with his mooste honourable Counsaill, for the causes afore saide. And thus, with the deliverey of your saide letter, received right thankefully and in joyous maner by the said Archebusshop, and declaring our myndes as is afore saide, he was soe marvelous well content and pleased, that he saide, next to the surety of the King his Maister, there was noe thing somyche to his counforte, as specially thus to knowe the King our Maisters gracious good

[1] September 1. [2] See note to p. 112. [3] See p. 105.

 mynde

mynde and youres to be soe well sette towardes hym; saying, if it were not for the diseas, and the sekenes that he is ynne at this tyme, by occasion of coolde taking at his being in the Castell, he wolde be as glad as any man living to take this journay of ambassade to the Kingges Highnes, and to see your Grace. Saying nevertheles, yet by occasion of these gret causes in a begynnyng, he trusteth to visit to Kingges Highnes and your Grace; and to doe His saide Highnes some service, as, he saith, he accompteth hym self myche bounden; and haith promised to do asmyche in these parties, as in hym is, to the advauncement of the Kingges pleasure; and for that purpoos hath required us to repaire, at our oune pleasure, unto hym frome tyme to tyme; shewing us what parte takers he hath, being his kynnesmen alliaunces and frendes, and that for somyche as he perceiveth well the Kingges Grace our Maister procureth not to make any variaunce or debate amongges the Lordes of this realme, but unytie and concoorde mooste for the yongg Kinges surety and the weall of the realme, he trusteth to doe myche to thErle of Arren to be content to be agreed with thErle of Angwisshe, though, as he knoweth, it be ayeinste the Quenes mynde. And myche he complaynneth, that the Quenes Grace dooth not folowe good and sadde counsaill, and saith, by his will therfore, he woll intromitte and medle as litle as he canne. But fynally, as farre as we by our poore wittes and discretions canne understande or perceive, he accepteth our oppynnyons, being of mynde, upon the considerations allegged on our partys, rather to adhere to the favour of Englande thenne of France. And, by all liklihoode to approve that he shulde be of a good oppynnyon towardes Englande, furthwith after our departing frome hym, he sent for oone Mr Adam Otterbourne, a sadde and one of the wisest men in Edinburgh, well lerned and of good experience and practise, our speciall good frende and lover; soe being lured and reduced afore, by the meanes of my Lorde of Norffolk; and shewed unto hym that his Lordeship had spoken with us at large, and singulerly liked our messages, and the gret favour of our Soveraine Lorde and Maister borne to the yong King and his realme of Scotlande, whiche by his estymation, every good Scottishe man oweth well to ponder and to looke upon, and to inclyne to the same. Sethenne that tyme of our meting, his Lordeship had us with hym at dyner; and, to accompany us, had at the saide tyme the Busshop of Donkell, thErle of Casselles, booth appointed to be Ambassadours into Englande, thErle of Eglington, and the Duke of Albenys broder[1], geven to the King our Maisters devotion, with

[1] Alexander, son of Alexander Duke of Albany, by his first wife Catharine, daughter of William Earl of Orkney and Caithness, whose marriage was in 1516 declared void. He became Bishop of Moray in 1527.

other

other sondery Abbottes, and also Dan Carre the Lorde of Cesforde, and Marke Carre. And, albe it the saide Archebusshop dooth shewe hym selff in suche goodly maner towardes us, yet we be infourmed by divers parsons that he woll chaunge and vary. Wherfore we dare not geve unto hym firme credence, but accept and take hym after his demonstrations.

The Busshop of Aburdyne hath shewed unto us right good chere and humanitye, by sending many presauntes. We have commynned at large with his Lordeship, and fynde hym right well inclyned towardes a perpetuall peas to be had betwene Einglande and Scotlande; but some deall he inclyneth to the favour of Fraunce. Howe be it, though he be oone of the grettest in counsaill, yet we truste he woll not be extreme ayeinste Einglande, remembring the gret causes that by liklihoode ar to ensewe.

The saide Busshop of Donkell and thErle of Casselles, appointed to be Ambassadours, appere to be twoe honourable personnages, well mynded and inclyned to a firme unyte and concoorde to be had betwene booth these realmes, withoute any high favour that thay bere towardes Fraunce, otherwise thenne is or shalbe committed to thaym by thair commyssion and instructions. The saide Lordes have doon unto us right good chere, with veraye gentill and pleasaunt humanitye. The Quenes Grace is clerely determynned, by the advice of many the Lordes present, to sende into Einglande thair Ambassadours; whiche be appointed, as farre as we canne understande at this tyme, to be commyng forwarde withynne 10 daies.

As yet the Quenes Grace canne not be wonne nor mooved by any meanes to accept to her favour thErle of Angwisshe, but contynually Her Grace persisteth and contynueth in displeasure towardes hym, notwithstanding his manifolde sutes made for the atteynnyng of her gracious favour. In this matier not oonly, but in sondery other, we have had some busynes, specially in mooving and exiting Her Grace to accept and take sadde and wise Counsaillours aboute Her saide Grace; whiche to doe we truste Her Grace woll moore specially regarde, thenne she haith doone afore, and purpooseth upon our poore advices to putte the same in execution, by the consent of the Lordes, at the begynnyng of this next Parliament, whiche shall begynne upon Mondaye next commyng.

As the Quenes Grace of late sent for us to come unto Her saide Grace, there was a gret exclamation made upon us by 10 or 12 wives of Edinburgh in the Quenes gret chamber, shewing that, notwithstanding peas proclamed betwene Eingland and Scotlande, Einglisshe men have taken thair husbandes and thair gooddes, meanyng, as thay saye, by the shippe called the Barke of of Sandewich taken by the Flemmynges, and as thay allegge by the meanes and subtiltye of Einglisshe men. This matier is sette forwarde by Hobbe a Barton,

Barton, the Countroller here, gretely in the Quenes favour, and a gret complaint of the same shalbe presented to your Grace, at the commyng up of the saide Ambassadours. The saide Hob a Barton, in our oppynnyons, douting there shulde any reapoorte come hider of his letter written in Frenshe to the Duke of Albeny, hath shewed to the Quenes Grace and the Lordes in maner playnly, what he hath doon in that matier; soe that with shewing of the speciall letter we shulde therby rather gete enimyes, thenne aither frendes or favour.

Sethenne our laste writing unto your Grace, we have had some busynes here with the Quenes Grace, notwithstanding we have deliverde to her the somme of an hondreth poundes, being all the mony that as yet we have deliverde, ather to the King, the Quene, or to thErle of Arren, though our instructions be large ynough in that behalve. And, in case we had not deliverde and geven to the saide Quene the saide somme of 100£, and at the leiste also promised payment of waiges for 200 of the garde here, we perceived that naither the Quene, nor the Lordes, by any liklihoode, wolde have bene haisty in setting forwardes of thAmbassadours.

ThErle of Arren haith not bene here sethenne our commyng, till Mondaie laste. Upon Tuesdaye we sent unto hym, and required hym that we mought wait upon hym, and, if it stoode soe with his pleasure, we required that our meting mought be in thAbbay Churche here. As we be credible infourmed, the saide Erle made the Quenes Grace privea to our message. Wherupon Her Grace sent unto us, and commaunded us, if we wolde speke with the saide Erle, that we shulde comme into the Courte to hym: and soe we did; at whiche tyme the saide exclamation was made by the saide wives of Eddinburgh. And at our commyng to the saide Erle, we founde hym, and Hobbe a Barton the Countroller, standing with the Quenes Grace, in her privea chamber. And, after some commynnycation had with Her Grace and saluting of the saide Erle, we shewed unto hym we had a letter directe to hym frome the Kingges Grace our Soveraine Lorde, and wolde be glad to deliver hit, and to speke with hym. Furthwith he departed, and went into the utter chamber, and upon licence had that we mought goe with hym, we deliverde our letter; and, or and afore we couth shewe any good parte of our credence, the Quenes Grace sent fowre tymes for the saide Erle and for us, to come unto Her Grace; as it appered to us, that Her Grace wolde not suffer us to commyn to gader, but that she mought be privea to all the matier. And thenne, afore Her Grace, we touched the matier of variaunce betwene the saide Erle and thErle of Angwisshe, and humbly we besought Her Grace to help us forwarde with oone good woorde, or at the leiste to be content that we mought speke of the matier betwene our selves. Wherunto Her Grace saide

she

she wold not in any wise medle in that matier, nor geve hym any counsaill therunto, and did bid hym doe as he wolde, and as he thought beste for the yong King and hym self: and soe for this tyme, after some commynication had aparte with the Quenes Grace, not the moost pleasaunt, we paste for that night.

Yersterdaye afore noon the Quenes Grace sent unto us an honeste gentilman her servaunte, called Patrik Synkler, our good frende and speciall lover; shewing that all the Lordes had bene with Her Grace in Counsaill, and that she perceived thay were well content with our commyng, but that we shulde not contynue and tary here, but, after our message doone, we shulde retourne hoome ayeine into Einglande: and this thing she required us to kepe cloos, till Her Grace shulde speke with us; and as the saide Patrik Sinkeler shewed unto us, Her saide Grace commaunded hym upon payn of his liff he shulde kepe secrete this his message.

At after dyner the Quenes Grace sent for us, and shewed, as afore, that all the Lordes had bene with Her Grace, and that it was playnly determynned the Ambassadours shulde departe and goe forwarde at the furtheste the next wook, and that the Lordes were occupyed in devising articles and instructions for the moore spedy avauncement of the saide Ambassadours, and that all thair writingges shulde be putte in a redynes ayeinste the furste daye of the Parliament, thenne to be autorised by the hooll body of the same. Her Grace shewed also, that the Lordes demaunded upon her, for what intent and purpoos, moore thenne at that tyme thay hadde knowelege of, we were commen into this realme. Wherunto, as Her Grace affermeth, she saide we were commen frome the King our Maister to viset see and to salute the yong King her sonne and Her Grace, and that we had brought unto thaym booth veray honourable presentes and tokyns, with good and pleasaunte messages, and that our desire was myche for thair Ambassadours to passe forwarde. Wherupon the saide Lordes, as the Quene alleggeth, made ansuer, that for somyche as the saide Ambassadours were at the pointe of dispaching, and that we had doone our messages, necessarye it were that we shulde departe hoomewarde, specially by cause straungers have not used nor have bene accustumed to contynue in this realme, specially in the tyme of thair Parliament, to be privea to thair affares and actes withynne the same. The Quene saith, albe it that Her Grace saide ayeine, "Here have bene Frenshe men sufferde a farre "longger tyme to contynue, thenne these my broders servauntes have doone, "and therfore I marveill whye ye shulde be moore wery of thaym, thenne ye "were of the saide Frenshe men"; yet nevertheles thay were not content, but advised Her Grace to geve us her advertismentes to departe. And soe Her Grace hath doone, and wolde in anywise we shulde departe afore the

begynnyng

begynnyng of the Parliament. Howe be it, with myche humble and lawly sute, the rather by cause our sauff conduyt conteynneth licence for us to make our aboode here for 6 monethes, we have opteynned licence, not withoute some busynes and myche intercession, to contynue here, till we may see the Ambassadours goone afore us into Einglande. Thus, and in like maner otherwise, we be used; marveling gretely therof.

Yersternight we were with the Busshop of Donkell, whoom we note for an honourable man; and as farre as we couth conceive by hym, it is not clerely determynned, whether that he, or thArchebusshop of Saint Andrewes, shalbe Ambassadours. But he saith, were it not for the good will and favourable mynde that he bereth towardes the Kingges Highnes our Maister, he wolde, naythe for the Quene, nor all the Lordes of Scotlande, sette his footte into Einglande. Yf he come, as we suppoos he shall, he trusteth to doe high service to our saide Soveraine Lorde, in discloosing matiers of gret ymportaunce, soe that he may be in Scotlande ayeine afore the discloosing of the same. And, in case he come not forwarde at this tyme, but an other in his roolme, thenne he hath promised faithfully to oppyn and make playn the matier unto us twayn.

This day it was appointed, that thErle of Arren and we shulde have mette to gader at Saint Giles churche; whiche appointement, he hath sent us woorde, he canne not kepe, and hooldeth hym selff right high and straunge, by occasion of the Quenes Grace; soe that we canne bring hym to noe good purpoos. And yet the oppynnyon of all men is, that he wolde be right well pleased to be at an unitie and concoorde with thErle of Angwisshe. And thus Almighty God have Your Grace in His moost blessed preservation. At Eddinburgh, the 10th day of November.[1]

Your mooste humble preiste and bedemen,

(*Signed*) T. Magnus.

(*Signed*) Roger Radclyff.[1]

(*Superscribed*)
Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

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[1] They forwarded this despatch through Norfolk, accompanied by a letter of the same date (Caligula, B. VI. leaf 366.) referring to its contents, and adding:

"Yf we shulde shewe your letter, dated at Newcastell the 7th day of this moneth, and deliverde "here yersterday in the mornyng, aither to the Quene or to thErle of Arren, it were ynough to "make a stoppe to the commyng of the saide Ambassadours. We have copyed theffecte of your "article touching the commyng of the saide Erle of Arren with his frendes to Barwik for the agre-"ment to be had betwene hym and thErle of Angwisshe, and have made noe mention of the Quenes "partye; whiche copye we have shewed hym; but as yet, though we purpoosely for this matier were "with hym twise yersterdaie, he woll make noe directe ansuer, but in our oppynnyons foloweth a "contrary counsaill. As we shall conceive further your Grace shall have ansuer with spede, if we "tary;

XCII. Norfolk *to* Wolsey.[1]

Plesith it Your Grace to be advertised, that this daye at 11 a clok, I received a letter from Master Magnus and Master Ratclif, whiche your Grace shall receive with this, and in likewise their letter sent to your Grace, whiche I have

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" tary; but assuredly all folkes in the Courte here make theym strong ayeinste thErle of Angwisshe, " and if he come hider at this Parliament, it is likly to be a directe lette to the commyng of the " saide Ambassadours, by occasion of the gret displeasure that the Quenes Grace bereth to the saide " Erle, and specially all her greiff resteth that he is commen into Scotlande ayeinste her mynde and " will, whiche Her saide Grace pondereth, as farre as we canne conceive, above all other causes, noe " reason to be made to the contrary, but upon high displeasure to the shewers of the same.

" This day it is decreed, as we here, that the saide Erle shall kepe withynne certayn lymittes upon " payn of treason; and therfore under the correction of your Grace, we thenke it were well doone, " your Grace shulde advertys the saide Erle to spare his commyng hider during the Parliament " tyme; and thenne it is thought the sonner he shulde attayn to his desire.

" Wherupon we shall conclude with the saide Erle of Arren touching his comyng to Barwik, as " yet we knowe not.

" As to our lodging here, noe man canne amende hit, if we may tary. We were afore lodged in " a house soe strait that every ladde and lasse in maner sawe what we did, and our servauntes farre " frome us. Nowe we be all togader withynne the towne wall, in a good strong house, and with us " is nightly booth Patrik Synkler and Mr John Chesam. This matier is the leiste doute we caste; " and as for knowelege and intelligence of causes, we have ynough; and hider all our frendes canne " come and goe, myche moore surely and secretely thenne if we were in the myddes of the toune. " Of this we have noe cure.

" Upon the making of this letter, arrived here other letters from the King our Maister to the " Lordes here, and from your Grace to the Quenes Grace, and to us in like maner, your letters " being dated at Newcastell, the 8th daie of this moneth. We muste be well advised in deliveray of " thoos letters, oonles we put in daunger the commyng of the Ambassadours; whiche hath bene all " our busynes to bring to passe, and myche moore sonner wolde have commyn to effecte, if suche " sodaine chaunces and cases had not happenned in the meane tyme of our saide busynes. We shall " doe our devour, and therupon, well advised, shall acertain your Grace with all diligence. As " knoweth God, who have your Grace in His preservation. At Eddinburgh, the 10th daye of " November at 5 of the clok in the evennyng.

" Pleas it your Grace, we have commaunded the poste not to departe from hennes till the breke " of the day in the mornyng, by cause our letters have bene taken, and the poostes divers tymes " troubled in these parties, riding in the night, by spoillers and robbers. Necessary it were, in our " oppynnyons, commaundement were geven that the poostes commyng frome your saide Grace " shulde have warnyng not to ride in the night, whenne thay come into Scotlande. As your Grace " shall advise, we shall folowe the same.

" We are soe farre perplexed with these laste letters that now ar come, that we suppoos if they " shall be deliverde to the Quene, being of late soe highly displeased, and as yet litle or noe thing " reconciled, thay shalbe a clere breche to the commyng of thAmbassadours. And therfore we " beseche youe that we may knowe your oppynnyon, for we be ferefull to displeas, for hurting of " our causes."

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. VIII. Part II. leaf 28.

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loked upon. And, bicause it is necessary your Grace shuld have theym brought to you with all possible diligence, I shall the more breifly write to your Grace at this tyme. And, notwithstaunding that I have forbourne to write to your Grace of all this weke, loking every houre for newes out of Scotland, yet your Grace shall perceive by a booke of copies of letters, whiche shalbe with this, what hath been doone sith my last letters sent to your Grace. And also your Grace may perceive by the copies of my letters, what I wrote to Master Magnus and the Quene upon the receipte of your Graces letters dated the 5th of this moneth; whiche my letter to the seid Quene I perceive is not delivered, fearing that the same might be the empechment of the commyng of thEmbassatours. Whereupon I have depeached a post to Master Magnus, referring the delyveree thereof to bee ordred by their discrecions; and in likewise of the moneth wages for the 200 men; as your Grace shall perceive by the copie of my letter sent to theym, whiche your Grace shall receive with this.[1]

Also, where I perceive by their letter that good likelihode is, thAmbassatours shall come forewardes within 8 dayes aftir this daye; I beseche your Grace I maye knowe your pleasure what I shall doo. For, they being ones come to Berwik, under your Graces correccion, I see nothing that I shuld have to do here. And if the Kinges pleasure and your Graces be, that I shuld no lenger remayne here, I wold then set forewardes, so that I might be afore theym. For loth I wold be to come in their company, having not past 50 of my servauntes left with me, in old blak mornyng cootes, not convenient taccompany Ambassatours.

Also I beseche your Grace I maye knowe your pleasure, whether the Lord Dacre shall come in company with the seid Ambassatours or not. And, if your pleasure be that he shuld come, as me thinke it convenyent he shuld doo, then, if it maye stand with your pleasure, I shall cause 3 or 4 of the gentilmen complaynauntes to come up, in likewise, and the matier bitwene theym maye be ordred by your Grace in taking payne two dayes, and every day but two houres; and necessary it is that matier shuld be ordred.

Also as yet I have no maner of knowelege, whether thErle of Anguishe doth entende to be at this Parlament or not; but hourely I loke to knowe. And if he come, suerly he woll rule, or be beton for it.

Also I beseche your Grace tadvertise me, what Master Magnus and

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[1] Norfolk's answer to Magnus and Radclyff, to the effect stated in the text, is in the same volume, leaf 30. It adds his advice, to do what they can "in anywise to wyn the Busshop of Sainte Andrewes."

Master

Master Ratclif shall doo, aftir their commyng oute of Scotland; also, that your plesure be to have the Lord Dacre to come up, to wright to hym to leve his brothir Sir Cristofer to ly at Hexham unto his retourne. And thus the Holy Trinete have Your Grace in His blessed tuicion. Fro Newcastell, the 12th day off November.

Yours most bownden,

(*Signed*) T. Norffolk.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates good Grace.

XCIII. Magnus, &c. *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleas it Your Grace to be advertissed that, albe it in our laste letter we declared what spede we had in these partes, for that tyme not all the moost pleasaunte, and howe that we had practised with the Lordes for the better atteynnyng of our purpoos in the causes committe unto us by the Kingges Highnes and your saide Grace; yet nowe all thingges procede moore pleasauntely thenne thay did afore, by reason of our poor sutes mooste humble made to the Quenes Grace, litle touching any matier for this tyme contrarious to her pleasure; insomych that the Quenes saide Grace hath had us furth to solace with the Kingges Grace, here, at Leeth, and in the feildes, and to see His saide Grace stirre his horses, and renne with a spere, amongges other his Lordes and servauntes, at a gloove. And also, by the Quenes procuring, we have seen His saide Grace use hym selff otherwise pleasauntely, booth in singging, and daunsing, and shewing familiaritye amongges his Lordes. All whiche his princely actes and doingges be soe excellent for his age, not yet of 13 yeres till Eister next, that in our oppynnyons it is not possible thay shulde be amended. And myche moore it is to our counforte to see and conceive that, in personnage favour and countenaunce, and in all other his procedingges, His Grace resembleth veray myche to the Kingges Highnes, our Maister. And over this His saide Grace hath, with the mooste pleasaunte and moost loving countenaunce, shewed unto us booth, that myche it pleaseth His Grace to see and here of the good maners of Einglande, and myche it displeaseth hym to see his subjectes to exercise or use the facions and maners of Fraunce; and we being present sawe and harde His saide Grace reprove oone of his oune servauntes for the same cause.

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 333.

At this present tyme we have veray good and perfite liklihoode of the setting forwarde of the Ambassadours here, booth by appointeing suche personnages as shall passe with thaym, and preparing of thair liverais. And upon Saturdaye laste, for somyche as Sir William Scotte, Lorde of Bawery, is sekelewe and may not travell, therfore in his roome is appointed the Abbot of Camskynnell, reputed to be well lerned, wise, vertuous, and of substanciall demeanour: but of veray trouth suche money, as shulde maynteyne thair charges, as yet is scarcely leveyed and brought ynne. Nevertheles the Quenes Grace said on Sondaye unto us, that all the possible haiste that may be is used for the spedy avaunsing forwarde of the saide Ambassadours, and that at the furthest thay shall passe withynne 8 daies; but some deall we doute therof, by cause we conceive thay ar not all perfite in thair preparations for thair journay. Howe be it, asmyche as to us is possible, we shall procure thair spedy furtheraunce.

Calling to remembraunce that, in our poor opynnyons, for divers causes right necessary it were, that the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes shulde have commen of ambassade at this tyme, we mooved the Quenes Grace therynne, and shewed what hurte mought ensewe by his contynuaunce here, being but newly reconciled to her devotion and to the favour of Einglande, in procuring the noble men of Scotlande to the faccion of Fraunce and to the Duke of Albenys wais, if he were soe dispoosed, and mought clerely be at his oune libertye, and contynue in his contrey, as his requeste and petition is; being, as some deall it is susspecte, not all the beste pleased as yet, nor content for his committing to warde and keping in the same; being also soe subtill and clooce a man, that harde it shalbe to come to the knowlege of his intended purpoos, if he mynde and intende any privea crafte under clooked dissimulation. And over this, we declared to the Quenes Grace that, if the saide Archebusshop were oons paste in the saide ambassade, it shulde not oonly cause and conferme his frendes and lovers to contynue firmely to gader to good purpoos till his retournyng ayeine, but also be occasion that Fraunce, and the Duke of Albeny, for his comyng into Einglande, shulde have hym utterly oute of truste and favour, or at the leiste in an high suspicion. To this, the Quenes Grace saith, she canne not bring hym, oonles he had bene moore sonner advertissed and warned of this matier; but Her Grace saith she suppooseth the gret causes to be treated upon canne not soe soone be concluded, but that some advertismentes in the same muste be required to be had from hennes. And at that tyme, Her Grace saith, good it were the Kingges Highnes our Maister and your Grace shulde write loving letters to her and to the said Archebusshop, shewing that, insomyche as he is an honourable personnage

and

and a gret wise man of the grettest and mooste high experience of any other withynne the realme of Scotlande, necessary and right requesite it were, that he, therfore sufficiently autorised, shulde be sent, and shulde come into Einglande to the King our Soveraine Lorde and Master, for the better and moore sure concluding and debating of all causes, purpoosed thenne and mooved betwene Einglande and Scotteland. The Quenes Grace suppooseth this the best meanes to bring hym into Einglande; but if it soe shulde be, our poor oppynnyon is, under the correccion of your saide Grace, that thenne some good polecy shulde be used to content the Busshop of Donkell, soe that noe disdaine nor privea displeasure shulde insurge, betwene hym and the saide Archebusshop, by occasion of his coming into Einglande, and to be soe highly estemed by the Kingges Grace our Maister. The saide Archebusshop bretheth myche to honour, and therfore keping a sure waye with the King his Maister and his loving favour firmely to be inclyned to Einglande, we have putte hym in counforte that the Kingges Highnes our Maister woll doe myche for hym in avaunsing hym to honour.

And as touching the Busshop of Donkell, we have used us to hym accoordingly, and for somyche as in us may be, have promised to procure hym to be Chaunceler. This we remitte to your gracious consideration to be had to the same, and to other the premisses; acertaynnyng your saide Grace that, sethenne our commyng hider, we have founden the said Busshop right favourable towardes the causes of our comyng hider, and mooste playn man of any other, as farre as we canne conceive, and by all liklyhoode fast and faithfull to the oppynnyon that he shall take. He trusteth myche to your gracious favour; and we suppoos your Grace woll like hym. He is well resonned, of gret experience besides his lernyng, and hath good utteraunce of his matiers, and many frendes. As your said Grace shall further perceive and understande, we doute not but ye woll extend your gracious favour to the saide Busshop of Donkell.[1]

Betwene my Lorde of Norffolkes Grace and us there have bene practises

[1] In their letter to Norfolk, which accompanied that in the text (Miscellaneous Letters in the Chapter House, Vol. I. leaf 58.), is the following passage respecting Bishop Cockburn.

"The Busshop of Donkell stikketh myche, and fyndeth occasions to have some other to goe of "ambassade, thenne hym self; surely, as farre as we canne conyecture, for want of money; by "occasion that he is, and must be, gretly charged with payment for his bulles of Donkell. Yf he "be subtill, harde it is to truste many men; for he hath shewed unto us, that if he were sure of his "bulles, he wolde not faill, but wolde stande up openly in this Parliament, to shewe and declare the "subtill and crafty wayes of Fraunce, and howe ofte and many tymes by the same Scotlande hath "bene abused and shamefully deceived. Your Grace, we doute not, woll have the saide Busshop, "being principall Ambassadour, in your good remembraunce, and some deall remember his charges "nowe at his setting forwarde; whiche, he being good, woll make hym myche the better."

attempted,

attempted, to have brought thErle of Arren and thErle of Angwisshe to have mette at Barwik with thair frendes, for thair concoorde and agrement; and if thay couth not have concluded by meanes of thair saide frendes, that thenne thay shulde have compromitted thair causes to the umparage of my said Lorde of Norffolk, the King our Maisters Levetenaunte. Wherunto the saide Erle of Arren woll not condesende; plainly, in our oppynnyons, not for any evill will or frowarde disposicion, but by counsaill of suche as he dare not displeas, insomyche as we have founden hym divers tymes reasonnable well inclyned to our motions. And at all tymes he hath required respite in geving of his ansuer; and whenne tyme came, his saide ansuer was to litle effecte or purpoos. He shewed unto us booth, as we were riding to gader, that the Erle of Angwisshe had a shrewed company towardes hym, and that the said Erle was the beste of all that soorte, and that, if thay twayn were of oone oppynnyon, thay were able to kepe oute the Duke of Albeny. To this we exhoorted hym; and withoute any gret perswasions, if there were not other counsaill and commaundement, he wolde soone inclyne; and soe he hath reapoorted hym self to sondery parsons. We suppoos he is used as an instrument for a countenaunce, for we conceive in hym noe males nor frowardenes. And notwithstanding the hawte and high letters that have paste in his name under his signe manuall, yet thay proceded not of his oune oppynnyon, but as he was ledde therunto, and yet is, by other. There is noe high blame nor displeasure to be ymputed to hym; for, when the Quenes Grace woll shewe her gracious favour towardes the saide Erle of Angwisshe, he woll soone be inclyned to a grement. And, in our oppynnyons, by his oune apparaunce and reapoorte of the Lordes and many other, he wolde fayne be at that poynt. And at all tymes, afore the yong King and other, he canne not speke to myche good of the King our Maister and of the nobles of his realme.

And where we wroote to your saide Grace, and made mention of the Quenes sayinges, and shewing of her pleasure touching our going and departing from hennes, grounded uppon the oppynnyon of the Lordes; we here not myche of that matier nowe; but of trouth the same was purpoosed to the Lordes for thair oppynnyons to be had therynne; and sethen that tyme litle speche hath bene made therof. Howe be it, with some sute and diligence, and the favour of the Lordes, we truste to tary, till the ende of the Parliament. This matier, in our oppynnyon, was procured by some light personnages, whoos purpoos yet taketh litle effecte. As we shall conceive further in this matier, we shall write unto your saide Grace.

Of late we received frome my Lorde of Norffolk a letter, directe from the Kingges Highnes our Maister, to the Lordes of Scotlande, to be deliverd unto thaym,

thaym, as was assingned unto us by my saide Lorde, at the begynnyng of the Parlyament, openly in the Tooll Booth: an other letter directe from my saide Lorde of Norffolk to the Quenes Grace[1], right roundely penned and cowched. Which letters, upon suche conscideratiōns as doe ensewe, we forbere to deliver. Oone is, by cause our matiers doe somedeall inclyne to good effecte and purpoos, we doe not take upon us to deliver to the Quenes Grace my saide of Norffolkes letter; by cause, in case Her saide Grace conceived theffecte therof, we knowe she wolde not be pleasaunt a good whyle after; and doutefull it is to us therfore, what hurt it wolde doe to our saide causes, nowe in good trayn. Twoe other conscideratiōns there be touching the Kingges mooste honourable letters not mete to be deliverde. Oone is, there ar conteynned in the begynnyng of the Kingges letter these woordes, "We doubte not but by our "other letters to youe directed, whiche as We understande were deliverde in "the tyme of your late Parliament, though hiderto We never received ansuer "of the same, ye have bene amply advertissed of our intier affection," &c. Of trouth we be credible infourmed that ansuer was made to the same, and subscribed by all the Lordes that were there present booth spirituall and temporall, copy wherof we sende unto your saide Grace herynne incloosed[2]; and think, if this matier as farre as we canne conceive, were oppynned, it wolde ingendre some secrete displeasure betwene the Quenes Grace and the Lordes, by cause the saide ansuer was not sent furth, as is suppoosed. An other cause there is touching the noon delivery of the saide letter, whiche is this, and soe cowched, "Calling to remembraunce that sondery contrarietes have insurged in the saide "erection, some folkes in that realme shewing thaym selves not contented "therwith"; whiche woordes, as we understande, touche the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes and the Busshop of Aburdyne, nowe good men, and moost principall of the saide Parliament, and gret of counsaill; and therfore, the premisses conscidered, we spare deliverey of the said letter, in truste the Kingges Highnes and your Grace shall fynde thaym all good and honourable men. And, for so myche as the Quenes Grace conceiveth that the saide Archebusshop is but newly reconsiled, and that after the Parliament be fynisshed he is desirous to departe into his contrey, Her Grace therfore is of mynde, as she saith, to have hym nere unto Her saide Grace, and woll not suffer hym to goe farre abroode. For our partes we truste to kepe hym ynne, and that good love and familiaritye shalbe used betwene us, and ever woll putte hym in counforte of the King our Maisters gracious favour and youres to be shewed unto hym.

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[1] Caligula, B. VI. leaf 375.

[2] See p. 111.

Furthermoore,

Furthermoore, touching the saide Erle of Angwisshe, conceiving his comyng hider to the Parliament newly begonne mought do hurte and ympechement to our intent and purpoos, we therfore have sent unto hym, to spare his comyng hider till the departure and setting forwarde of the Ambassadours; wherby he shall myche the better obbay the King his Maisters precept and commaundement, being charged to kepe certaine lymyttes, and also doe that thing that shall sounde to the King our Maisters pleasure, and fynally for his oune weall and surety. Wherunto he is and wolbe redy, shewing he woll not faill, but ordour hym self in suche maner as may be to the contentation of the Kingges Highnes and your Grace, not letting for any man leving, his allegeaunce and trouth to his maister reserved.

Yersterdaye the Parliament beganne here; and if any speceall cause shall passe in the same concernyng our affaires here, we shall with all spede advertise your Grace of the same; by the leve of our Lorde God, whoe have Your saide Grace in His moost blessed preservation. At Eddinburgh, the 15th daye of November.

Your mooste humble preiste and bedemen,

(*Signed*) T. Magnus.

(*Signed*) Roger Radclyff.

(*Superscribed*)

Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

XCIV. Norfolk *to* Wolsey.[1]

Plesith it Your Grace to be advertised, that this aftir none I have received one letter from Master Magnus and Master Ratclif to your Grace, and another to me, and the copie of a letter sent from the Lordes of Scotlande to the Kingis Highnes of long tyme past; which your Grace shall receive with this. As to the seid letter from the seid Lordes, I doubte not your Grace hath received the same by the next post that went from me, for undoubtedly I sent the same to your Grace, and have the copie thereof. And, as to theffecte of the rest of their letters, I see nothing tadvertise your Grace of my poore opinion, save onely to knowe your pleasure if I shall cause any money to be advaunced to the Bushop of Donkell, in like maner as I have, by the Quene of Scottis speciall instaunce, delivered 100£ to the Mershall of Barwike, to be geven to

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. VIII. Part II. No. 36.

thErle

thErle of Cassilis at his commyng thidder. And in the mean tyme I shall write unto Master Magnus and Master Ratclif, to cause theym to shewe the seid Bushop that he shall not nede to care for lak of money, if he disclose suche maters as he promysed to doo, and furthermore use hym in the Parlament as their letter doth purpoorte. Mooste humble beseching your Grace tadvertise me how I shalbe ordred consernyng my departure hens, and tadvertise me of your pleasure consernyng suche matiers as I wrote to your Grace in my last letters, dated upon Saterday last.

Also upon Mondaye at night departed hens 12 sayles of merchandises of this towne laden into Zeland; and for nothing I could cause theym to remayne here, unto the tyme some wafters might have come to have goone with theym. I praye God send theym good spede; for I shalbe afferd, unto the tyme I shall here they shalbe arrived in saufetie. For, and they mete with any Frenche men of war, I rekon theym lost; and they be worth 5000£. But they be so hasty to be at this marte, that for nothing they wold abide. Also here doth remayne the Kinges hulk, a riche ship, and I dare not send her hens, unto the tyme some men of war come to waft her. I have sent to Paxford, and others that kepe the North Sees, 3 dyvers letters, to come hither to waft her and the seid Zeland flete; but I can here none answere of theym. I beseche your Grace send me word if the Kinges Highnes or your Grace have discharged theym. And thus the Holy Trynytie have Your Grace in His blissed tuycion. Written at Newcastell, the 16th daye of November.

Yours most bownden,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) T. Norffolk.

To my Lorde Legates good Grace.

XCV. Wolsey *to* Magnus, &c.[1]

Master Magnus and Master Ratclif, I commende me unto you in my right herty maner. Sens your arrival in the Court of Scotland I receyved sundry your letters to me addressed, wherof the last bereth the date at Edinburgh the 10th day of this instant moneth, wherin ye have ful substancially declared, aswel the state and disposition in the whiche ye fynde the affaires of Scotland, as also the circumstance of suche thinges as ye, folowing the tenour of your instruc-

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. VII. leaf 40. This has been printed by Galt in the Appendix to his Life of Wolsey.

tions and letters sent unto you, have done with the Quene, Lordes, and other of Scotlande, sens your comyng in to those parties.

And, forasmoche as unto al material pointes conteyned in your seid letters, except the last, and suche letters and copies as the Duke of Norfolk sent with the same, answer hathe ben made to the sayde Duke, as the cace hathe required, thoughe thinges divised here to be writen by hym to you and other have been altered changed and not executed, as hathe bene commaunded; I shal therfor nowe make answer unto your said last letters copies and writinges, the effectes wherof consisteth principally in these thinges folowing.

First, albe it the Quene of Scottes persisteth in her wilfulnes against her husband thErle of Angwish, yet neverthelas it semeth she and the Lordes of Scotland be determyned that Ambassadours shalbe sent with diligence unto the Kinges Highnes; and that the Quene, upon your good exhortacions, sheweth her self confourmable to take sadde and wise counsaillours aboute her, by consent of the Lordes at the Parliament.

Secondely, that the Archebishop of Saint Andrews maketh outeward demonstracion to be veray wel inclyned unto the amytie of England, shewing som towardnes that he coude be contente to come in the ambassiate. Howe be it diverse persones have infourmed you he wol change and vary.

Thirdely, that the saide Quene and Lordes wolde not the Erle of Angwishe shulde be at the Parliament, but have made an overture of his retourne to Berwike, and demore there during the same; and there the reconsiliation of hym to the Quene, and agrement with the Erle of Arayn, to be treated.

Fowrthely, the Quenes desire for contynuance of the 200 men in wages, with increace of oon hundred moo, to the whiche Quene ye have delyvered 100£, intending also to pay the wages of the said 200 men, if it be sent unto you; fearing leest, if ye shulde not so do, it myght be a mean to stoppe the comyng of Ambassadours.

Sixthely, that for the same doubte and feare ye respited, and wold be well avised, bifore ye delyverd to the Lordes of Scotland the Kinges letters lately sent unto them, or to the Quene suche letters as the Duke of Norfolke then wrote unto her.

And finally the strange dealing of the said Quene and Lordes, not being contented that ye shal moche lenger reside and demore there, as in your said letters and writinges is mencioned more at large.

As herunto, the Kinges Highnes, who hathe herde and understonden the contynue of al your said letters and writinges, geveth unto you ful good thankes for your discrete and diligent acquitail used in the charge to you commytted;

mytted; ascertaynyng you that when His Grace, I, and other of his Counsail have by mature deliberation wel pondred and considred the said seven material pointes, we fynde that the same, with al the residue of thise matiers and affaires of Scotlande, consisteth upon oone of the 2 thinges folowing, wherupon al the residue must depende; that is to say, whither the Quene and Lordes of Scotlande, perceyvyng and knowing howe the Kinges Highnes procedeth with them, be of mynde and inclynacion to trayne their King and themselfes unto the amytie of England, intending to establishe a perfite confidence and entier truce bitwene the bothe Princes and their realmes, being glad so to do for their oune ease weale suretie and profite; or elles, whether contynuyng in their former jalousie and suspicion of the Kinges Grace and this realme, with straunge and contrarious myndes, from any good concorde or unite to be conduced and brought aboute, they wol rather adhere unto France, traynyng their King to the devocion therof, so to depende upon the lyne of the Frenche King, as of hym in whom they wol have their most assured and special trust and confidence, using the Kinges Highnes and this realme, as thoughe His Grace shulde be glad to seke for their amytie, or had eny nede or necessite therof, and not to accept and take the benivolence and bounteous goodnes of His Grace to procede of the good wil and entier affecion that His Highnes bereth to his derest nephieu and sister the King and Quene of Scottes, as it dothe, recognising and knowleging them selfes highely obliged and bounden unto His Grace therfore, and using them selfes with mutuel corespondence of al kyndnes, as to reason and congruence dothe aperteyn. Thise be the thinges whiche ar first and principally to be noted, being more material then either sending of ambassadours, pacification of particuler querelles and displeasures, entertaynement of gardes, or other like thinges; whiche al must depende herupon. And therfor, in your doinges and procedinges there, thoughe sending of ambassadours is an apparance of further towardnes, yet, lakking a determynacion in Scotland to seke and desire to live in ferme peax and amytie with this realme, it is not the comyng of Ambassadours with holowe and strange myndes and intencions, that shal principally conferre unto this besynes. Veraily the Kinges Highnes, perceyving by your letters that the Quene of Scottes, notwithstonding her wilfulnes in not folowing as yet the Kinges good avice towardes her husbonde, is mynded neverthelas to avaunce the sending of ambassadours, thinketh that, if their setting forthe be in apparant towardnes, as by your said letters it semeth to be, the same is not nowe by any sharpe dealing or demonstracion to be empeched or hindred, but that the said Quene and Lordes, having intencion and mynde by suche depeche of ambassadours to procure the good of peax, shuld rather in their

so doing be comforted, and the more kindely and favourably to be entreated and handled.

Semblably, inasmoche as the Archebishop of Saint Andrewes sheweth hym self outewardely right loving, and conformable to further this amytie, and hathe had right good and secrete conferences with you towching the same, he is to be entertayned with the better wordes and maner, and is to be accepted, as ye write, according to his demonstracions. And surely, if he coude be reasonably induced to come in the said ambassiate hym self, it is not to be doubted but that, by meane of his grete wisedome and experience, the matiers shulde take moche the better effect. For whiche purpose I have writen a good letter unto hym at this tyme, like as by the copie therof, whiche, with the original to be delyvered unto hym, I send you herwith, ye shal perceyve more at large; and the said copie shalbe a sufficient instruccion unto you, howe ye may, as of your selffes, secretely and frendely exhorte and avise hym so to do; puttyng hym in comforte that as grete honour and profite is like to ensue unto hym therof, and peraventure gretter, then ever had any Archebishop in Scotland.

Besides this, the Quene of Scottes proceding lovingly and kyndely with the Kinges Grace in al other her doinges, it is not the mater most material at this tyme whither she wol yet accepte the Erle of Angwishe to her favour, or not; ne it wer wisedome, that the Kinges Grace, nowe he hathe suffred hym to entre in to his contrey, whiche His Highnes had none honourable colour to denye hym, shulde so stik unto componyng of the differences bitwene the Quene, the Erle of Arayn, and hym, that it shuld seme to be a mater that the Kinges Grace wold preferre, or immyxt with the affaires and causes of the realme. Howe be it, somwhat it is to be merveiled, for what grounde or occasion he shulde be inhibited to come unto the Parliament, considering that he is oone of the chief noble men of that realme, and a true subget unto his Prince, onles then the Lordes of Scotlande not bering, as it apperith, unto hym so moche favour and good wil, as by many and many letters sent hither from the Bordres hathe ben mencioned, wold mynde in the saide Parliament to passe some thing at the Quenes request, whiche shalbe to his extreme prejudice and detriment. For, sens his comyng in to Scotlande, there hathe not yet hitherto, as ferre as is knowen here, ben shewed any comprobation that he is so universally wel biloved, or hathe suche a partie in that realme, as hath ben reaported; but rather it is to be thought that the Lordes, who can not suffre any grete preemynence or superiorite to be in oon of them selfes above the other, doubte that he, being husbande unto the Quene, whom, for that she is a greate Princesse, they coude suffre to have the shadowe or visage of governe-

ment,

ment, shulde after his reconsiliacion unto her favour, rule al the residue. And for that cause veray like it is, that this divice hathe proceded for traynyng of hym unto Berwike, til suche tyme as the Parliament myght be finished, and he neither privey to their driftes and compasses, ne present to withstonde suche thinges as myght sounde to his derogation or hinderance. Whiche thing wer ferre discrepant from honour and reason; and right lothe wolde the Kinges Highnes be to see or knowe suche effect to be brought to passe, he being by the Kinges Lieutenaunt avised and desired to repaire unto Berwike. Wherin on thing is specially to be noted; the said Quene allegeth that it is moche against her honour that the Erle of Angwishe shulde thus be sent in to Scotlande withoute her consent and agrement; but she nothing regardeth howe moche it shulde sounde to the Kinges dishonour, either to have deteyned hym any lenger here having non occasion so to doo, or nowe to allure hym unto Berwike, as though His Grace wer constrayned to kepe hym oute of Scotlande til the said Quenes pleasure wer determyned. And if any notable thing shuld be done against hym duering his abode in Berwike, then shuld it also moche more touche the Kinges honour. Wherfore His Grace, I, and other of his Counsail, do not a litle merveile that either my Lorde of Norfolke or you wold consent to suche overture, or write therin to the said Erle, onles ye myght first have had some evident apparance upon what grounde the same shuld have bene done, and have wel knowen that it must be for some grete or good effect. But, if ye may perceive the Quene and the Lordes so to procede with you, that the Kinges honour be not herin touched, and the maters to be in trayn according to the Kinges mynde and desire, then, thoughe the seid Erle wer absent from the Parliament, so his presence there shulde do hurt either to thassemble of the Lordes or sending of Ambassadours, it is not the thing which the Kinges Grace wolde ye shuld stik in.

And likewise the 100£, that ye have geven unto the Quene, and the payment of the 200 men for on moneth, if it be done alredy, may be suffred; ye fynding the Quene and Lordes in suche good disposicion as is aforesaid.

As to delyvere of the Kinges letters to the Lordes, it is not a litle to be merveiled that ye wolde respite or differre the doing therof, considering that the matier therin conteyned is thankefull and acceptable, and nothing in the same letters mencioned, whiche soundeth to the said Quenes dispraise or dishonour, but rather for the preservacion of the same. Assuring you, that those letters wer divised not withoute mature deliberacion of sadde counsail; knowing that, if upon particuler displeasure there shulde be surmyse made to the Lordes of Scotlande of any unreasonable demaunde required by the Kinges Highnes, the said letters shuld be a sufficient declaracion unto them, wherby they myght knowe

knowe the Kinges good meanyng and intent. But, when thinges be divised here for conducyng of the Kinges matiers, and the same by some shalbe chaunged and altred to their divice and fantasie, and by other pretermytted and not delyvered, or not put in execucion, according to the commaundement geven in that behalf; it is no merveile, thoughe the matiers many tymes perishe or have adverse successe. The experience wherof partely may appere in the delyvere of my letter unto the Archebishop of Saint Andrews, whiche moche confermed hym in his devocion towardes the Kinges Grace; where as, if that and al other had ben delyvered in tyme, and al instruccions folowed with suche sentences clauses and maner as they wer here cowched, it is not to be doubted but better effect had ensued therof. And therfore, if the Kinges said letters be not yet delyvered, there is no cause whye ye shuld not, without further tracte, do the same, considering that they shal rather avaunce the comyng of the Ambassadours, and conferme the Lordes in the Kinges devocion, then otherwise. So as for this parte ye do perceyve that fynding the Quene and Lordes in suche good mynde and towardnes as is aforsaid, and the Ambassadours determyned to be sent without further tracte or delay; it wer not convenyent to depeche or disturbe the same, but rather to avaunce it with as good and convenient wayes, without sute or desiring them therunto, as ye can divise.

On the other parte it is to be considred, what hathe, at and sens your departure from hens, ben notified to the Duke of Norfolke and you, by instructions letters and otherwise, towching the plat fourme and maner of the Kinges intent and meanyng in thise matiers of Scotlande, not being grounded upon other thing, but only upon the benivolent and loving mynde that the Kinges Grace bereth unto his said derest nephieu and suster, for the proximite of bloode, and possibilitie of succession, that the said yong King is in to the Kinges Highnes, and the other good vertues and qualities reaported to be in his person; as ye have bene largely advertised of the Kinges mynde in that behalf: whiche by you wel pondred and regarded, ye may finally perceyve that, when the Quene of Scottes and Lordes of that lande shal make strange and highe demonstracions unto you in their doinges, withoute due respect had unto the Kinges gratuite and kyndenes, but rather use them self as thoughe the Kinges Highnes were fayne to seke upon them for amytie and frendship; the more ye shewe your self inclynable to their demaundes and requestes, and the more they shal perceyve you to insist for their good willes, the prowder and more arrogant shal they be. And therfor in this cace it wer not convenyent that for sending of their Ambassadours, whiche shal be most to their profite and suretie, ye shulde to moche folowe the Quenes mynde and desire, or forbere plainely and roundely to open and declare unto her suche thinges as ye have in

commaundement

commaundement to do. For by that meanes she shal perceyve that, only for the weale of her son and of her, the Kinges Grace dothe shewe hymself thus benivolent unto them, and not for any thing that His Grace loketh to wynne therby, or to lose by the contrary. Where as, if the playnes be not declared unto her, she shal thinke that the Kinges Highnes dare not ne wol do any thing against her mynde, but fulfil al her demaundes and desires, be they reasonable or not: and so she shal remayne in overmoche estymacion and oultrecuidance of her self, refusing to condescende unto sûche thinges as may be most to the honour weale and suretie of her and her said son. Whiche percace she wol loke more substancially unto, if her ingrate unkynde and indiscrete demeanour be in convenient maner declared unto her; wherin I lately wrote unto my Lorde of Norfolke the Kinges pleasure to be signified unto her, as it was cowched in my last letters. Howe be it, bothe he altred and chaunged the same, ferre from the fashion that it was in, and yet the letters whiche he sent ye forbare to delyvere, as though the comyng of the Ambassadours shulde be a thing highly to the Kinges benefite, and the retardement of them, in the said Quenes default, shulde sounde to the Kinges extreme hinderance or disavantage, whiche was never ment ne thought on this side; or that the Quene and Lordes of Scotlande, having suche fantasie imprinted in their mynde, shulde be procurede solicited or prikked on the Kinges behalf therunto. And, onles ye have founde them of other mynde then thys, the Kinges Highnes dothe not a litle mervaile that either ye wold delyver unto the Quene on grote of money, or be of the opynyon that the wages of the 200 men shulde be paid or avaunced for the said Quenes pleasure, or at her nominacion and desire; considering that, by meanes of the same, she may, if she do not intende and mynde to folowe the Kinges wayes, make herself and her parte stronge bothe against thErle of Angwishe, and al other that shulde be adverse to the Frenche faccion, and consequently rule the Parliament at her arbitre and pleasure. And therfore, if ye have not alredy made payment for the said 200 men, it shalbe wisedome ye be not over hasty in the doing therof, specially withoute ye see the Quene in such a good trayn that the said payment may gretely conferre to the furtherance of the Kinges intent, and do no dammage or empechement to the same.

Fynally, where as there hathe ben mocion made unto you by the Quene, by consent and desire of the Lordes (as she sayth), that ye shuld departe and retourne home; wherin ye have opteyned respite, til the comyng of the said Ambassadours; it is thought veray strange, that ye, who have ben sent thider with suche presentes, and for demonstracion of gratuitie and kyndenes, shulde be so intreated; wherby there is gret apparance, that neither the Quene, ne the Lordes

Lordes that make mocion of your departure, bere any grete favour towardes the Kinges Grace, but that they have you in suspicion and jalousie, not willing that ye shulde be privye of their doinges and procedinges. Unto whiche matier, good regarde wolde be had for many respectes and causes; and if by good and politique ways, withoute grete poursute or instance to be made, ye coude fynde the meanes that, with their good contentacion, ye myght remayn there for a longer season, saying that, when the Ambassadours shalbe arrived, there may insurge and happen some thinges, wherin it shalbe requisite and necessary playnely to explane unto the said Quene and Lordes the Kinges intente and meanyng, by mowthe, better then can be done by letters of their Ambassadours, or by any the Kinges letters unto the said Quene and Lordes; it is thought your presence and demore there for a season shulde do grete good. And therfore ye shal by good dexteritie fynde the meanes so to do, if conveniently and honourably, withoute shewing any grete desire or ferventnes on your side therunto, ye can bring it to passe. But, if ye shal perceyve that they wol be moche contrarious from it, making grete difficulte in the same, then the Kinges Highnes is contented that, after the comyng of the said Ambassadours in to England, ye shal take your leve, and departe at your pleasure. Wherof I doubte not but that ye wol advertise me bifore that tyme, so that I may instruct you of the Kinges mynde and pleasure, howe ye shal order your self with the Quene and other at your departure, after as it shalbe seen that the said Quene and Lordes shal procede, and as the cace and matiers then shal require.

XCVI. Magnus, &c. *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleas it Your Grace. Upon Wennesday laste, aboute 4 of the clok in the mornyng, thErle of Angwisshe, thErle of Lenewx, and the Maister of Kilmawres, the Lorde of Bewclough, accompanyed with divers other gentilmen, came sodeynly over the walles here, and openned the gates of this toune, and came into the same, as it is said with the noumber of fowr hondreth men. And at thayr commyng to the Crosse besides Saint Giles churche, thay did proclamations to be made, shewing that thay were commen as the Kingges faithfull subjectes to serve His Grace, intending noon hurte nor displeasure to

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 121.

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be doon to any person, and commaunded that all thayr company shulde well and truely pay for every thing that thay did take. After this the said twoe Erles came to the Lordes of the Counsaill, being thArchebusshop of Saint Andrewes, thErle of Argile, the Busshop of Aburdyne, the Busshop of Donkell, thAbbot of Holy Roode Hous, thAbbot of Camskynell, with divers other booth spirituall and temporall; and shewed that they had divers preceptes directe unto thaym from the Kingges Grace, conteynnyng sondery commaundementes geven unto thaym upon payn of treason, contrary, as thay said, in any wyse thayr desertes, butte that the same proceded by occasion of suche, as were not thayr frendes, aboute the yong King thayr Maister; and said that, as long as suche Counsaillours shulde have any rule, thay wolde be aboutewarde to distroy and putte doune noble men; and therfore required the saide Lordes of the Counsaill that thay wolde take the rule and the guyding of the said yong King thayr Maister for the weall of the realme, and of all the noble men of the same; shewing further they were true and faithfull servauntes to the said Kyng thayr Maister, and desired noon autoritye but to be accept as Barons of the realme, as thayr auncetours have bene afore; and that the cause of thayr commyng was to declare this thayr myndes to the saide noble men of the Counsaill withoute doing any further displeasure to any person. Wherupon it was appointed, that the said Busshop of Aburdyne, and thAbbot of Camskynell, shulde goo doune to the Quenes Grace at thAbbay. And wee were specially instaunced by the Lordes, by cause we were Englisshemen, and suppoosed therfore to be better harde thenne Scottishemen, that we wolde goe with thaym to move her, that, where Her Grace had straitely commaunded gonnes to be shot from oute of the Castell into the toune, for beting furthe of the said noble men and thayr company, that a sparing therof mought be had for a season, to thentent that in the mean tyme some good ordour mought be devised in avoiding suche daungier and hurtes, as mought ensewe, aswell to the toune and the inhabitauntes thereof, as to the saide noble men and thayr company.

At our commyng to the Abbay, there were divers Lordes with 4 or 500 men in harnes, and did sette furthe afore the utter gaites suche small gonnes as they had, hakbusshes, and other; shewing that thay wolde set upon the said 2 Erles and thayr company. And, as soon as we were commyn thider, the Quene sent for the said Busshop of Aburdyne, and the said Abbot of Camskynnell, and commaunded us twayn by message right roundely to departe hoome to our lodging, and not to medle with any Scottishe matiers: and soe we did. And in the mean tyme a gonne was shotte oute of the Castell, and kilde 2 merchaunt men, a preiste, and a woman.

All this day, the said 2 Erles having many frendes in the toune, did take thayr pleasures in the same, and wolde not suffer any thing to come goe or passe, but at thayr willes. And, albe it there were divers noble men, betwene whoom and thaym was deadly fead, yet the said Erles and thayre company did noe displeasure unto thaym. Thus thay contynued till 4 of the clok at after noon; and thenne upon the Kingges commaundement geven unto thaym to avoyde, thay departed to Dawkeeth. What woll further ensewe of this matier, we knowe not.

Ymmediately after that thay were goone, the Quenes Grace, taking with her the yong King her sonne, departed in the evennyng by torche light from the Abbay to the Castell, and there contynueth; all the Lordes being also departed from hennes, but oonly the Erle of Murray, fully of the Frenshe faccion, and newlye commen into favour with the Quenes said Grace. And as we here, the said Erle, and oon that was the Duke of Albenys Secretary[1], begynne to compas and practise newe thingges, asmyche to the daunger of the said yong King, as was at the Duke of Albenys being here. Of this we be advertissed by the Abbottes of Holy Roode Hous and Passelewe, twoo good and honourable men; and fere asmyche nowe the daunger of the King as thay did afore. Howe, and by whoos meanes, and upon what occasion, this matier procedeth, your Grace shall understande right brevely. At Eddinburgh, the 26th day of November.

This laste article wolde not be mooved to thErle of Casselles, tyll the commyng up of Rogier Radcliff, for the saide Erle is allyed and assistent to the yong privea Counsaill here aboute the Quenes Grace, and shall have privea expedition of her causes at his commyng up; and as he hath saide unto us hym self, he muste retourne a post withynne 4 or 5 dayes after his comyng to London.

Your mooste humble
preiste and bedemen,
(*Signed*) T. Magnus.
(*Signed*) Roger Radclyff.

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[1] Probably Malignes.

XCVII. Thir ar ye articules giffine be me MARGRET QUENE OF SCOTTIS to ye ERLL OF CASSILLIS, to schaw in my name and behalff to ye KINGIS GRACE my bruthre, desiring ansuring in every point.[1]

IN ye first ye schaw yat yer our Ambassadouris[2] ar send at yis tyme, throw my sollesting and laubour, to ye Kingis Grace my brudre, for gud and lowing ways to be hade betwene ye Kingis Grace my bruthre and ye King my sone and yar Realmis, yat yai may leiff in peice and rest.

To ye secund point, I desir ye Kingis Grace my brudre ye he vill considre yat yir Ambassadouris ar ye fyrst yat ever I causit to be send; quharfor I beseik His Grace, baitht for his awine honour and myne, yat he will considre ye gret kyndnes and luff, yat I and yis Realme desiris to be at with His Grace and his Realme; and yat He will schaw Him in yai materis sa kyndlie to ye King my sonne and his Realme, yat We heid nocht to seik na uthre frendes.

The thryd point, I beseik ye Kingis Grace to remembre yat I ame his syster, and modre to ye King heir, and yat all ye Thre Estatis hes at yis last Parlement maid Me principall, with ye keping of ye Kingis Grace my sones persone; quhar for His Grace woll considre my part in yat behalff, and quhat yat partenis Me to do.

To ye ferd point ze sall schaw yat yis Realme is in gud beleiff to have ane perpetuall kyndnes and peice betuix ye Realme of Ingland and Ws throw my sollesting and laubour; quharapone ye Ambassadouris er cumming; desiring, in speciall, mariage betuix ye Kingis Grace my brudre dowthre and ye King my sone; traisting yarthrow to haife ane perpetuall piece; and, yat beinge donne, to desir na uthre way of na uthre realme.

Fyftlie, I beseik ye Kingis Grace my bruthre to remembre yat, in laubouring yir materis, I may nocht with my honour desir yis Realme to mak ane fynall way betuix yir twa Realmes of Ingland and Scotland, wythout ane gret cause leiffand out all uthre realmes; for yan it wilbe thout yat I do it, nocht for weill of ye King my sone, bot for ye pleseur of ye Kingis Grace my brudre, quhelk may do Me gret desplesseur. Yarfor I dessir His Grace to considdre my part, for it yat I may do, nocht hurting ye Kingis Grace my sone

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 191.

[2] The Commission to the Earl of Cassillis, Robert Cockburn Bishop of Dunkeld, and Alexander Myll Abbot of Cambuskenneth, was dated 18th November 1524. Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 27. Their credence, dated on the 27th, is Caligula, B. VII. leaf 50. On the 29th they concluded with Dacre a truce for two months. Rymer, p. 28.

nor his Realme, I will do yat I can to His Grace plesseir: and uthre ways I vilbe halding ane ewill Scottis voman.

Thir ar ye articules, yat I dessir to be ansurit to ye said Erll of Cassillis, and yar followit my dessiris herapone.

In ye fyrst, tweching ye mariage yat ye King my sone, I, and his Realme desyris, quharby yar may grow daylie luff and kindnes betuex ye twa Realmes, yat being done, as ferdre at lenth ye Ambassadouris hes to schaw in our name, and yar apone to treit and commone; and gyff yat it cum to finall conclusione it salbe endit for our part, leiffing our confederatis out, quhelk being wthre ways We cane nocht do with our honour.

Secundlie, gyff yat ye Kingis Grace my brudre will nocht assent nor condessend apone yat way, I beseik His Grace to considdre my part in yat behalff, yat I may nocht for ye weill of my sone ye King, nor with my honour, dessir yis Realme to be contentit to leiff out yar confederatis for ane certaine of zeris to be takine; and yar throw to tyne frendis without ane gret resonable occasione or proffet. And giff yarthrow yar come ony tribill or inconvenientes to yis Realme, I wald get ye blame.

Thrydlie, giff it cum nocht to pas yis mariage yat We dessire, bot yat We nocht get bot certaine zeris, yis Realme will nocht consent bot to comprehend our confederatis yarin. Yarfor I beseik His Grace nocht to dessir Me to laubour ony thing yat may be hurt to yis Realme, nor yat may be laid to my charge heirefter; assuring His Grace yar is na realmes in ye warld yat I desir yat yar be sa gret luff and amitte, as I wald wor betuex yer twa Realmes, and sall do my deligence yarin.

Ferdlie, ze sall schaw ye Kingis Grace my bruthre, quhow yis Realme is in tribill throw ye sending in of ye Erle of Angus, as hes apperit weill be his dedis laitlie done to ye King my sone; nocht ye les I did advertese His Grace oft and diverse tymes in my wryttingis, yat his cumming heir wald mak gret tribill. Quhelk me think suld bene regardit, baitht for ye honour of ye Kingis Grace my brothre, and ye weill of my sone ye King and his Realme, suppose yat ye displessouris done to Me be ye said Erll of Angus be nocht regardit as I traistit yai suld haiff bene, and as for my part I have deserwit to His Grace to do.

Fyftlie, I beseik His Grace to considdre yis mater; and giff His Grace be in mynd and will to do, for ye weill of yis Realme and ye King my sone, yat in it yat partenis to His Grace part, yat he do in sic assort, yat we may haiff fermlie cause to traist in His Grace without delayng or putting of of tyme; and at na swget of ye King my sonnes Realme may be assistit nor helpit without ye King my sones speciall desyr, be Zour Grace nor Zour Realme.

Realme. For, giff it be uthre ways, ye kyndnes and luff may nocht lest betuex yir Realmes. Yar for, yis being considderit, me think yat ony thing done be Zour Grace to yis Realme, yat may be tribill or hurt, it suld be amendit: besekand Zour Grace yat it may be sa.

Saxtlie, tweching ye promosione of yis Realme in beneficis, I dessir and besekkis His Grace yat, for ye favour of na persone, yat His Grace nothre procur nor cause solest in Rome for na promocionis belangand to ye King my sonnes gift, to na man, without especiall vritting of ye King my sonne or Me. For it hurttis ye King my sonis rycht and prewaliege, and will mak gret tribill in yis Realme, as now apperit be ye Erll of Angus bruthre, yat hes tane Coldinghame without gift or rycht of ye King my sone, bot says ye Kingis Grace my brothre hes gottin it to yaim in to Rome: quhilk ye King my sone may nocht suffir, for hurting of his rycht and preveliege.

Thir pointis all being considerit, I beseik His Grace to put remeid in ony thing yat ze may mend, doing hurt to Ws and to yis Realme; for His Grace being in gud mynd and vill to do for ye King my sone and his Realme, as I trast His Grace will, he mon schaw it in to deid; quhelk will cause ferme luff and amitte. And in ye contrar it wilbe thout bot fair wordis, and to cause yis Realme to tyne yar frendis, quhelk I trow nocht be Zour Gracis mynd. Beseking Zour Grace humlie to mak ane finall end with ye King my son and Ws and his Realme in every behalff, yat We may be assurit yar of, as I yat dessiris it maist for my part of ony thing.

And als ze sall schaw to ye Kingis Grace my brudre yat now laitlie ye trewes tane betuex ye Kingis Grace my bruyer on ye tapart, and ye King my sone one ye thudrepart, yat is to say, ye Duk of Norfolk for ye part of Ingland, and ye Erll of Cassillis for ye part of Scotland, ye saddis Kingis Gret Sellis being interchangit on baitht ye syddis, and promitting to kep ye trewis and yar acthis maid yar apone; yat, giff yar wer takin be land or be see fra ye day of yat trewis takking, yat dew redres suld be maid, acording to ye lawis and consuetudis yerof nochtyeles; We causit sortlie eftir ye said trewis tane, our Comptrolour Robert Bartoun of Bartoun, to send ane schip of his to ye partis of Franse, to bryng hame vynes and uthre necessaris thingis to ye furnissing of derrest sonis house and myne, and for ye provissioun yar off; and in his passage towart Franse twa Ingles schippis, in company with ane Fleming, has tane ye said schip, and hes desponit apone hir, baith schip and gudis, at ye said Ingles mennis plessoir, as we ar informit be yaim as wos in hyr; and hes slane ane merchand of Scotland and ane marineir, and mutelate ye master of ye said schip, with sax mariners with him. Quhelk is rycht hewy to Me to here, seing yat I laubour for gud wais, and yat sic desplessiour suld

suld be done to Ws and yis Realme wnder trast of piece and trewes, takin as said is. And to verefie ye sammyn, yar is ane litill memoriall within yis of ye takaris of hir. Herfor I beseik Zour Grace yat redres may be had acording to ane vryting yat ye Ambassadouris sall bryng with yaim, quhilk salbe veriffijt acording to ye lawis of ye Bourdouris and consuetudis of baith ye Realmes, the pointis of ye said spoulze, and ye maner of ye takin of ye said schip. This being considerit, I beseik ye Kingis Grace my bruthre yat, gyff He will yat I lawbour to mak ane end of yer gret materis yat ar now in handis, yat He will for his part schaw Him in sic ane sorte to yis Realme, yat yai may trast fermlie to haff gud luff and concorde betuex yir twa Realmes, and yat yai may na reprocht be laid to Me in my defalt throw my sollesting; trasting, yat Zour Grace will schaw Zow mair kyndlie in yer materis, because I ame zour suster, and hes gyddit Me ye best I coutht to Zour Gracis plessour, and sall contenew. Thir wer ye takkaris of ye schip, Master Gownstallis schip, and ane small brak with him, baitht Inglis schippis, and send yar men in hir to Donekyrk, and yer desponit apone hir at yar plessour, and brocht ye money with yaim our in Ingland, to yar fallowschip. [1]

XCVIII. Queen Margaret *to* Wolsey.[2]

My Lord Cardinall, I commend Me hertlie to Zou. And wyt ze yat I haif done my deligens to cause our Imbassattouris to pas in Ingland, quhilkis ar now to cum in contenent apone sic pointis and directionis as ar giffyne to yaim be ye Kyng my sone, be Me, and be ye Lordis of Thre Estattis in Parliament, as at mair lencht Maister Magnus Master Ratcleif cane schaw zou. Quhairfor now, seing it is brocht to yis point, and yat I haif done my dewour in yat behalf, I pray zou, my Lord, in my maist hertlie maner to cause our said Inbassattouris to be weill and honerabilly trettit, and yat ze will get yaim audience of ye Kingis Grace my broyer, and yat ze will help to bring yir materis to ane gude end, sa yat yar may be sur luf and amitte betuix yir twa Realmis, considering sa nere as yai are of blud, and yat I ame ye lawborar betuix yaim. To writt to zou, my Lord, ye maner at lencht, I neid nocht, for ze will knaw it be ye commissione of our Imbassatouris, and as I haif

[1] The Queen wrote to Wolsey also respecting the capture of this ship. Her letter is in the Chapter House, Royal Letters, Vol. V. leaf 51. It is dated the 27th of November, which fixes the date of the Articles in the text.

[2] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 254.

writtin

writtin in artikillis to ye Kyngis Grace my broyer at lencht. My Lord, I pray zou hertlie to put to zour hand in yir materis, in sic ane sort yat ye Kyng my broyer and I may haif honour and proffet and plesur to ye Kyng my sone; for now is ye tyme. And remembir quhat pane and laubour I haif had, wyth displesuris, in lauboring yer materis; nochtyelese I think my pane weill warit, sa yat I may bring yer materis to gud end. Praying zou hertlie, my Lord, to remembre hou it wilbe plesand to God to haif gud pece and concord, and ye gret honour yat will redund to ye Kyngis Grace my broyer, seing yat ye Kyngis Grace my sone is zoung. Alswa, my Lord, I assure yat ye Kyng my sone and yis Realme wilbe rycht glaid to haif gud pece betuix zour realme and yis, and wilbe contentyt to leif wyer realmis, sa yat ye Kyngis my broyer wilbe contentyt of sic pointis as is contenit in my artikillis; quhilk porpos ye Lordis ar fermly at; and als fer as I may laubour and solist, yair salbe na falt in Me. My Lord, I pray zou remembir how at quhat nernese of blud yir twa Kyngis are, and sa yat yer may anis ane sure way be amang yaim, it wilbe surar yane ony wyer realmis; qukilk wor grettast plesure and comfort to Me yat mycht be, to haif ye Kyngis Grace my broyer and ye Kyng my sone at ane way. Alswa, my Lord, ze sall wnderstand yat yis Realme is in trebill at yis tyme, quhare it wald nocht haif bene, as I did advertise ye Kyngis Grace my broyer, and zou, my Lord, diverse times be my writting: neveryelese it hes nocht bene regardyt; quhilk I think wnkyndly, seing ye gud cause I mak, and hes maid, to ye Kyngis Grace my broyer, as is well knawin in yis Realme; quharthrou I am haldyng suspec wyth yir Lordis of yis Realme in ane part. And, gif ze remember, my Lord, I did all yat I haif done wyth ye avise and consall of ye Kyngis Grace my broyer and youris, and ay, as ye gret materis occurrit, I advertist His Grace and zou; nocht doand na thing bot wytht zour advise, as I haif zour writtingis to schaw. Quharfor, seyng yat thar is monye yat merwellis yat His Grace quittis Me in yis sort, to send in ye Erle of Angus contrair ye Kyng my sonis request and myne, quharthrow now ye Realme is brokyn, as I advertist it wald be of befoire, suppose I gat na credence, thinking it hes bene bot for my will, and nocht for ye weill of ye Kyng my sone and his Realme. Quharfor I se weill, ye traist is litill yat I gett wyth ye Kyngis Grace my broyer and his Consall, and nocht in my defalt. Bot me think, for na ewill to Me, ye Kyng my sone and his Realme suld be triblit, He makand na ewill cause. Bot sene it is yus, I will tak patiens of His Grace, bot I mone do ye best I may to kep me fra my unfrendis; and gife I ma nocht kep Me here, bot yat yay will get assistance contrair Me, I mone on forse mak of my fois frendis, for I luf my lyff als well as ony uyeris dois yairis. And yain His Grace vill understand quhat

part

part I haif kepyt to His Grace, and I wilbe ye mair excusit of all yis Realme, to do for my self, seing quhair I mycht haif bene in honour and eys, and ye Kyng my sone and his Realme in peice and concord, quahirnow it is ye contrair, and done be His Grace, yat suld bene my defendour. Yerfor, my Lord, I pray zou consider quhow I ame done to, and how yat daly ye Erlle of Anghus settis for Me to tak Me fra my sone ye Kyng; quharfor I merwell quhat plesour it may be to ye Kyngis Grace my broyer to hald Me dayly in tribill. And in yair handis, God willing, I sall never cum wyth my vyll, nocht and I suld leif yis Realme. For, quhene ony uyer Princis understandis quhow I ame done to, yai vill haif pete of Me. I cane sa na mair; bot now I haif done ye best I can, to haif gud and lovyng vais betuix yir 2 Realmis, and yerapone hes send ye Imbassatouris; and now it is in ye Kyngis Grace my broyeris handis and zouris to do as ze pleise, traisting yat His Grace and ze will do for ye Kyng my sone and his Realme; and yat ze will, my Lord, do sa mekill for Me to send Me Kyngis plesure in every behalf, ye sonest ze may, and as my gret trast is in zou. Writtyn ye 28 day of November.

(*Signed*) Yours MARGARET R.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Cardinale.

XCIX. ANGUS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

SCHIR. Unto Zour nobill Grace I recommend my servis in my maist lawlie maner. It will pleise zour Grace to ramember, yat yer was certane articulis maid betuix zour Grace and at my departing; ye quhilk I haif and sall fulfyll ye samyn tho ye utermest of my powar. I haif maid my offeris tho ye Quene, as zour Grais commandyt me, in my maist lawlie maner, quhilk Maister Reitleif can schaw zour Grace; bot scho will on na wys heir of na concord, bot sekis all ye wayis scho can for my uter distruccioun. And ye monye, yat ye Kinges Henes and zour Grais send tho hir, scho has disponyt it to my innomyse, for till invaid me. Yerfor I beseik zour Grace to lat hir get na mair monye, sen yat scho will nocht use zour Gracis consell; for I sall use ye Kingis consell and command, and zour Gracis, to ye utermest of my powar, my allegeance eccepit to my Soverane. It will pleise zour Grace to ramember ze promist me, gyf ye Qwene wald nocht use ye Kingis Henes consell, hir

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 94.

brutheris,

brutheris, and zouris, yat zour Grace suld taik my pairt aganis hir and all uyeris; ye quhilk I put na dowt bot ye Kingis Henes and zour Grace wyll do; for I sall fulfill all yat I haif promist.

Als it will pleis zour Grace to ramember, yat I wrait to zow for ye Bischopryk of Morray, and for the Abbay of Melros, quhilkis ar baitht vacand. I beseik zour Grace for ye bullis of yaim, ane or baitht, as zour Grace thinkis expedient, and I sall radownd zour Grais all costis and expensis ze maik yer apone.[1]

Ye Imbaxatouris of Scotland ar cumand to zour Grais. Yai ar devysit be ye Qwene; ye gretast ennomyse, yat I haif in Scotland; and yerfor pleise zour Grais to gif yaim na credence, quhat evir yai raport of me. For Hary Stewart and ye Erl of Cassillis ar cousingis germane; and ye Bischop of Dunkell, as zour Grace knawis, was evir ane gud Frenschman, and nevir trew to Scotland, nor Ingland, and was ane of gret movaris of ye war betuix ws and zow. As tho ye thrid, I knaw na ewill tho hym; gif yat yai solist hym, he is ane gud kyrk man: for know I ocht ellis of yaim, I wald advertische your Grais.

It will pleise zour Grais to undirstand, yat I haif wryttyn to ye Kingis Henes[2] for to haif wagis of His Henes, to furnesche me twa hundreth men for to serve ye King my soverane, and ye Kingis Henes of Yngland. My hail traist is in zour Grais of all my materis. And zour Gracis ansuer agan in wryt with ye fyrst post yat cumis in Scotland; and gif yer be ony servis I may do to zour Gracis plesser, command me, and I salbe ever redy. As God knawis, quha preserve Zour nobill Grace in prosperite. Writtyn at Tentallon, ye 28 day of November, &ca.

Zour at powar,

(*Signed*) ERL OF ANGUS.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Cardonellis Grace
of Ingland, &ca.

[1] This entreaty of Angus does not appear to have been successful in either instance, for among the Vatican Papers (see note to p. 166) are two letters from Henry VIII. to the Pope; the first, dated from Hertford on the 2d of December 1524, recommending John Maxwell, Abbot of Dundrenan, to the Abbey of Melros, and the second, dated from London on the 23d of February 1525, recommending that Robert Shaw, Abbot of Paisley, should succeed to the Bishoprick of Moray, which was void by the death of James Hepburn, and that John Hamilton should succeed to the Abbey of Paisley. There is likewise a letter from James V. to the Pope, dated from Edinburgh on the 11th of January 1525, expressing his wish for the two latter promotions, in which Hamilton is described as Arran's natural son, and a monk of Kilwinning. And on the 20th of January both James and Margaret wrote to Henry, requesting his interest with the Pope for these promotions. Caligula, B. III. leaf 232., and B. VII. leaf 58.

[2] Caligula, B. I. leaf 96. contains Angus's letter to King Henry VIII. of the same date.

C. King James V. *to* the Pope.[1]

Sanctissimo in Christo Patri et Domino Clementissimo, Pontifici Maximo, atque ejus nominis Septimo, Jacobus Dei gratia Scotorum Rex, Sanctitatis Sue peculiaris filius, humillimam prostrationem ad pedum oscula beatorum. Sanctitatem Vestram, Beatissime Pater, ex Regni nostri procerum consilio, eorum, que ad gentis nostre tranquillitatem maxime conducant, et ex amplissimo vestre dispensationis officio profectura sunt, certiorem et oratam facere decrevimus. Sane cum in pupillari nostra etate, quam nondum excessimus, charissimus consanguineus noster Johannes Albanie Dux, in tutelam nostram et Regni nostri gubernationem ex Gallia accitus, munus hoc annis jam decem gesserit, frequentiori tamen ejus absentia et juditiorum cessatione, status rei nostre se quasi atritum senserit et opressum, hec Nos proxime nunc annos puberes restituere conantes, adhibita nostrorum procerum providentia, quod consanguineus et tutor noster in Gallijs absens ad promissum diem redire non curaverit, eundem, in trium Regni nostri statuum consessu, unanimi omnium consensu, et officio et administratione suis exauctoravimus, nobisque cum magnatum aliquot prudentiorum consilio rem gerendam suscepimus. Sed ut hec, ad que divino anhelamus auxilio, felicius succedant, non parum prodesse visum est, quod majoribus nostris Scotorum Regibus Sanctitatis Vestre predecessores Romani Pontifices octomestre concessere privilegium, quod ut nobis Vestræ Beatitudinis munificentia ratum maneat atque firmum, nostrasque per id tempus eadem Vestra Beatitudo litteras expectaverit commendatitias, plurimum obnixeque precamur. Ceterum, si consanguineus noster sua auctoritate quemvis ad beneficium aliquod hoc Romane Sedis indulto promoveri cupiat, illum Vestra Sanctitas inanem vacuumque dimittat, et nobis solum istec pateat impetrandi facultas. Etenim nec quicquam ex parte nostra deerit, quod ad Christiane religionis augmentum, Sacrosancteque Apostolice Sedis tutamen, pro Regni nostri viribus facere possimus. Has primas filioli preces Vestra non remittat Sanctitas, cui longissimos annos felicioresque precamur successus. Ex Castro nostro Edinburgensi, 28 Novembris, 1524.

Excellentissime Sanctitatis Vestre
humillimus devotissimus
et obedientissimus filius,
Scotorum Rex,
Jacobus R.

Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pape.

[1] From the Vatican. The same bundle contains a letter to the Pope from the Duke of Albany, dated from Pavia on the 8th of December 1524, in which he recommends Scotland to his care, describes the English as enemies, and states that he has written to the Cardinal of Ancona and to his (Albany's) Secretary Octavian as to the detention of the Archbishop of St. Andrews and the Bishop of Aberdeen.

CI. MAGNUS, &c. *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace to be advertissed. We have receiued your gracious letters, dated at your place besides Westmynster the 19th daie of this moneth, the contynue wherof we conceive all at large. And, insomyche as we have intended at this tyme to have doon the uttermoost and best of our poor powers after our sclender and symple wittes, we be veray sory that we, mynding moost effectually the causes and busynesses committed unto our charge, shulde in any wise offende in that thing that shulde be to the avauncement of the King our Maisters causes, as some deall it appereth by your saide gracious letters, we shulde have doon. And in case we have in any wise presumed upon trust your saide Grace wolde have had respecte to our poor discretions, as the causes shulde chaunce and fortune after our intelligence, we beseche your Grace of pardon, and that it may like the same to escribe our remisse dealing in that party to be moore for want of witte, thenne for any good will. For, as touching the not deliveray of the twoe letters sent from the Duke of Norffolke, the same chaunsed, by suche apperaunce as we sawe thenne, that the deliveray of thaym shulde have doon some hynderaunce to our causes, as we wroote to your saide Grace. Howe be it, we trust good successes shall ensewe of our busynes, to the Kingges gracious pleasure and yours. For all the noble men here, both spirituall and temporall, with the hooll commynnalty be moore inclyned to be in love and amyte, and to have peas with the King our Maister, thenne with Fraunce, or any other cristen Prince, specially upon the good and counfortable letters that have commyn unto thaym.

Amongges other thingges at this tyme your Grace hath declared your pleasure unto us touching booth for our tarying here, and departing frome hennes, as the case shall require; whiche article we noote right well, conteynnyng in effecte, yf we may conveniently contynue here withoute shewing any gret desire for our demour, thenne we shall tary; and elles, after the commyng up of thAmbassadours, we shall departe. Wherof, afore that tyme, your said Grace trusteth we woll advertise youe, to the entent your said Grace may instructe us of the Kingges mynde and pleasure, howe we shall ordour us with the Quene or other, at our departure, after as it shalbe seen that the saide Quene and Lordes shall procede, and as the case and matiers thenne shall require. Of veray trouth our procuring to departe from hennes pro-

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 306.

cedeth not in any wise of the Lordes, though the Quenes Grace with myche circumstaunce shewed the contrary. For, if thay wolde therynne have consented to the Quenes oppynnyon, we shulde not have taryed here 14 daies after our commyng hider. Thay all, booth spirituall and temporall, be our frendes for the King our Maisters sake, and right sory that we be used in suche maner, and noe better enterteynned; remembring the grete kyndenes shewed by the King our Maister to the yong King thair Maister and to thaym all, and to this the realme of Scotlande; withoute that, that any high jolousy or suspicion remaynneth in thaym towardes the King our Maister, but that thay all clerely thenke that, oonles the King our Maister see for the weall of the yong King and of this his Realme, he is moore likly to perisshe thenne to prosper. The defawte is all in oone, as moore pite is. Of late our poostes have bene taken and spoilled dyvers tymes by the waye, soe that therfore we darre not, ne canne, conveniently write at large in sondery causes, as we wolde, unto your saide Grace. Even nowe eftesoons the Quene hath saide unto us that, insomyche as thAmbassadours be at a point to goe forwardes, we may departe, and nede not to tary. Wherfore, to thentent the Kingges Highnes and your Grace may come to knowelege of thingges, which we darre not write, and also be infourmed in sondery matiers moore at large by mought thenne by our letters, after the commyng of thAmbassadours, it is agreed betwene us, that I, Rogier Radcliff, shall come up with convenient spede, and that I, Thomas Magnus, shall tary here, if soe it may be sufferde conveniently, till I shall knowe further of your gracious pleasure.

And where your Grace sheweth that the seven materiall pointes with the residue comprised in our letters dated the 10th and 15th daye of this moneth consiste upon oone of these twoo pointes, that is to saye, whether the Quene and Lordes here, perceiving and knowing howe the Kingges Highnes procedeth with thaym, be of mynde and inclynation to trayn the King here and thaym selves to the amyte of Einglande; or elles whither, contynuyng in thair former favour to Fraunce, thay woll rather adhere to the same, thenne to relinquisshe that thair oolde oppynnyon, declaring these twoe thingges moore materiall thenne aither sending of thAmbassadours, pacification of particuler querelles, enterteynment of gardes, or other like thingges: albe it the saide twoe thingges or pointes be aunsuerd in effecte in our letter bering date the 20th daye of this moneth, yet under the correction of your Grace they canne not appere at the furst but by contynuaunce of tyme; in whiche tyme the other causes afore rehersed did insurge, being parcell of our instructions, necessary, after our poor oppynnyons, to be shewed unto your Grace, as thay came and were occurraunt. And where any doute riseth towching

towching the saide 2 pointes, your saide Grace shalbe acertaynned therof in breve tyme.

Your gracious letter directe to thArchebusshop of Saint Andrewes we have deliverde, which to his Lordeship is veraye welcome, right acceptable, and myche to his counfort; as your Grace shall conceive by his letter nowe sent unto youe. He is the man next to the Kyng of the grettest substaunce, booth of landes and gooddes, withynne this realme, and moost is estemed for his polecy and wisdom of all other; and, by all apparaunce, moost principally bereth his cordiall affection, next to his oune maister, to the King our Soveraine Lorde and Maister. But as to his commyng into Einglande of ambassade, he is not as yet mynded therunto in any wise, but maketh his excuse and aunsuer, as afore is mentioned to your saide Grace by our other letters, saying, he wolde not doubt to doe high pleasure and service to the King our Maister, if aither he had an olde maister, or that there were here an olde Counsaill.

As touching the matier of variaunce betwene the Quenes Grace, thErle of Anguisshe, and thErle of Arren, we doe not intromitte theryn, naither for taking of sadde counsaillours, nor in sondery other matiers being lightly regarded, touched in our saide letter dated the 20th day of this moneth, and mentionned also in other our letters sent unto your Grace sethenne that tyme[1]; but of trouth the saide Erle is the best frended and favoured of all other temporall men, next the King, in Scotlande. His provoking to come to Barwik proceded oonely upon the Quenes motion for avoiding trouble and busynes, as Her Grace saide, in the tyme of Parliament. The preceptes, commaundementes, and inhibitions, geven to the saide Erle, procede upon his comyng frome oute of Fraunce and of his comyng thorowe Einglande.

Your Grace writeth also unto us, that, if we fynde the Quene and the Lordes in good disposition to theffecte aforesaide, the 100£ geven to the Quene, and money for payment of wages to 200 men for oon moneth, if it be doone all redy, may be sufferde. Your Grace knoweth what an hawte letter the saide Quene wroote, whenne she harde that thErle of Angwisshe shulde come into Scotlande; and therfore it is not to be thought but, whenne the

[1] Neither their letter of the 20th, nor Betoun's letter alluded to in the preceding paragraph, nor any of the other letters referred to, can be found, except that of the 26th, printed p. 256., and one among Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. VIII. Part 2. No. 21., in which they conveyed Betoun's wish that two monks of Melros might be allowed to proceed to Rivaux in Yorkshire, being their head house, to announce the death of their Abbot; and that one of them should be permitted to pass over to the house of Sistewes (Cîteaux); and that facilities might be given for Betoun's obtaining medicine from France.

saide

saide Erle was commen ynne in dede, Her Grace was some deall further mooved. Wherfore, after Her saide Grace was better pacefied upon our poor counsaill and advertismentes, albe it your Grace commaunded us to geve to her 200 markes, and to thErle of Arren 100£, yet we gave to the saide Quene oonly but the somme of 100£, where Her Grace thought she shulde have had a farre gretter somme of money. And, as for deliveray of money for payment of waiges to the saide 200 men, the moneth beganne at our comyng into Scotlande; and if thenne waiges shulde not have bene paide aswell as afore, seing the Quenes Grace called fast therfore, and that it is an aunsuer to oone of the articles sent to the saide Quenes Grace from the Kingges Highnes our Maister, though we have not soe many thingges to our purpoos nowe as we wolde desire, we shulde thenne in our poor oppynnyons have had myche the lesse to our purpoos. An other moneth shall begynne ayeine upon Tuesdaie next, and thenne it is not to be douted but Her Grace woll call faste for moore money ayeine. What aunsuer shall thenne be made, we remitte that to your gracious pleasure.

And where your Grace dooth putte us in remembraunce of the plat fourme and maner of the Kingges intent and meanyng in these matiers of Scotland, not being grounded upon any other thing but oonly upon the benevolent mynde that the Kingges Grace bereth unto his derrest nevew and suster, for the proximyte of bloode and possibilite of succession that the saide yong King is ynne to His Highnes, and thoder good vertues and qualites reaported to be in his parson, and that the Kingges Grace dooth shewe hym self thus benevolent unto thaym, not for any thing that His Grace aither looketh to wynne or loose therby; pleas it your Grace these premisses have not oonly bene shewed aparte and severally to all the noble men of this realme, but also openly at large amongges the same, sitting in counsaill togader in tyme of Parliament; soe as the saide matiers be ripely, aswell in thair remembraunce, as in oures. And the clere defawte for the noon sending of thAmbassadours till this tyme was, by cause thay were not fully autorised by the Three Estates, as nowe thay saye thay be. But the special cause was for want of money, for the same was scarcely redy, when thay shulde take thair horses, and not thenne naither, but as it was borowed. And this day the saide Ambassadours doe sette forwarde in thair journay towardes Einglande.

Full humbly we beseche your Grace to accept in good parte our poor service doon to the Kingges Highnes at this tyme; and whenne your saide Grace shall conceive some parte of our further myndes, whiche shalbe in haist, we truste ye woll not thenke we have had here a commodious and a pleasaunt passe tyme, but that we have bene intriked with some comberous and paynfull busynes.

busynes. And thus Almighty God have your saide Grace in His moost blessed preservation. At Eddinburgh, the 27th daie of November.

Post scripta. Albe it we thought verely the saide Ambassadours shulde have departed from hennes the 27th daye afore saide, yet it was this Tuesdaie the 29th daie of this moneth, or thay couth be redy to avaunce forwarde; and nowe thay be departed.

Oone of the three Ambassadours is called thAbbot of Camskynnell, a veray famylier frende and acquaintaunce of thArchebusshop of Saint Andrewes, being a right good man, and well mynded for peas and amyte to be betwene Einglande and Scotlande, and clerely he is ayeinste Fraunce, and is appointed by the saide Archebusshop to attende upon your Grace at your commaundement and pleasure, as his secrete and trusty frende; by whoom your Grace may come to knowlege of the dissposition of this contrey. And as it shall like youe to discloos your pleasure unto hym, he wolbe and is advertissed by the saide Archebusshop to be at your gracious commaundement.

The Quenes Grace at this tyme writeth myche, as it is saide, with her oune hande, and sendeth furth with her letters oone Davy Woode, her servaunt, to the Kingges Highnes, or to some other; the certaynty wherof we knowe not: and, as we understande, Her Grace looketh for hym shortely ayeine.

The said Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes besecheth your Grace, that the expedition of the letters to Roome[1], lately sent by us unto your saide Grace, be not gretely haistenned, till that I your bedeman, Rogier Radclif, shall repaire and come unto your saide Grace; whiche shalbe aboute Saint Thomas daye afore Cristenmas. At Eddinburgh, the 29th day of November.

Your mooste humble preist and bedeman,

(*Signed*) T. Magnus.

(*Signed*) Roger Radclyff.

CII. Norfolk *to* Wolsey.[2]

Plesith it Your Grace to be advertised, that sith the sending to your Grace of Master Magnus last letters, I have received noo letter from hym, unto this daye; whiche I understand hath been by reason of taking of letters from the poostes, I think by the Quenys commaundemente.

[1] Among the Vatican papers is a letter of credence from James V. to the Pope for John Lauder dated on the 29th of November.

[2] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. VIII. Part 2. No. 32.

The

The Ambassatours be come into England, and I bileve wolbe this night at Morpath; as your Grace shall perceive by a copie of a letter sent from my Lord Dacre to me.

And where as by your Graces letter sent to me I do perceive your Grace doth arrecte some blame to me for detaynyng of certain letters; mooste humble I beseche your Grace not to be discontented with me for the same, unto the tyme ye shall have hard myne excuses, and upon what good and reasonable groundes I so did. And though all thinges commytted to my chardge, Master Magnus and Master Ratcliffes, hath not been soo soone brought to pas, nor so well, as we woold, and have doon our busynes to have had theym; I doubte not, when your Grace shall here us, ye shalbe right well contented with all our doinges and procedinges from tyme to tyme. And I dare well take upon me texcuse all us thre, and for the mooste part all the noble men and wise men of Scotland, and generally all the commons, that there is no default in noon of us, that all maner of matiers have not and do not succede after the Kingis Highnes plesure and your Graces. And, upon the trouth I bere to His Highnes, I think none worthy to bere any blame, if all do not herafter frame well, but onely the Quene; who is soo blynded with foly of that I have often written of to your Grace, that to have hir ungodly appetide folowed, she doth not care what she doth. And yet for all her evill dealing, greatly I doubte not, but that all shall come well to pas, in dispite of thoos wold the contrary.

I have remayned in this your Graces towne and nere thereaboutes doing dyvers pylgremages thies 5 or 6 dayes, loking every houre to have herd of thAmbassatours commyng; and tomorowe, with Godes grace, I shall comme forewardes towardes the Kinges Highnes and your Grace; ye maye be assured, with a right good will.

Also I beseche your Grace to send unto me by post the saufconduyte for thAbbot of Camskynnell, named Alexandre Myll, and 30 personys with hym.

Also it maye pleas your Grace tadvertise me what Robert Lorde shall doo with the Kingis money; for as yet he remayneth at Newcastell, abiding your Graces pleasure what he shall doo. And Our Lord have Your Grace in His blissed tuycion. Written at Dernton, the 3de daye of December.

Yours most bownden,

(*Signed*) T. Norffolk.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates good Grace.

CIII. MAGNUS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace to be advertissed. I have received your gracious letter of the 5th daye of this moneth with three other letters, oon from the Kingges Highnes to the yong King here, an other from His saide Highnes to the Quenes Grace, and the thirde from your Grace to the Quenes saide Grace; whiche letters I deliverde, and thay were as thankefully received as was possible, booth by the King and the Quene. Her Grace joyed myche booth of the Kingges mooste honourable letters and of youres, specially bycause thay touched the good expedition that was and shulde be made for the Abbasy of Melrose, and of suche other benefices as was and shulde voide, and be conferred by the Poopes Holynes at the Kingges nomination here, and not at the Duke of Albenys. And, accoording to the contynue of the Kingges mooste honourable letters and of youres, I shewed howe well mynded the Kingges Highnes and your Grace were for the making sure of that matier, and what diligence was used to bring the same to good effecte and purpoos; wherof I shewed there was noe doubte, whiche woll stay the Kingges causes here asmyche as any oone thing withynne this realm.

I received a letter of newes frome Mr Bryan Tuke, conteynnyng the soden arivall of the Frenshe King into Italy, his sege layd to Pavia, and his pleasaunt expedition at the same, with sondery other thingges concernyng the saide Kingges putting bakke, to his gret reproche and the losse of his men; whiche letter I shewed furste to the Quene, and thenne redde the same to the Lordes attending mooste upon the King and Her Grace, that is to say, thErle of Murray, thArchbusshop of Glasco[2], and the Busshop of Rosse[3], all of the Frenshe faction, and the persons that mooste were famylier and of counsaill with the Duke of Albeny. Whiche newes were noe thing welcome nor pleasaunt to thaire purpoos, nor to many other Scottes; and therfore I sent furth the copye of the saide letter into sondery places and contreys, to the entent theffecte of the same mought goe abroode and be knowen.

Your Grace mentionned in your saide letter three thingges; oone for the inducing of the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes to comme of ambassade into Einglande; the seconde, that thErle of Angwisshe shulde not attempt any thing to the disturbaunce of Scotlande; and the thirde, for the aboode and

[1] Holograph. From the British Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 138. None of the six first letters alluded to in the text have been found.

[2] Gawin Dunbar. [3] James Hay.

contynuyng here booth of Mr Radclif and of me: ansuerde, as I doubte not, afore this to your saide Grace by the saide Mr Radclif.

As to the saide Archebusshop; for somyche as I had newes from oute of Einglande, and that I knowe right well he being at Saint Andrewes wolde be desirous to here of suche tidingges, I did not oonly sende unto his Lordeship copy of the said letter of newes, but also I wroote my poore mynde and oppynnyon unto hym for his commyng into Einglande, accoordingly as nigh as I couth to the contynue of your saide gracious letters: the copy of my letter, and his ansuer therunto, I sende with this unto your saide Grace. And by the saide ansuer it appereth he looketh for the proufite of hym self and of his kynnesmen asmyche as for the commyn weall of the realme. Howe be it, by the contynue of his writingges, reapoorte of Mr Radcliff, and the messages of his servaunte and of other personnages by hym sent unto your Grace, I doubte not but ye woll conceive some parte of his mynde, and conscider to what effecte the same is inclyned. He woll not geve directe ansuer to my letter, till that he shall here what effecte and spede commeth of his causes sent into Einglande. And, as farre as I canne understande, he is clerely mynded to take a good parte with the Lordes being furth, that is to say, with thErles of Angwisshe and Lenoux, and with the other thair parte takers. His Lordeship is nowe at his liberty, and therfore in myne oppynnyon it woll appere withynne fewe dais, what waye he woll lene unto. The good Abbot of Pasley of late shewed unto me he was likly to susteyne gret hurt and damage, booth to hym self and his monastery, by the saide twoe Erles, if remedy were not founden in tyme convenient. For, as he shewed unto me, the saide twoe Erles intended to kepe thaire Cristenmas in his saide house, and to use every thing there at thair libertye and pleasure, booth for hors and man, to the noumber of 200 persons; and therfore desired me to write for hym to the Erle of Angwisshe: and soe I did, and, besides that matier, gave unto the saide Erle of Angwisshe my poore advertisment accoording to the contynue of your saide gracious letters: copy of my letter, with his ansuer therunto, pretermitting a gret parte of the effectuall matier wherynne I shulde have knowen his mynde, I sende also unto your saide Grace.[1]

By my laste letters of the 10th daie of this moneth[2] I advertissed your

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[1] These copies, dated the 14th and 15th of December, are in the Chapter House; State Papers, Scotland, pp. 334, 336.

[2] This has not been found. Copies of the credentials of Marchmont Herald to the King of France, dated 3 Id. Dec. 1524, and of contemporary letters from James V. to Francis I. and to Albany, are published in "Epistolæ Regum Scotiæ, &c." Vol. I. pp. 351 et seqq.

saide

saide Grace of the passing of an harralde frome hennes into Fraunce, and of his message, and that there was a shippe in a redynes for the same purpoos. Soe it is that matier, albehit hit was clerely determynned by the Quenes Grace and the Counsaile, and the letters devised in a perfite redynnes, is put in a suspence; for what cause, or by what occasion, I knowe not; but of trouthe the saide ship, that shulde have paste with the harrald, is goone and departed towardes Fraunce.

Many of the Lordes, that were here, be goone and departed hoome into thaire contreys, and amongges other the Busshop of Aburdyne is departed to Saint Andrewes, where as afore, as your Grace knoweth, he was Archdeacon. He is a good man, but some deall he leneth to the favour of Fraunce after his oolde accustumed maner. Nevertheles I am sure he wolde faynne there were a firme peas had betwene booth these realmes. At his departing frome the Quene, Her Grace required hym of his good counsaill what was beste to be doone for the weall of the yong King and for her oune surety, as he saide unto me; and, as I understande also of trouth, he shewed unto the Quenes Grace the veraye sure and playn waye was for the weall and suerty of the King and Her Grace, and the counforte of all the realme, and the redyeste waye, to have an unitie and concoorde amongges the Lordes; aither to accept and take into her gracious favour thErle of Angwisshe as her husbande, or at the leiste to be content withoute ymponyng or laying to his charge any causes of treason, to suffer hym to lye upon his oune landes, and to be used as oon of the grettest barons of the realme. What woll folowe of this his counsaile it is not knowen, but rather it is suppoosed the Quenes Grace is moore inclyned to a devourse to be had betwene Her said Grace and the saide Erle of Angwisshe, thenne to any other goode waye. But the certainty as yet is not knowen.

The Quenes Grace is veraye desirous to here of newes frome oute of Einglande, and mooste specially Her Grace calleth faste for money, and is veray desirous therof. I geve unto Her saide Grace the beste woordes I canne to content Her Grace, till I shall have further advertisment of the Kingges high pleasur and youres, what ansuer shalbe made in that behalve.

The marchauntes and shippes of Scotlande that were in Fraunce, mentionned in my last letters sent to your saide Grace, be departed frome thennes, wherof 3 of thaym be commen to Leeth, and 5 other of the same be driven abroode in the see, as it is saide, with the ragious weder. And with the saide shippes that be arived here, be commen also twoe of the Duke of Albenys gales yet at Dombarre, and in the same is commen Mr Davy Beton, Abbot of Arbrooth, and nevewe to the saide Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes, late Ambassadour for Scotlande in Fraunce, with other three persons, being the

Duke of Albenys principall servauntes and officers, that is to wete, John Burbon his Secretary, Plantate his Tresourier, and Makerell his Countroller: and with the other shippes is commen the yong Erle of Bothewell. For what intent the saide Dukes servauntes and officers be commen, it is not knowen as yet, but of trouth the Quenes Grace suppooseth the same to be to her pleasure; insomyche as Her Grace saide to me, thay were commyn to make unto Her Grace gret offers; and, as I perceived, she thought thay came to bring unto her a gret somme of money. In breve tyme your Grace shall have the certainty; but it is thought the saide persons be commen at the leiste to fortefye Dombar, booth with vitailles, men, and other necessaries; and besides the same, under the colour of some commission frome the Frenshe King for the surety of thaym selves, aither to wynne the Quenes Grace and the Lordes with money to the Frenshe faction, or elles, bycause the saide Duke is a widower, to procure some devorse betwene the Quene and thErle of Angwisshe, that mariage may be had betwene the saide Quene and the Duke of Albeny.

Desirous I am to knowe the Kinges high pleasure and youres, howe I shall use me in these matiers, as the same shall come to passe. For, in case the saide Dukes servauntes woll take upon thaym any suche high enterprises, I truste waies may be founden, with the expense of some money, to disapointe thaym of thair purpoos, and of thaire retourne ayeine into Fraunce for a good season. The Kingges saide pleasure and youres knowen in this behalve, I shall doe aswell as I canne, and at the leiste the Kingges money shall not myche be waisted nor mispended. Howe be it, this thing is not to be attempted but upon the Kingges gracious commaundement or youres; remembring the gret causes betwene booth the realmes be at this tyme in treating and commynnycation afore the Kingges Highnes and your Grace.

The marchauntes, and other commen oute of Fraunce, shewe that the Frensh King tryumpheth thorowe oute all Lombardy, and deny a gret part of the newes sent hider to me from oute of Einglande.

The poostes in these parties, that I wroote unto your saide Grace were departed, be nowe commen ayeine, and I truste thay woll do thaire duetes.

Ymmediately upon the making of this letter, I have had commynnycation with divers sad wise and experte personnages, by whoome I understand, and some parte otherwise I here and see, that the Lordes, booth spirituall and temporall, for want of justice and good ordour in this realme, be likly to joyne all togader for the mooste parte in oone oppynnyon, for the better ordouring of the Kingges Grace here, and of this his realme. The Quenes

Grace

Grace hath had and daily hath monytions of these matiers, but Her Grace hath some speciall waye by her self that she trusteth singulerly unto, and elles I doubte in conclusion Her Grace wolbe disapointed. I beseche your Grace though I write of sondery matiers not gretely effectuall, to pardon me, for I am sure whenne your saide Grace shall understande common sayingges and oppynnyons with some liklihoodes, your saide Grace wolde caste and compas further for other causes. And thus Almighty God have Your saide Grace in His mooste blessed preservation. At Edinburgh, the 22 daye of December.

Your mooste humble preiste and bedeman,

(*Signed*) T. MAGNUS.

(*Superscribed*)
Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CIV. MAGNUS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace to be advertissed, in my last letters dated the 22ti day of this moneth, amongges other thingges I acertaynned your saide Grace of the arivall of twoe of the Duke of Albenys galeis at Dombar with Mr Davy Beton late Ambassadour in Fraunce, and diverse other officers and servauntes of the saide Duke of Albenys, whoos names thenne were mentionned in my letter. The saide Mr Davy, albe it he were Ambassadour for the King of Scottes in Fraunce, ymmediately after his commyng to Dombar, withoute aither doing his duety to the Kingges Grace here, or to the Quenes Grace, departed from thennes, and went streight to the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes, and yet hath seen naither the Kingges saide Grace, nor the Quenes Grace. Wherwith the saide Quene is not content nor pleased.

The other, being the Dukes Secretary, Tresourier, and Countroller, have brought necessaries for the vitailling of Dombar, that is to wete, mooste specially wyne and cornes.

They have also brought frome the Frenshe King a commyssion, wherynne Groselles, Capitaine of Dombar, is furste and principall, to treate and commyn with the Quenes Grace, and the Lordes of this realme, of diverse causes as yet not knowen, and have opteynned licence of the Quenes saide Grace for thair reparing unto the same to doe thair message; and also, as the Quenes saide Grace sheweth unto me, thay require, for thair further surety, plegges, namyng the Lorde Evendale, and other her servauntes, that is, to my poore intelligence, Harry Stewarde, and James Stewarde breder to the saide Lorde

[1] Holograph. From the British Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 87.

Evendale;

Evendale; whoos qualites and autoryte I doute not but Mr Radcliff hath shewed unto your saide Grace. But the Quenes Grace woll not agree therunto. The saide Dukes servauntes declare and alledge, that thair message is as honourable and as thankefull, as ever came to Scotlande; but as yet thay ar at Dombar.

It is spoken and commynned upon, that the Duke of Urbynes doughter, kynneswoman to the saide Duke of Albeny, being enheritour to the Countie of Bolonye in Overania[1], shalbe offerde in mariage to the yong King of Scottes here. As some suppoos, it is Madame Rany, doughter to King Lewes, that shalbe offerde in mariage. But as yet certeynty there is of naither of thaym booth, naither what money is commen to the Quenes Grace and to the saide Lordes; but, as soone as knowlege may be had therof, your saide Grace shalbe advertissed of the same.

I am credibly infourmed by suche persons as have bene in Dombar, and by divers other, that of trouth the saide Groselles shall passe into Fraunce with the saide two gales, and shall have wyth hym the beste of the men, and as many of thaym as may be spared, of suche as ar in Dombar, with a gret parte of the best ordynaunce that is withynne the castell there. Of this the Quenes Grace hath monytion and warnyng, and therfore I truste she woll have speciall regarde therunto.

I have put Her saide Grace in remembraunce, aswell as I canne, to conscider and to noote well the grete hurtes damages and hynderaunces, whiche the realme of Scotlande hathe susteynned by adhering to Fraunce, and that the same by wilfull wayes and oppynnyons, not ruled upon good reason, shall sonner therby chaunce to live in warre trouble and adversitye, thenne, firmely conyoynned with Einglande, to florishe in riches wealth and prosperite: and over this, have shewed to Her saide Grace, that if she woll in any wise declyne frome the Kingges Highnes her broder, accepting any light offer or promise on the Frenshe partie, Her Grace shall therby loose naturalle and cordiall love favour and affection, for fened covert and clooked dissimulation, to her utter distruction. After this maner with many circumstaunces I have mooved Her Grace, and contynnually shall call upon the same, till these matiers shall come to some better effecte or purpoos. Howe be it the Quene, seing suche sutes made unto Her Grace for her favour, is not a lytle high mynded therof, and saide to oone William Hetherington in my company here upon Cristenmas even, that the Frenshe King dooth sende unto her 30000 crounes, and that

[1] Albany and Lorenzo Duke of Urbino married two sisters, the daughters and coheirs of John Count of Auvergne (Overania), whose sister, was Albany's mother. By the death of the Duchess of Albany without issue, Catharine the only daughter of the Duchess of Urbino became heiress of Auvergne.

it wolde be long or she had somyche frome oute of Einglande; with moe woordes, whiche the saide William Hetherington saide he wolde Her Grace shulde not speke. Howe be it, as he reapoorted, Her Grace aunswerde and saide, she had spoken asmyche to me the day before; whiche was not soe. Trouth it was, the same daye I had myche commynnycation with Her Grace, and brought her to confess this point, as it is undouted, that were not the love and drede that Scotlande bereth to the Kingges Highnes our Maister, thay wolde, or nowe, have utterly put Her Grace doune, and have taken from her the yong King her sonne. And fynally Her Grace couth fynde noe moe that were faste and sure unto her, but thErle of Arren and the Busshop of Aburdyne; of whoome I did putte in maner Her Grace out of doubte she was not sure. The saide Erle was not here, sethens the Parliament, but oons, and came not hider nowe but upon gret sute, and hath appointed trestes and metingges with thErle of Angwisshe and his frendes; and though the same have bene letted by the Quenes meanes, yet all men saye here thay woll accoorde and goe oon way for the weall of the yong King and his realme. And as for the saide Busshop of Aburdyne hath saide unto me diverse tymes, he hath pitied the Quenes rule and ordour, and suppoosed noe goode successes couth ensewe of the same. And besides this I sawe of late a letter written frome the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes, labouring to bring the Lordes to an unitye and a concoorde; wherynne he declared that the saide Busshop of Aburdyne was well mynded and inclyned to take the same waye. And if it come to passe, as by all liklihoode it woll, as high as the Quene is, yf the Kingges Highnes our Maister be not good broder unto her, she is right likly to have litle autorite, and as litle to be sette bye. I dar not shewe this to Her Grace playnly, but I bring hit to her knowlege under protestation, in dulce and pleasaunt maner. Yf your Grace commyn with the Busshop of Donkell and the Abbot of Camskymmell, thay canne and I dout not woll shewe to your said Grace many thingges. I am veray desirous to knowe the Kingges high pleasure and youres, howe I shall ordour me here at this tyme. And if there come any letters hider conteynnyng aither sharp or displeasaunt matier, I thenke it shall not be good thay be deliverde, seing the commyng of the Frenshe men, to your saide Grace have knowelege of this my letter, or at the leiste of myne other last letter of the 22^{ti} daie of this moneth, and that aunsuer also may be had here of the same.

Surely the saide Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes laboureth, asmyche as he canne, to bring the Lordes to gader; and therfore I have geven warnyng[1]

[1] A copy of Magnus's letter to Angus is in the Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 75.

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to thErle of Anguysshe, that he see well, and take speciall regarde, that by craftye wayes or meanes he be not brought to the devotion of Fraunce, and that, asmyche as he canne, he shall kepe thErle of Lenneux to the same pointe.

The Quene commendeth thErle of Angwisshe myche moore thenne the saide Erle of Lenneux, and sayth she trusteth the saide Erle of Anguisshe woll come to a better waye thenne was thought. I knowe not what Her Grace meaneth therby, but shortely I shall knowe moore. But, as afore I have written to your Grace, if there may be any counfort of the mariage, all Scotlande woll lene to Einglande, and utterly leve Fraunce.

And, albe it I have divers tymes written unto your Grace of the suspition that I have had in the Countroller here, called Robert Barton, moore commynly knowen and called in Einglande Hob a Barton, I fynde gret kyndenes in hym, soe that nowe he and I be right famylier; and myche better he is mynded towardes Einglande then to Fraunce, and after that maner I am privea he counsailleth the Quenes Grace, and specially aviseth her not to loose nor offende the Kingges Highnes her broder; and by hym I doe and shall knowe many thingges. He is a man of gret substaunce for these partes, and wolde nowe seche for his eas and saving of his gooddes; and suppooseth, if Einglande and Scotlande doe booth take oone waye, it shalbe mooste specially for the commyn weall of all Scotland. And as for Davy Fawconer his companion, is moore redy to feght ayeinste the Duke of Albeny, thenne in anywise to bere any favour unto hym or to any of his, and is hoolly banded rather with Einglande thenne with Fraunce, for asmyche as in hym is.

The Kingges Highnes and your Grace having nowe with youe thAmbassadours, and knowing the causes occurraunt here hidertowarde, I am sure woll provide for every thing. And also it is to be rememberde the Lordes be poore here; and fayn wolde the Quene that thErle of Arren had some honourable gifte or rewarde, by cause he hooldeth well, as Her Grace saith, to her oppynnyon. Howe the Kingges saide Highnes and your Grace doe accept that, it is to be conscidered.

Even nowe woorde is commen unto me frome the Countroller at Leeth, that the saide Groselles is paste over the Firth from Dombar, with the saide galees, to Saint Andrewes to the Archebusshop there; to what intent or purpoos it is not knowen: but furthwith the messenger, that came frome the saide Countroller, went streight to the Quene at the Castell to shewe this matier unto Her Grace.

Post Scripta. The Quenes Grace sent for me yersternight, and shewed me howe the saide Groselles was paste frome Dombar, with the saide twoe galyes

galyes to Saint Andrewes. Her Grace is troubled with this matier. And hider is commyn a Frenshe man frome the saide Groselles, shewing thay durste not suffer the saide gales to lye at Dombar for fere of Einglisshe men; and also hering that thErles of Angwisshe and Leneux shulde come these holydays to the saide Archebusshop, Groselles went thider to disapointe thaire meting and commyng to gader. The Quene saith, if thErle of Anguysshe had not bene sent into Scottelande by the Kingges Highnes, there shulde have bene noe busynes here. Touching this matier there is noe reason canne content her, and yet she calleth contynnually for money; and nowe she desireth, if she shall have any nede, there may be a good noumber of men in a redynes upon the Bordours, for she douteth the Lordes woll bande ayeinste her.

Fayn she wolde, that I shulde with some good woordes content my Lorde of Arrens mynde, bycause he hath had noe rewarde frome the Kingges Highnes. I have spoken with his Lordeship; and bothe he and Sir James Hamylton, his bastarde sonne, fynde thaym greved not a litle, that thErle of Murray, and other that were soe nigh of the Duke of Albenys counsaill, and specially suche as exprestely were ayeinste the putting at large of the King, shulde soe highly be in favour, moore thenne thay that have taken upon thaym the putting at liberty of the yong King, not letting for the saide Dukes displeasure. The saide Erle and I have appointed to mete and speke of all these matiers at large.

I intende streight to sende to Saint Andrewes for knowelege of suche newes as ar there, and also I woll write to thErle of Anguysshe, to have knowelege what he and thErle of Leneux doe; and woll geve to the saide Erle my further advertisment to see well to the ordouring of hym selff, and keping to gader of his frendes frome the Frenshe faction. And Almighty God have Your saide Grace in His mooste blessed preservation. At Eddinburgh, the 27th daye of December.

Your mooste humble preiste and bedeman,

(*Signed*) T. Magnus.

(*Superscribed*)
Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CV. Archbishop Betoun *to* Magnus.[1]

My Lord Ambassiatour, I recommend me unto zow in my maist hertly maner. I resavit ane writing of zouris zisterday fra ane servand of Maister Adam Ottirburnis, and send zow ansuer yerof incontinent; and yis day I have gottin zour two letteris, yat ane fra my servand the Thesaurer of Glasgw response of his credence, and yat uyer fra Williame Hadryngtoun, makand mentioun yat ze have none uyeris newes furth of Ingland bot as ze wrait unto me be Maister Adam, and zour excuse for zour nocht being with me yis tyme of Cristynmes, and of the arryving of the Frenchemen at Dunber, and of thair hidder cuming with yar gallyonis; desyring me to luke wele on my selff, and consider all thingis, rememberand quhat commonyng has bene betuix me, Maister Radcliff and zow, and to advertise zou of my novelles.[2] My Lord, I wald have bene rycht glaid of zour heir being with me in Sanctandrois yis tyme of Zoile, and suld have tretit zow ye best I culd, bot I accept wele zour resonabill excuse. Ze sall understand the Frenche men arryvit at Dunbar before Zoile in cumpany with my cusing of Arbrotht[3], convoyit in two gallyonis as I understand, to bryng furnising to ye house of Dunber, and sure conducting of my said cousing, and causit him to cum to me. How beit he suld first have passit to the Kingis Hienes and Quenis Grace, because he had ansuer fra the King of France of ye commissioun and articulis send with him fra my Soveraine Lord and the Thre Estatis of his Realme. Bot I traist, or now, he has maid his resonabill excuse to Yair Graces. And, as for the Frenchemennis being heir in Sainctandrois, ze sall understand that ane part of thame come yis last Sainct Stephanis day, and uyeris sen syne; I nevir knawand of thair cuming, unto ye tyme thai knokit at ye zet (I beand at my denner) in cumpany with ye remanent of my Lordis being in this toune for the tyme; and leit yame in, and tretit yame as accordit, because thai had writingis furth of France to me and uyeris my Lordis being heir. Bot yai war generall, and of auld datis. Yair gallyonis come nocht heir, bot past by in the waltyr of Tay. And quhar ze writ, desyring me remember on the commonyng betuix me, zow, and Maister Raidcliff; I remember yeron verray wele, and sall abyd yerat in every poynt, with the grace of God, and thinkis rycht lang quhill ye writingis cum, that

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 119.

[2] The two first of these letters have not been found, the third is in the same Volume, leaf 118.

[3] His nephew, David Betoun, Abbot of Aberbrothic.

ze,

ze, Maister Raidclaiff and I, devisit to be send fra the Kingis Grace zour Soverane Lord, and my Lord Legatis Grace, to quhat personagis ze knaw, and als yat I suld depart and remane quhill sic writingis come. I am mair desyrouse of ye effect of that commonyng, na I was at my departing; and ye falt was nevir in me, yat I remanit nocht continewally in service and office with my Soverane Lord ye Kingis Hienes and Quenis Grace, as I schew to zow and Maister Raidclaiff yat sammyn tyme, as said is; and ye displesures yat war had aganis me at ony tyme (as ze understand) war movit on na gud ground; and now, giff ony be movit, it proceidis bot of suspicioun, but resonabill causis. Heirfore I wald be rycht glaid to have personale speche with zow, that our said last commonyng mycht be brotht till effect; quhilk I traist suld be to ye wele of boith ye realmes. As for novelles, it war lang to writ it yat ilk cuntre will say of thame selffis, nor I will nocht glaidly reherse yame, bot I beleve in verite yat boith the roik of Millane, Pavy, and uyeris strenthis, ar haldin as zit incontrair ye Frenchemen; bot it is said ye Frenchmen purposes to remane still within ye cuntre of Limberdy, quhill greit artailzery be caryit for recovering of the saidis strenthis. Uyer tythingis I have nane. And God keip Zour Lordschip eternaly. Writtin at Sanctandrois, the 29 day of December.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Ambassiatour of Ingland, &ca.

(*Signed*) Vr Ja. Stiandr̃:

CVI. Angus *to* Magnus.[1]

My Lord Imbassatur, I recommend me hartly on to zow. Plesit zow to wnderstand, yat I resavit ane vrityn of zowris yis Setterday ye last day of December.[2] And quhar yat ze writ to me yat ze wer advertesit be my bruder of ye cumynen of ye Duk of Albanyis twa galais; of quhilk I gat avertesyng with all yer tydandis yat yai vald tell playnly; and quhar ze desir me in zour writenis yat I be nocht, be no suttell menis nor craft, circumwendit to ye Franse favour, and yat I suld kep my Lord of Lenox and all wyeris of my frendis fra ye same; ye quhilk I sall do, to ye utermost of my power: I will kep all yat I promist on to ye Kyng zour Master, and I be leiff yat he will do ye same to me. I merwell grettunly yat ze writ nocht to me of ye Kyng

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 76.

[2] See p. 279.

of

of Ingland mynd, consideran ze knaw quhat part yat I haff kepit ontill Hym; and ze avertise me na thyng of ye Quenis mynd, nor quhat ze haiff done in till yat mater. Ye Kyngis Grace off Ingland promist on to me, gyff ye Quhen wald nocht ws his consall, yat He suld tak my part in Hyr contrary; ye quhilk I be leiff Scho has nocht done; and I haff fulfillit all yat I promist, and sall do, with ye grace of God. Yer for I pray zow, yat ze will writ me all tydandis with yis presant berar. And gyf yer be ony plesur yat I may do for zow, avvertis me, and I wall do it with all my hart. And God haff zow in His kepyng. At Mulrose, yis fyrst day of Januar.

Yours at command,

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Imbassator to ye Kyngis Grace of Ingland.

(*Signed*) Erl of Angus.

CVII. Magnus *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleas it Your Grace to be advertissed that, sethenne my laste writing unto your saide Grace the 27th daye of the laste moneth, I purpoosed and thought that long afore this tyme I shulde have written and have acertaynned your Grace of sondery thingges doutefull, and not surely knowen and expressed in my laste letters, specially concernyng the commyng hider of the Frenshe men, and thair intended purpoos; whiche I couthe not doe by occasion thay have contynued all Cristenmas with the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes. And for somyche as thay, soon after thair ariving at Dombar, did take a ship of Flaunders withynne the Kingges waters here, fraughted with Scottishe mennes gooddes, and commyng under saufconduyt, and that they reteynned still, and deliverde not, the Busshop of Donkells bulles, and that also thay delayed soe long thair repairing and commyng to the King and the Quenes presence; sharp letters were directe furth to the saide Frenshe men, commaundyng thaym to make deliverey of the saide ship and bulles, and elles furthwith to appere afore the King and the Counsaill, to shewe whye thay ought not soe to doe. This notwithstanding, hit was the 5th daie of this moneth, 12th even, or thay came hider. And, by occasion that the Quenes Grace hath bene and yet is some deall sike and diseased, thay had noe presence till the 7th daye of this moneth.

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[1] Holograph. From the British Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 83.

Maister

Maister Davy Beton, late Ambassadour in Fraunce for Scotlande, after his being with the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes, lately came hider, and presented to the King and the Quenes Graces twoe letters directe from the Frenshe King, dated at Avynyon the 15th daie of September, copies wherof, and of the instructions singned by the saide Frenshe King, I sende with this unto your saide Grace[1]; wherby the hooll retourne of the said Mr Davy Betons busynes in Fraunce dooth appere, oonles he have brought any other privea messages to any the Lordes, as yet not knowen nor perceived. At the commyng of Groselles and of other the Frenshemen to the Quenes Grace I wolde have bene present, but Her saide Grace wolde not suffer me soe to be. Thay brought letters to Her Grace, and had articles and instructions, wherof as yet I canne not have sure knowelege. I have required the Quene that I may see thaym. Her Grace hath promised I shall soe doe; and if I may by any meanes, I woll have copy of thaym.

The Quenes saide Grace sheweth to me she woll not in any wise declyne from the Kingges pleasure, but that Her Grace, next to the King her sonne, desireth to doe that thing that may be to the contentation of His Grace, above all other thingges erthly; shewing also, that the saide Frenshe King offereth his yongar doughter in mariage to the yong King her sonne, with an annuall pension amounting to a gret somme, not expreste unto me, and that the saide Frenshe King woll geve unto Her Grace, to be of favourable inclynation to his desire, a gret countye in Fraunce, yet naither named to me, nor the valewe therof expreste. Her Grace saith also that the Frenshe King hath sent unto her five thowsande crownes; far from 30000, as Her Grace saide afore; but as yet the money is naither seen nor deliverde, and that the saide King hath sent gret sommes of money to the Lordes. These matiers as yet consiste in woordes withoute any further effecte. Also Her Grace sheweth me, that the Duke of Albeny requireth her to kepe a good parte with Fraunce, and he shall not oonly be content that Her Grace doe enjoye and occupy the autoritye that Her Grace dooth at this daye, but that he shall labour, at the Frenshe Kingges handes, suche gret thingges as shalbe right high and beneficiall to the yong King her sonne, to Her Grace, and to all the realme of Scotland.

Over this Her saide Grace sheweth that the saide Groselles dooth right

[1] Caligula, B. VI. leaf 413. are copies of the credentials for Gonzolles; one to the King, and the other to the Queen Dowager of Scotland. Leaf 411 is a copy of his Instructions, in which the King of France states that Albany is detained on account of his mother's illness, and approves of the marriage of James V. to one of his daughters (except in respect to their tender age), according to the treaty of Rouen, which he will observe. This treaty was made 20th August 1517. This mention of Albany's mother proves that she did not die in 1512, as is stated in some genealogical tables.

specially

specially solicit and labour that Her Grace woll accept and take into her gracious favour the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes, and that for somyche as he is the gretteste man booth of landes and experience withynne this realme, she shall doe well to be ordoured and advised by his counsaill above all other. These advertismentes putte the Quenes Grace in a further suspicion ayeinste the saide Archebusshop, thenne she was in afore. Besides this, Her Grace saith that Groselles reapoorteth that the saide Archebusshop saith, that I, in the name of the King my Maister and of your Grace, have putte hym in counforte to be Cardinall; and that the saide Groselles saith the Frenshe King may sooner doe that, thenne any other Cristen Prince.

The Busshop of Donkelles bulles as yet be not deliverde, but Groselles, as the Quenes Grace saith, hath promised thay shalbe brought and presented unto Her Grace withoute faill.

As in my saide laste letters I acertaynned your Grace, I wroote booth to the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes and to thErle of Anguysshe, as by the copyes of my letters and the aunsuers to the same, whiche with the other I sende nowe to your saide Grace, it dooth appere. And, besides suche matier as is conteynned in the saide Archebusshops letters, he desired me, by the berer, to beseche the Quenes Grace, on his behalve, to avoide the susspicion that Her saide Grace bereth towardes hym, and he douted not soe to use and ordour hym to the King his Soveraine Lorde and Maister, and to the Quenes saide Grace, that at the sight of all the wise Lordes of Scotlande, of the Kingges Highnes our Maister, and of your Grace, he shulde of foorce atteyne to her gracious favour. Her Grace divers tymes hath sent to the said Archebusshop, and required hym to repare hider for his good advice and counsaill, necessary and nedefull to be had, specially upon the being here of the Frenshe men, but he woll not come, making his excuse, that, if he were here, he shulde be in perell and daungier of his liff by thErle of Murray and other aboute the Quenes Grace.

The Busshop of Aburdyne, as I wroote unto your Grace, is also at Saint Andrewes, and commeth not hider, saying for his excuse, as is reaported, he is soe seke, that he may not travell, nor come into the aire, but if he shulde put hym self in perell daunger and jopardy.

By the contynue of the saide Archebusshops and thErle of Anguysshe letters, your Grace shall conceive thair aunsuers made to my writingges sent unto thaym. The saide Archebusshop is nooted to be veraye subtill and dissymuling. His woordes have bene good, booth to Mr Radcliff and to me; but the Frenshe mennes being soe long with hym putteth me in doubte what is to be conscidered for any surety truste or fidelitye to be founden in hym.

And

And yet, as your saide Grace shall conceive by his letter, where I wroote unto hym, and required hym to call to remembraunce suche comynnycation as was betwene hym me and Mr Radcliff, he affermeth he is moore desirous nowe of effecte of the saide commynnycation, thenne he was at his departing from hennes; whiche was, that in cace the Quenes Grace here persisted, and wolde not come noe moore nigh to the King our Maister purpoos, thenne at that tyme Her Grace did, for the well of the yong King and of booth these realmes, and for a perpetuall peas to be had betwene the same, the King shulde be mooved for a commynnycation to be had for the same purpoos betwene His Highnes and the Lordes of Scottelande, and that letters and writinges, concernyng the same, shulde come frome the Kingges saide Highnes and your Grace to the saide Archebusshop, to thErle of Argile, and other, and that he the saide Archebusshop shuld doe the beste service he couthe for the weall of booth these saide realmes: as I doubte not Mr Radcliff canne and woll shewe unto your saide Grace. The saide Archebusshop is desirous to have me to passe over the water for mutuall commynnycation to be had betwene hym and me touching the saide matier; whiche canne not be doon withoute the Quenes displeasur, and susspition to be had by Her Grace of the same, and principally the Kingges high pleasure and youres to be knowen in that behalve.

The saide Archebusshop hath kept a gret and a solempne Cristenmas, and with hym have bene many Lordes booth spirituall and temporall. Howe be it, naither have bene with hym thErles of Anguysshe, Leneux, nor Argile; but I here that some of thair servauntes and counsaillours were with hym these holydays.

Hit is a generall conclusion here, that if the Duke of Albeny, as is spoken, shall have the geifte of the benefices withynne this realme during the mynoritye of the yong King, the Kingges Highnes and your Grace canne not be sure of the saide Archebusshop. He wroote unto me of late, that thabbasy of Melroos is made sure in the courte of Roome for a kynnesman of his; for whiche promotion the King and the Quene here wroote to the Kingges saide Highnes and your Grace; but as I here the saide Archebusshop opteynned a resingnation of the saide abbasy long afore.

As to thErle of Anguysshe, he wroote unto me, as appereth by his letter, he marveled myche that I wroote noe thing unto hym, touching the mynde of the Kingges Highnes, conscidering what parte he hath kept to His Grace, and that I have not advertissed hym of the Quenes mynde here. Divers and sondery tymes I have written unto hym, but of trouth, albe it he kepeth many trestes and metingges with sondery grete personnages, yet he geveth me noone advertisementes of any parte of the same. Howe be it, I here and understande,

by

by his secrete and trusty frendes, that he woll kepe surely hys promys made to the Kingges Highnes, and that, to dye for hit, he woll not in anywise fall to the Frenshe faction.

Of late was with me Sir James Hamelton, bastarde sonne to thErle of Arren, a propur gentilman, and oone that hath the gretteste stroke and rule aboute the saide Erle, and demaunded of me, if I suppoosed the Kingges Highnes couth be content there were or shulde be a devorce betwene the Quenes Grace and thErle of Anguysshe. Wherunto I shewed hym I couth make hym noon aunsuer, for it was the thing that I never harde the King my Maister nor any other of his mooste honourable Counsaill speke of at any tyme. The next daye after the saide Sir James mette with thErle of Leneux, and with diverse other frendes and kynnesmen of the saide Erle of Anguysshe, and thenne, as I understande, there was commynnycation of the same matier, and for a grement unyte and concoorde to be had betwene thErle of Arren and thErle of Anguisshe. I understande, by the Countroller, that the Quenes Grace shewed unto hym she couth be content to be agreed with the saide Erle of Anguysshe, soe that he wolde consent to a devorce to be had betwene hym and Her Grace. And nowe I understande, albe it suche agrement shulde be betwene the Quenes saide Grace and thErle of Anguysshe, yet Her Grace woll not consent that an unitye and a concoorde shall as yet be betwene thErle of Arren and thErle of Anguysshe; and soe the said agrement is likly to reste for a season.

The saide Erle of Arren, calling to remembraunce the good service he hath doone to the erection of the yong King, and that he seeth nowe by the meanes of Harry Stewarde, that thErle of Murray, all of the Frenshe faction with his adherentes, is moore accepted into favour and counsaill, thenne he is, grodgeth and is not content, and saide unto me of late, afore the saide Countroller, that rather thenne the yong King shulde come into the daunger of Frenshe men, he wolde passe with hym into Einglande; and, if in any wise he shulde see the Quenes Grace inclyne to any like matier, he wolde geve up all kyndenes and promyses by hym made to Her Grace.

The Countroller at the same tyme saide, that for any practise that shulde be made by the see, if any suche were intended, he shulde see surely therfore; and, as long as the Frenshe men were here, he wolde have good esspyall that noe daunger shulde be, but that knowlege and warnyng therof shulde be had afore.

This realme is marvelously devided, soe as harde it is to knowe to whom the Kingges Highnes and your Grace shulde mooste assuredly truste. The Quene is counsailled by suche as ar moore inclyned to the devotion of Fraunce

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then of Englande, and contynually withoute reason she wolbe calling upon the Kingges Highnes for money. The Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes, with his bande, is not a litle suspecte, by occasion of the reparing of the Frenshe men unto hym, and for thair long contynuyng at Saint Andrewes, and the good chere he made unto thaym, with other considerations afore specifyed. And, as to the Lordes temporall, there is myche devision amongges thaym ; and oonles it be thErle of Arren, thay ar all poore and of litle substaunce in gooddes. Here is noe justice in this realme, but contynuall murdours, thefte, and robry. As thingges be occurraunt and come to my knowlege, soe I write unto your saide Grace.

Pleas it your Grace, there are twoe thingges specially to be had in remembraunce, the oon and the gretter of thaym is, that if the Quenes Grace here shall contynue in her autorite, having the rule and governaunce of the King her son, there muste be some other ordour devised for sad and honourable personnages to be high officers and counsaillours, for the weall of the said yong King, and justyce to be mynystred in this his realme. For as it is, were not for drede of the Kingges Highnes, it wolde not be suffred. And, the same doone, it is thought the Quene, with the favour and assistence of the Kingges saide Highnes, shulde rule myche better thenne hath doone any Quene afore her. In this matier I may not, ne darre, speke withoute displeasure, not necessary to be had at this tyme. And of trouth booth spirituall and temporall doo fynde thaym greved at this matier, as it is ordoured.

The other matier is, I thenke it right necessary that my Lorde of Arren shulde have a loving letter from the Kingges Highnes of thankes for his good persevering with his faithfull service and assistence to the King his maister, and for the good mynde he bereth to kepe the saide King from oute of the Frenshe mennes daunger, and specially that he is soe well inclyned to a perpetuall peas to be had betwene Englande and Scottelande. Surely there is in the saide Erle naither high crueltye nor gret males, and yet he is strong of men and of good substaunce in gooddes, and liveth in ordour and polecy, as is saide, above all other here, mooste like to the Englisshe maner. He is noted some deall variaunt, specially as he shalbe mooved by Sir James Hamylton his sonne, oon of the beste undertakers that I marke here ; and yet the saide Erle dooth not vary frome the matier afore rehersed, but, booth betwene hym and me, and in oppen presence, kepeth the same oppynnyon : and soe doth the saide Sir James. Howe be it, for olde acquaintaunce, and for suche proufit as he hath had afore of the Duke of Albeny, he is famylier with the Frenshe men. The saide Erle shewed unto me yersterday, that the saide Frenshe men procure, as myche as

thay canne, that the King may be ordoured and ruled by the Three Estates; whiche lesson he saith thay lerned at Saint Andrewes. Under the correction of your Grace, I thenke it shulde doe well, that the same Erle shulde have a rewarde. He had noe thing sethenne my commyng hider. And if he were remembred booth with a letter and some money, it wolde cause hym to doe the better service, and also it shulde be right good pleasure to the Quenes Grace. There is a good faveror betwene the saide Erle and the Carres, that is to say, Dan Carre Lorde of Sesforth, and Marke Carre, twoe principall bordourers and gentilmanly felowes, which were in favour with the Duke. Thay and I use famyliarite to gaider, and thay kepe at the same pointe as dooth the saide Erle of Arren. Yf God sende us peas, thay intende to see the Kingges Highnes; and the said Dan Carre saith, if warre fortune to be betwene Einglaunde and Fraunce, he wolbe glad to bring to the King a good bande of men and to doe unto His Grace the beste service he canne. I am desirous to here of the Kingges gracious pleasure and youres in these premisses and other. As knoweth Almighty God, whoe have Your saide Grace in His mooste blessed tuytion and governaunce. At Edinburgh, the 9th day of Januarii.

Your mooste humble preiste and bedeman,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) T. Magnus.

Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CVIII. King James V. *to* King Henry VIII.

Richt Excellent, Richt Hie, and Michty Prince, oure derrest Uncle and Brother, We commend Ws unto Zow in oure maist hertlie manere. Laitlie We have depeschit towart Zou oure herrauld Marchmond, fullely instructit with oure mynde tuiching ye cummyng of ye Duc of Albany within oure Realm. And to ye sammyn effect We direct yis present berare, oure lovit familiare servitour William Hammyltoun, towart oure derrest Brothere ye King of France in ane part; prayng Zou, derrest Uncle and Brothere, yat, conforme to oure mynde send to Zou with oure said herraulde, Ze will solist extremlie zoure and oure said Broyer of France to stop ye cummyn of ye said Duc within yis oure Realme, and to cause oure castell and strencht of Dunbar be deliverit to Ws, like as at mare lencht, derrest Uncle, yis berare will informe Zou, to quhom herin it will like Zow geve credence. Richt Excellent,

Excellent, Richt Hie, and Mychty Prince, oure derrest Uncle and Brothere, We pray God have Zou in keping. Writtin undre oure signete at Edinburgh, ye 14 day of Januare.

(*Signed*) Zo^r^ loving Brother and Nepho,
JAMES R.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Richt Excellent, Richt Hie, and Michty Prince, oure derrest Uncle and Brother, the King of Inglaund.

CIX. CASSILLIS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

MY Lord, I recommend my humill service to Zour Grace in my maist lawlie and hartlie maner. My Lord, zour Grace pleise be advertest, yat I onderstud in diverse passagges cummyng northwart fra Londoun[2] yat yar woss gret missordour on ye Bourdouris, and speciallie throw ye parte of ye Scottis; the quhelkis thythandis dyd me gret desplessour. And, quhowbeid I woss on pourpos to mak als gret deligence as I mycht gudlie, yat mowit me to mak gretar deligence, yat remeide mycht be put yarto mair haistelie; and now yis 15 day of Januar instant, I have inquirit apone ye Bourdour of Ingland of ye maist famus gentillmen and commonis, quhilkis can nocht misknaw, gyff sic inormittis had bene done; and I have surlie onderstand be yaim, yat yar has nocht bene of lang tyme piece bettir kepit, nor fewar attemptatis done be Scottis. And as to the keping of ye piece be ye Bourdour of Ingland, eftir ye inquisessioun takin be me in my passing our ye Bourdour of Scotland, I sall advertese zour Grace mair amplie; prayand zour Grace rycht affectuslie yat ze gyff na credance to na informacioun incontrar heiroff. For yis is ye verite on my honour and lawte.

My Lord, it plessis me weill, and takkis gude espoir in my erandis, seand ye pepill on aythre syddis to piece and reste so weill inclynit; prayand zour Grace to cause gude reull to be kept on yis syde, as I sall do my deligence,

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. III. leaf 1.

[2] According to Hall's Chronicle, the Scottish Ambassadors were received in London on the 19th of December, and were sumptuously entertained at Greenwich on the 23d; and on the 30th Lord Cassillis took his leave, and departed to Scotland to communicate with the Council there on matters not within their commission, leaving behind him Bishop Cockburn and Abbot Myll. Cassillis's return is placed somewhat too early; for the recess, to which he is a party, is dated at London on the 4th of January. See Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 30.

for our parte, to have ye sammyng be contenewit, quhill gude and finall conclusioun may be haid in all materis; in ye quhilk I sall nocht spair laubour, expenses, nor pyne of persone, as God and ze sall knaw; quhome conserve Zour Lordschip eternall. Subscrivit with my hande at Feltoun[1], ye 16 day of Januar, anno &c 24°.

Zouris in all leffull service,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) ERLL OFF CASSILLIS.

To my Lord Cardinellis Grace &ca.

CX. Articulis send to ye Rycht Excellent, Rycht Hie, and Mychtie Prince, and oure derrest Bruder, the KYNG OF INGLAND, and his Counsale, be Ws his humble sister, the QUENE OF SCOTLAND; quhilkis We desire to be ansuerit with ye hastiest expeditioune for the furthering of ye maist gude and loving way betuix thir tua Realmis.[2]

IN the first, plese Zoure Grace to understand, yat We have, be report of ye Erle of Cassillis oure Ambassiatour, the gude and loving entreting and favorable audience, yat he and ye laif of our Ambassiatouris hes gotten done be Zoure Grace in ye Kyng my sonis favour and myne; quharof rycht humlie We thank Zoure Grace.

Item We have sene and considerit autentiklie sindry pointis tuiching the articulis and credence, yat wes direct to ye said Erle of Cassillis now at yis present tyme, and yat he hes brocht with him to present unto Me and Lordis of Counsale, twiching ye ansuere of sic materis as he and ye laif of ye Ambassiatoures war deretit for to Zour Grace and zour Counsale; quhilk response We think richt tendre loving and ressonable for my parte, and have ferme beleve and traist in ye samyne. Nochtheles I knaw and perfitlie understandis the ententis and myndis of ye Lordis of yis Realme, quhilk will erar for litill occasioune follow ye desires and wais of Fraunce than have e toward Ingland; becaus at all tymes Fraunce is perswadand thir Lordis to abide at yare effect, and makis gret lawboures with diligence tharupoune. Nochtwithstanding, I have avisitly understand the articulis and credence as ye said Erle of Cassillis hes brocht, and yarupoune, and for ye weill and expeditioune of ye samin, I have her presentlie writtin my mynde and opinioune as eftir followis.

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[1] In Northumberland.

[2] From the British Museum Caligula, B. VIII. leaf 18.

Item,

Item, tuiching ye contracting finalie of ye mariage betuix ye King my derest son and ye Princes of Ingland, it is ane thing rycht effectuuslie desiret be ye Lordis of this Realme; and thinkis, gif it mycht be brocht to pas surlie, it war ye maist sickir point and perswatioune of tendre love peax and amite betuix thir twa Realmes yat may be done, and will caus this Realme universalie to be contentit to lefe all utheris and do as is forsaid. And yocht ye said mariage may nocht be fulfillit and finalie done and endit hastely betuix ye Kyng my son and ye Princes, for certane causis ressonable; zit nevertheles, Zour Grace and Counsale, being contentit to mak this Realme in surtie of fulfilling of ye said mariage be ye wourdis of ye future tyme, yat quhen my Lady Princes cumis till age of fourtene zeris, it salbe fullie and finalie endit, quharthrow yat being done as said is abone writtyn, this Realme sall now presentlie be contentit to mak ane perpetual peax, secluding all were and invasiouns in tyme cuming.

Item, tuiching ye perpetual peax betuix thir tua Realmes, and ye said mariage nocht being assurit, I traist ye Lordis of this realme in yat case will nocht condiscend nor assent to mak peax perpetuall without comprehensioune of Fraunce in ye samyn, eftir ye forme of ye ald lige and band maid betuix Ws and yame; for yai think yai will nocht tyne France, without yai be in surtie of ane gretare proffit yan yai may hafe of France, quhilk is ye mariage of my Lady Princes. And because I understand all ye Lordis myndis in special for ye mast part is in yis maner, tharfore I advertise Zour Grace and Counsale ye maire perfitlie; beseking Zoure Grace and Counsale, Ze will provide sua in yat behalve, yat yis Realme have nane cause to put yare traist in uther realmes, bot halelie and surelie yat thir tua Realmes may june to gidder with amite and luff; quhilk I desire maist of any thyng.

Item, tuiching ane articule yas is cumin with ye Erle of Cassillis, certefeing Ws be oure Ambassiatoures in ye samyn that yare is mariage appontit betuix ye Emperoure and my Lady Princes, and yat yare suld be promisses betuix Zoure Grace and Hym, yat ye said mariage suld be observit and kepit, and quhill ye said promisses be dischargeit, Zoure Grace may nocht fulfill oure desires in yat behalve wyth zoure honour; as to yat, it will nocht sound surlie in ye Lordis myndes of yis Realme, how yat may be brokin ressonabillie, nor how yai may gif traist to ye samyne without suretie. Quharfore ye doute yarof will put yame in misbeleve of ye said mariage betuix ye King my son and ye Princes, and caus yame nocht to be sa effectfull to lauboure for ane perpetual love and amite betuix thir Realmes. And, becaus I wnderstand all yare myndis in yir materis, yat cause Me to advertise Zoure Grace and Counsale.

Item,

Item, as tuiching ye articulis and credence of ye said Erle of Cassillis, oure traist Counsalour and Ambassiatour, his saidis articulis writingis and credence wes nocht schawin oppinlie for thir causes yat efter followis. In ye first, becaus yat Gonzolles wes here in yis toune as Ambassiatour fra ye Fransche King, quhais wais is gretlie favorit in yis Reallme, as zit, erar for yare particulare proffit, yan for ye wele of ye Kyng my son and his Realme. And becaus of sic favour I avisit with directiounis as come fra Zoure Grace and zour Counsale, and thocht best yat it suld nocht be schewin, quhill ye said Gonzolles wes deliverit[1]; the quhilk copies of ye said deliverance I have gevin to Maister Magnus, baith commissioune and articulis yat he brocht to ye Kyng my son and Me; quhareby Zour Grace and zour Counsale may se yat I hyde na thyng fra Zow, but addrese ye best I may for Zour Graces plesure. And as to his deliverance, yare is litill effect tharin, as wilbe persavit. And I causit his deliverance to be sped erar, becaus that, and ye Lordis haid sene the said Erle of Cassillis articulis, I feret yat yai wald nocht haif excepit yame in sa grete effect as yai ar, becaus yat ye said mariage in ane maner mycht nocht be assurit quhen tyme is convenient, as ye articulis beris. I knawin yare myndis maire cassin to ye favour of Fraunce yan to Ingland. I wald nocht lat ye said Gonzolles abyde for his deliverance, in aventure gif ye Lordis wald haif writting maire effectuuslie to Fraunce yan yai have done now, and putting yare traist maire in yame. And yis I did for to increse ye maire lufe betuix ye Realme of Ingland and yis Realme. Nochtheles, eftir his departing, yai salbe schawin yis Monunday ye 23 day of Januarij.

Item, becaus I desire yare be nane dowtis in ye furthering of yir materis betuix thir tua Realmes, I have causit this post tocum unto Zour Grace and Counsall, advertissing Zou, as I find ye Lordis here; and yat in all haist I may be advertist Zoure Grace, how I sall have in all thir materis abone writtin. Alsua it is to be considerit my part tuiching thir materis, becaus ye King of yis Realme is my son, and yat I laubour in yis mater; and, gif yat yis Realme fund it nocht effectfull, thai will lay to my charge, and say yat I lauboure nocht for ye wele of ye Kyng my son and his Realme, bot for ye plesure of Zoure Grace, and hald Me suspect in yat, because thai bere gretare favour to Fraunce erar yan to Ingland. And, may yai be assurit of ony thing tuiching ye materis abune writtin, thai can hafe na thing bot honour of Me to say. And yus I beseke Zoure Grace and Counsale nocht to beleve in Me, yat I write yis for ony mystraisting yat I have in my part, bot yat I

[1] This corresponds with the statement of Cassillis in his letter to Henry VIII. of the 24th of January. Caligula, B. VII. leaf 423.

knaw

knaw ye myndes and condiciouns of ye Lordis of this Realme. This being done, I may speke ye maire pertlie and surlie to ye Lordis in yis behalve, gif ye Lordis wald say ony thing in ye contrare. Tharfore I beseke Zoure Grace and Counsale to haist Me zoure mynd and plesoure in ye maist hastiest manere.[1]

Item I desire Zoure Grace and Zoure Counsale to consider now in quhat case this Realme standis, and how ye King my son is nocht wele obeit be his Lordis; bot thinkis yat yai wald have him furth of my handis in yairis; sa yat be yat way yai wald draw him to ye cast of Fraunce, lefand ye cast of Ingland, and yat is is bot allanerlie my persone with utheris sic as I brek fra yare wais: quhareby yai traist to have Zour Gracis favoures help and supple; and without yat it is nocht possible till Ws to resist yame fra ye wais of Fraunce, for yai offer grete thingis to abyde at yare opiniouns: nochtheles I will ganestand at ye uterest of my power.

Item, tuiching the Bischop of Sanctiandros, he dois na les yan is in his powere till lauboure allwais contrare ye wele of ye King my son, and Me in special; and to have ye King furth of my handis, and to put Me fra ye autorite yat yai have gevin Me as apperis be yare dedis. Quharfore it is verray necessaire to put remeide in tyme, erar yan to abyde quhill yai may find yare tyme; besekand Zour Grace and Counsale to luke substanciouslie apoune it, with zour ansuere in haist.

Item, I desire, gif it be ye plesoure of Zour Grace and Counsale for ye

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[1] Caligula, B. I. leaf 215. is a duplicate of these Articles as far as this point, concluding with the two following articles, which are not in B. VIII.

" Item, gif it plese Zour Grace to remembre yat I have written of before for ye expeditioune of " ye bullis of Melrose, quharthrocht I will have sped to me ane pensione of 1000£ zerlie, quhilk " will help me in sumpart; richt humlie beseking Zour Grace to help me to ye furthering of yat " promotioune to my Lord Maxwellis bruder; for, quhill ye said promotioune be sped, I wil nocht " get ye said pensioune. Tharfore I desire hertlie yat Zour Grace ger ansuer Maister Johnne " Lauder my servand, being with ye Ambassiatouris now in Londoune, of ye somme of 400£ " Scottis money for ye expeditioune of ye said pensioune: and, falzeing of zour said bank, yat he " may be ansuerit in Rome of ye somme abone writtin, as I dowt nocht bot Zour Grace will.

" Item, plese Zoure Grace and Counsale understand yis 24 day of Januarij instant the said Erle of " Casillis hes producit and schewin before me and Lordis of Counsale, being here present for ye tyme, " his articulis and credence brocht here with him fra ye utheris oure Ambassiatouris being now " presentlie with Zoure Grace. And ye said Lordis of Counsale hes gevin yare ansuer to ye said " articles in all poyntis conforme to myn ansuere before writtin maid unto ye samyn. Bot finalie " ye said Lordis of Counsale will nocht mak finale conclusioune in yat behalve, quhill yai se gif ye " laif of ye Lordis, quhilkis at yis tyme ar nocht present, cumis hereeftir as yai ar writtin for; sua " yat yai may conclude all togidder; and gif yai cum nocht, than ye said Lordis of Counsale being " now present will gif yare counclusioune and finale resolutioune to ye said articulis in all poyntis.

" (*Signed*) MARGARET R."

gude

gude of ye King my son and Me, that Ze will desire and command my Lord of Northfolk to tak samekle pane for ye Kingis saike my son and myne, that he will repare toward ye Bordouris of Ingland, and yare to remane for ane tyme; and yat yare be commandit tene thousand men or maa, to be redy at my Lord of Northfolkis command, quhen yat evir We have ado to charge him: for We wait nocht quhat neid We will have, seing ye Realme stand as it dois. For me think yat ane half settis nocht by, yocht ye Duke of Albanye war cumin in Scotland, as part hes send yare directiouns to him yarupoune. Quhilk wilbe gret danger to ye King my sonnis persoun, and it cum to pas. Besekand Zour Grace yarfor to find remeide, and nocht to beleve in ye fare wourdes of thir Lordis our far, bot to luke to ye dedis.

Item, Zour Grace and Counsale sall understande ye King my son is verray evill at point be his Lordis, nocht allanerlie in disobeysaunce ane way, bot in maa; for yai yat hes landis, yat suld hald up His Gracis honour, yai withald it perforce, sa yat he gettis nane proffit: and yat is nocht be sobre men, bot ye gretast men. And as to my parte, I may nocht leif of yis sorte I am, as I have oft tymmes mevyt Me to Zour Grace: for my luffing is haldin fra Me, as is wele knawin in Scotland, and I have nane uther thing to hald up my honour bot it in this Realme. And yus the King my son and I besekis Zour Grace and Counsale of supple and help, quhat at ye tyme may be bettir for Ws, quhilk may be remedit be Zour Grace schortlie. And, gif it be nocht done, it is nocht in my power to help, bot my ferme traist is it and maire, specialie now yan of before, for ye gude message Ze have send Me with my servand David Wod, and ye said Erle of Cassillis oure Ambassiatour; now last sayand yat, and yare be ony contrare Ws and our wele, yat Zour Grace will help Ws baith with men and money, and ferder as We may ressonabillie desire of Zoure Grace, We continuand in ye gude mynde, yat We ar in, and sall continew one our parte. Tharfore I think and desiris, for ye King my son and Me and for our wele and putting furth of his autorite, that We be suppleit with money to find part of our expense, seing yat We ar nocht ansuerit of our awin; and yat yare be committit be Zour Grace and Counsale sum man, with thre thousand pundis striviling, to ly upone ye Bordoures to ansuere Ws as We neide, baith for halding of men about ye King my sonnis persoun for suretie of his bodye, quhill yat his Lordis be brocht to ane gude way, and ye noumer of yame to be tua hundreth men for ane space. For without dowte the Lordis standis maire aw of yame, yan of ony uther thing, except artilzery, as apperis be yare desires. And uyer wais I dar nocht aventure ye King my sonnis persoune without yis Castell, seing ye Lordis presumand erar to have ye King my son fra me in to yare handis, quharupone

all

all yis besines lyis, as at mare length Maister Magnus can schaw. Tharfore I desire yat yis abone writtin be considerit, and ansuer yarupone quhat I may traist to. And alsua it is wele to be considerit yat, alslang as We haid ane noumer of men about ye King my son, that yer was na materis yat We haid ado, bot yai zeid furthwartes, and nane durst say ye contrare; for, and yai did, We causit yame to be takin; quhilk and We haid wantit, We wald nocht fund nane sa redy to have done at our command, bot wald have lattit to fulfill our command, part for favour, and part for fere of partie. And sa ye King my sonnis autorite wald nocht have bene put furth, bot with ye help and assistence of Zour Grace. Ze doand for Ws as is abune writtin, yare salbe na fale bot ye King my son wilbe obeyit, and I with my part takaris sall put Zour help to sic executione, yat Zour Grace sall haf honour and plesour of yat, and usit be Zour Gracis avise and counsale; for Zour Grace and Zour Counsale sall find yat I want bot help, and nocht for falt of gude will nor dede.

Item, tuiching ye Lordis yat dois nocht obey to cum to His Grace at yis tyme; I am surelie informit and knawis, yare devisis is now present to bring ye Duke of Albanye agane in Scotland, nocht makand yare querelles apone yat, bot under colour wald begin new usis to synder me and ye King my son be ony maner of way yai mycht devise. And yis is be ye draucht of ye the Bischop of Sanctiandros in special; for ye Duke of Albanye hes gret favour and beleve in him, insafer as he hes baith writtin and causit ye Fransche King to wryte to me, yat I will use ye said Bischop of Sanctiandros counsale, his kin and frendis, abune all utheris; quharby I may wele considre yat he is in special for Him. And alsua, quhen ye said Duke wes in Scotland, he schew me yat ye Bischop of Sanctiandros wes man in ye warld yat wes maist in my contrare, and wald nevir yat I haid haid autorite. Quharfore, with help of Zour Grace and autorite, it may be remedit schortlie, and brek yaim fra yat way, quhilk, and yai be sufferit, will growe to mare inconvenientes. And in yis I desire Zoure Gracis mynde and plesure.

Item, as tuiching to my self, I beseke Zoure Grace till have remembrance of Me zoure sister, and supple Me with part of money at zour plesure, for utherwais I may nocht bere furth, seing yat I am nocht obeyit nor ansuerit of my lefing; and I am at gret expense, being in ye state yat I am in. And, wald I have tane money of ye Franshe King, I mycht have gottin 5000 crounis of wecht at yis tyme; quhilk his Ambassiatour Gonzolles wald have gevin me, I promittand to have bene for ye wayis of Fraunce, and I to enterteneye ye bandis yat ar now betuix Scotland and Fraunce: quhilk I refusit to do. Tharfore I think Zour Grace suld consider Me, as my traist is

Zour Grace will. And as for uther proffittis and landis yat he profferit Me, I schew to Maister Magnus to schaw to Zoure Grace. Thare is nane proffite nor plesure, yat sall caus Me to do na thing by Zoure Grace safar as I may, Zoure Grace continuand kynd and lovand bruder to Me and to ye King my son.

Item it is verray neidfull and necessair for ye King my son, that Zour Grace wald lauboure at ye Papis Halynes, that, gif ony bischopis or prelatis within this Realme falzeit to ye King my son, that Zour Grace wald speid ane commissioune of ye Papis direct till ony jugis spirituale, yat ye King my son and I will cheise within this Realme; and at ye Kingis Grace my son may have power be ye samyne commissioune to put correctioune upone sic prelatis falzeand aganis His Majeste in tymmes bypast or tocum, but ony exemptione or privilege to be proponit or allegit in ye contrare. For utherwais ye King my son and his Realme will nocht be sa wele out of trubill, becaus it is ye prelatis and kirkmen, yat ar causaris of all divisiouns within this Realme.

Item, as to my Lord of Angus, I thank Zoure Grace in my maist humile manere of zoure gude ansuere send to Me at yis tyme tuiching yat behalve, with ye said Erle of Cassillis and David Wod my servand, sayand yat ye said Erle is bund to Zour Grace, as I have sene ane copie of ye said band, bering yat ye said Erle of Angus suld nocht cum towartis ye King my son nor Me, without our special command and licence, and yat he suld tak our part aganis ye Duke of Albanye in special; and also suld remane upone his awin landis or boundis, as ye King my son plese to gif him charge; and yat he sall nocht intromet with Me nor my landis. Quhilk thingis war varray hertlie and kyndlie desiret be Zour Grace. And nochtheles the said Erle hes nocht kepit his band nor promisses maid to Zour Grace in sic manere. Quharfore I desire richt humilie yat Zoure Grace will require him to fulfill his promisses made to Zoure Grace as is abune writtin, quhilkis being done, it will cause ye King my son to consider him ye bettir gree, and to schaw him ye maire favour. And, do ye said Erle of Angus ye contrare, it wilbe his uter skaith and dammage. I desire yat Zoure Grace do schaw yat Ze will be in his extreme contrare, he nocht fulfilling of ye band maid to Zour Grace, all pointis as is abune writtin. Quhilk Zour Grace doand, as said is, the King my sone and I ar gretlie addettit unto Zour Grace; and Zour Gracis ansuer and mynde quhat we sall traist herin.

Item, gif it plese Zoure Grace, I think it verray necessair and expedient that Zour Grace send to ye King my son part of artilzery and pouldre; for ye Duke of Albany hes maid Ws quyte of ye maist part We haid, and inclusit

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ye samyn within ye castell of Dunbar, except ane litill yat I am now instantlie funddand one my expense, for gret neide yarof; quhilkis is richt costlie to Me: herfore richt hertlie praying Zoure Grace to speid Ws with part of artilzery and pouldre, as said is.

(*Signed*) MARGARET R.

This ar the pointis abune writtin, yat We desire and thinkis maist expedient for ye wele of ye King my son, his Realme, and Me, and We will nocht desire nor offer sic pointis to nane uther bot to Zour Grace.

CXI. MAGNUS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace to be advertissed, that your gracious letters, dated at Westminster the 5th daye of this moneth, conteynnyng the hool causes and matiers purpoosed by the Ambassadours of Scotlande, and aunsuers to the same with further circumstaunces, and also the Poopes breves, arived not here till Saturday at night the 14th day of this saide moneth. And, albe it the causes and matiers in the same comprised be of right high and gret ymportaunce, the devision of this realme conscidered, with other accidentes that may be procured by suche as favour the Frenshe factions; yet nevertheles I have doone and shall doe the beste I canne or may for the accomplisshing of the Kingges high commaundement and youres in the saide causes and matiers, as far as my poore discretion and intelligence shall extende unto. Furste, the nexte daye after, being Sonday, accompanyed with the Lorde Maxwell, the Counteroller, the Lorde of Jonston[2], the Lorde of Domlenerik[3], the Lorde Emmysfeilde[4], Marke Carre, and diverse other gentilmen whiche kept me company the same day at diner, I went to the Castell, and at my commyng thider I founde the yong King sitting at Counsaill, and Groselles declaring his commission and writingges sent from the Frenshe King, the Quenes Grace being thenne seke and diseased, and keping her chamber. After a litle pawse, I shewed to the Kingges Grace that, albe it reaport had bene made by the same gentilman, and other Frenshe men, sethenne thair commyng into Scotlande, that the Duke of Albeny wolde have the dissposition of the spirituall promotions in these partes,

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[1] Holograph. From the British Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 101.
[2] James Johnston. [3] James Douglas. [4] Robert Charteris.

and

and that he was in soe gret favour and intelligence with the Poope, that His Holynes wolde doe noe thing to the contrary; yet His Grace and his Counsaill shulde conceive by the Poopes breve, whiche thenne I delivered afore the saide Frenshe men, that by the meanes of the Kingges Highnes my Soveraine Lorde and Maister, his uncle, the Poopes saide Holynes had His Grace his causes and priveleges, in moore speciall remembraunce.

Groselles and the other were right desirous to have taried to have bene privea to the contynue of the same breve, and was well favoured by suche Counsaillours, as thenne were there present, to have doon the same; but I, commyng with the Poopes message, and to declare sondery thingges to the Kingges Grace from the Kingges Highnes my Maister, saide it was not convenient that the saide Groselles and other his companyons shulde be privea to any thing that I shulde purpoos or speke upon. And over that I said I couth not a litle marveill that, under the colour of an Ambassadour, the Frenshe King wolde devise by his commission to convey to the Kingges presence that personne, that in despite of His Grace, the Quenes Grace, and of all Scotlande, kept Dombar, the gretteste strength and forteres withynne the realme, with all the Kingges gonnes, artillary, and munytions for warre; soe that, if His saide Grace shulde be infoorced to have nede to the same, aither for defence of his mooste noble personne, or of this his realme, thay were withhoolden from hym by the saide Groselles, whoos presumptuous attemptates, doone in suche maner, was and is moore specially to be looked upon, thenne to enterteyne hym, as did some of the Counsaill, or elles to favour his message, being suche a person as he is and of that demeanour. These woordes, with moe touching taking of the ship commyng under sauf conduyt with Scottishe mennes goodes, and taking of the Busshop of Donkelles bulles, I had to the Counsaill in the Kingges presence. Wherupon the saide Groselles and other the Frenshe men were avoided, and after not somyche regarded.

The Kingges saide Grace and his Counsaill, hering theffecte of the Poopes writing, and the mention made therynne of the contynuall favour borne towardes His Grace by the Kingges Highnes his uncle, and that the Poopes said Holynes, amongges other thingges, exhorteth hym to folowe the good and mooste wise counsaill of his said Uncle, gave humble and lawly thankes to the Poopes saide Holynes, and to the Kingges Highnes our Maister, that soe specially remembreth His Grace in suche wise, and provideth for the same.

And as to the Quenes Grace, it is not possible that any Princes moore joyously shulde accept theffecte of the breve sent to the yong King her son, with the contynue of the breve sent unto Her Grace also from the Poopes saide Holynes. And accoordingly Her Grace geveth her mooste harty thankes

to

to the Kingges Highnes, and knoweth and conscidereth that the clere effecte of the saide twoe breves procedeth of the gret goodnes of the Kingges Highnes, the rather by the special favour and furtheraunce of your saide Grace. Davy Wood came hoome aboute the same tyme, and, sithenne his hider commyng, hath doone and contynually dooth myche good, making honourable reapoort not oonly to the Quenes Grace, but also to all other. He is worthy thankes and gramerces.

Mi Lord of Cassilles repared hider upon Wennesday at night laste, and right gentilly advertissed me of his commyng. Surely he canne not speke moore honour of the Kingges Highnes, of your Grace, and of the Kingges mooste honourable Counsaill, and of the realme of Einglande, thenne his Lordeship dooth; and accoordingly he maketh his reapoort to the Quenes Grace, and to the noble men of the Counsaill, and to all other.

His said Lordeship, sethenne his commyng, hath spoken with the Quenes saide Grace in the causes treated and commynned upon, afore the Kingges saide Highnes and your Grace, by hym and by other the Ambassadours, for the weall surety and proufite of the yong King here, and of this his realme; and besides the same, booth afore and sethenne, I have doone semlably accoording to your gracious instructions commytte unto me.

And, where I wroote unto your saide Grace in my laste letter the 9th day of this moneth, that the Quenes Grace here woll not declyne from the Kingges high pleasure, but that Her Grace next to the yong King her sonne desireth to doe that thing that may be to the contentation and pleasure of His Highnes, above all other thingges erthely; hit is not possible Her Grace shulde moore apply her to the Kingges saide pleasure, mooved to Her Grace by my saide Lorde of Cassilles and me, thenne Her Grace doth, many gret motions persuasions and offers, made by the Frenshe men to the contrary, notwithstanding.

The saide Frenshe men have presented to the Quene a commyssion from the Frenshe King, copy wherof and of other with this, I sende unto your saide Grace, autorising by the same the saide Groselles to be his Ambassadour, to ratefye and conferme a truce and an abstynence of warre, to be taken betwene Einglande and Scotlande for 8 monethes, withoute prejudice all ways of the contracte made at Rowayn, and the oolde alliaunces made betwene the Kingges and the realmes of Fraunce and Scotlande.

Besides this thay, by autoritye of articles singned by the Frenshe Kinges oune hande, have offerd in mariage the Frenshe Kingges yongger doughter to the Kingges Grace here, with many fair promises, and also to the Quenes Grace a county in Fraunce, called Longy, with 20000 crounes in pension yerely,

yerely; as the Quenes saide Grace sheweth unto me. Over this thay require fyres to be made in token of joye of the Frenshe Kingges tryumphyng in Italy.

The Duke of Albeny marveleth that the Kingges Grace here is putte at liberty withoute his consent, conscidering the bandes and promises made to hym by the Lordes to the contrary. The saide Duke trusteth that the saide Lordes woll perfourme thair promyses and bandes made for mariage to be betwene the saide yong King and the Frenshe Kingges yongger doughter. He requireth thaym also to remember the contracte made at Rowayne, and thair oolde alliaunces betwene Fraunce and Scotlande.

As touching the saide commyssion, the Quenes Grace hering the same to be of noon other effecte thenne is afor saide, conscidering also the assembly of the Lordes at Saint Andrewes, and that Her Grace and I doubted, if Groselles shulde have spedy presence, and like expedition in the Frenshe Kingges affaires, he wolde have goone streight to the saide Lordes; therfore his aunsuer was defarred to the 21^{ti} daye of this moneth, as appereth by a copy of the saide aunsuer, whiche with the other I sende nowe unto your saide Grace.

And for somyche as thErle of Cassilles came hoome the saide laste Wennesday at night thenne next afore, being the 18th day of this moneth, and that the Quenes Grace was not mynded the saide Groselles shulde be privea, as farre as mought be, to any cause retourned by the saide Erle frome oute of Einglande; Her Grace, defarring the declaration of his affaires busynes and credence to hym committed, dispached Groselles upon Saturday the saide 21^{ti} daye of this saide moneth.

And as to the 4 articles afore saide; furste for making of joyfull fyres, the Quenes Grace saide she knowe noe cause whye any suche shulde be made in this realme; and as to the surety of newes frome oute of Italy, Her Grace saide she had better and moore credible information of thaym, thenne came to his knowelege.

To the secounde, why the Kingges Grace is putte at liberty withoute the Duke of Albenys consent, and contrary the bandes and promises made by the Lordes, as is afore saide; the Quenes Grace saide, that matier required noone other ansuer but that the Lordes and all other had doone that thing that apperteynned to thair naturall duety, for erecting thair Soveraine Lorde and King to his estate and dingnitye royall.

To the thirde, concernyng the mariage of the Frenshe Kingges yongger doughter, and the bandes and promises for the same cause concluded by the Lordes, the Quenes saide Grace shewed, as convenient and necessary it had bene and were, that she had bene made privea to that matier as any other, or as

all

all the Lordes in this realme; conscidering Her Grace is dereste moder to the King thair Soveraine Lorde and Maister. Wherfore, insomyche as Her Grace was never made privea to the matier, Her Grace saide she wolde make noon ansuer therunto.

And as to the 4th, touching observing of the contracte made at Rowayn; the Quenes said Grace saide, she was well assured that naither the yong King her sonne, nor Her Grace, were obliged or bounde therunto, but that booth thair Graces be at thair liberty to doe therynne, as thay shall seme best for the weall and surety of thaym selves and of this the realme of Scotlande.

Thus, and after this maner, the saide Groselles and his companyons ar dispached; and have delivered the Busshop of Donkelles bulles, and have taken an ordour for delivering of the ship of Flaunders, and Scottisshe mennes goodes by thaym taken; and ar at a pointe to deliver the same ship, having an hondreth and fyfty crounes for a pleasure; for thay have noe plenty of money. The saide Frenshe men, as farre as I canne understande, intende furthwith to passe into Fraunce ayeine with thair galees, yet lying in the water of Tay besides Saint Andrewes.

As afore I write, it is not possible the Quenes Grace here shulde be of better mynde and inclynation to the Kingges causes and affaires here at this tyme, thenne she is; and aswell Her Grace liketh the reapoort and retourne of the causes made by thErle of Cassilles, as canne be. Howe be it, for somyche as Her saide Grace hath harde the oppynnyon of some of the Lordes, touching the mariage of my Lady Princes, to reste oonly upon a possibilite; and that albe it Her Grace accepteth and is content to folowe that thing that may sounde to the Kingges high pleasure and contentation, yet in case that, at the gret assembly and convenyng of the Lordes for this and the other matiers, thay canne not nor woll geve soe ferme credence to the reaporte, aither of me or of my Lorde of Cassilles, as thay wolde doe to a letter, aither sent from the Kingges Highnes, or from your Grace, declaring to the saide Lordes some deall the Kingges good mynde moor at large for the bestowing the saide mariage upon the yong King his tendre nevewe here, shewing the conscidérations comprised in my Lorde of Cassilles instructions, with the Kingges gracious favourable and benevolent mynde for conducing and bringging of the saide mariage, by all good poletique wayes and meanes, to good effecte and purpoos, though not nowe at hande, but as soon as possible may be: the Quenes saide Grace therfore is desirous that the Kingges Highnes, or your Grace, shulde devise a letter, somedeall dulcely and in a pleasaunte maner, to the saide Lordes in fourme afore saide, wherby thay shulde be myche moore inclined to a peas perpetuall.

It

It is not to be doubted but the commynnalty of Scotlande is right well inclyned to a peas unitye and concoorde, to be had betwene booth these realmes, myche moore thenne betwene thaym and Fraunce; but the other ar not soe soone determynned with a gret thing to the devotion of Einglande, as thay ar with a small thing to the favour of Fraunce; and therfore polecy muste the rather be used in that behalve.

Yf it shall pleas the Kingges Highnes or youre Grace to directe hider any suche letters, thay wolde be sent with all the haiste possible; and at the commyng towardes the Bordours, and specially withynne Scotlande, there muste be sure hede taken for conveying of thaym and of al other. For I have warnyng from the good Priores of Caldestreme, that wacche wolbe layed for taking of the poste with our letters, commyng or going. I knowe not by whoos occasion: I susspecte, and soe doe other, the Lorde of Boclough, whiche hath noe favour to Einglande, as I am enfourmed. I purpoos to sende furth feynned letters, to thentent the matier may be prooved.

Of late have bene at Saint Andrewes with the Archebusshop there, thErles of Anguysshe, Leneux, and Argile, with many other booth spirituall and temporall; and, as it is saide, the Archbusshop there, the Busshop of Aburdyne, the Priour of Saint Andrewes, the saide three Erles, and many other with thaym, be combynde to take oone parte to gaider, for the weall, as thay say, of the yong King thair maister and of this his realme, and for a peas to be betwene Einglande and Scotlande. I have had William Hetherington amongges thaym, by whoos reaporte, and by suche letters as I have received from the said Archebusshop and thErle of Anguisshe, which letters, with copyes of suche other as I have written to the saide Lordes, I sende nowe unto your saide Grace, I understande thay intende to hoolde faste unto Einglande, as thay may be putte in truste by woordes and writing. The better hoope I have in this matier, by cause the Frenshe men brought noe money, naither to the Quenes Grace nor to any of the Lordes, but oonly fair woordes, promising that withynne this halve yere thay shalbe payed thaire pentions, aswell for the arrerages, as for that that is to come.

Some ungracious body had infourmed the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes that I was farre miscontent with hym for receiving of the Frenshe men, and for commyng unto hym of thErles of Anguysshe and Leneux; but upon suche writingges as I have sent unto hym, all is well ayeine, as your Grace shall conceive by his letter. As afore I have written to your saide Grace, he hath promised at all tymes well to Mr Radcliff and me, shewing if the Quene woolde noe better inclyne to the King our Maisters pleasure, thenne she did at that tyme, he wolde labour the Lordes to come to the Kingges purpoos. If this be his mynde

mynde, as he reapoorteth, it wolde be the better regarded. I remember also he saide, though it shulde be gretely to his charge, he wolde not lette therfore to bring the Lordes to that waye, that mought be for the weall and surety of the King his maister and of this his realme, and for a sure peas to be betwene Einglande and Scotlande, and saide that, next to his maister, the King of Einglande shulde have his service. And, to encorage hym to this purpoos, Mr Radclif and I promysed his charges shulde be remembred and recompensed. Herof I here noe thing frome the saide Archebusshop; and yet I understande there hath not suche a house bene kept in Scotlande many dayes afore, as of late the saide Archebusshop hath kept, and yet kepeth. Insomyche, as at the being with hym of these Lordes, booth hors and man, he gave liveray nightly to 21 score horses.

The saide Lordes, hering of the Erle of Casselles retournyng, for the weall of booth these realmes, have written to the Quenes Grace here, and require her, for doing service to thair Soveraine Lorde and maister, that thay may repare hider at this tyme withoute trouble or vexation; and therupon require plegges, and offer in like maner for thair party, as your Grace shall conceive by the copy of thair requeste and petition, whiche, with the ansuer made to the same by the Quenes Grace, I sende nowe to your said Grace.[1] The Lordes have conjoynned with thaym in maner the mooste parte of all the wise men of this realme, as Sir William Scotte and other, and be in a grete noumber. And I fere the Quenes Grace woll not accept thair reasonnable petitions, to the provocation, if this contraversy contynue, of the Duke of Albenys retourne and commyng hider ayeine; conscidering Groselles and his companyons, being here at this tyme, knowe the variaunce and devision that is in this realme; remedy wherof, upon humble and lawly sute, is for the Quenes Grace to accept thErle of Anguysshe into her gracious favour in a reasonnable maner, having at this tyme the gretteste parte withoute comparison in Scotlande.

There is noe counter in myne oppynnyon upon the Quenes party, but Frenshe and fened Counsaillours, as the Archebusshop of Glasco, thErle of Murray, the Busshop of Rosse, and suche other as the Quene confesseth her selff; thErle of Arren and the Lorde Maxwell being not gretely mynded to that party. And oonles it be the said Counsaillours, in myne oppynnyon all other for the mooste party on every side be inclyned to the weall and surety of

[1] See p. 313.

the yong King and of this his realme, to doe honour to the Quenes Grace, and to make her hede and principall of all other for the governaunce of the King her sonne, to conyoyne with Einglande in a perfite peas and amyte, and utterly to exclude and kepe furth the Frenshemen. This apparaunce is, as farre as I canne conceive, and pyte it were in my poore oppynnyon the good willes of these noble men, conscidering thair humble sute, for any wilfulnes, shulde be rejecte and putte aparte. The remedy herynne is oonly good counsaill to be geven by the Kingges Highnes and your Grace to the Quenes Grace here; conscidering that all partes allege thay be mynded to inclyne to the Kingges high purpoos and pleasures. It is thought here by the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes and other wise men that if it shall chaunce the Duke of Albeny to invade or to come into this realme, contrary the yong King and the Quenes mynde and pleasur, there ar noone other suppoosed to resiste and geve bataill ayeinste hym, soe soone and soe mete for hit, as ar the said twoe Erles of Anguysshe and Leneux, and specially thErle of Anguysshe. Wherfore it is thought here by all folkes he shulde not be utterly subduyd, humblyng hym self, as is reapoorted he dooth and intendeth for to doe.

Yf the Quenes Grace wolde be content to have conscideration to the saide Erle, and other the Lordes, and to see a substanciall Counsaill ordoured for the weall of the King, and the due admynistration of justice; all Scotlande wolde fall unto her foote, and at this tyme doe compromitte thaym, specially the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes, to the ordour and reaport of the Kingges Highnes our Soveraine Lorde and Maister.

I doute that the saide Lordes woll not be content with the Quenes saide ansuer, and as I here and have woorde from Saint Andrewes, there woll not oone of thaym come hider withoute an other. Wherfore upon knowlege of the saide Lordes requestes and demaundes, and the Quenes aunsuer to the same, the Kingges Highnes and your Grace shall have matier sufficient, with other circumstaunces herynne comprised, to geve suche counsaill to Her Grace, as may be to her honour and surety, and for the weall of the yong King, and specially for the better advauncement of these gret matiers that ar to be treated and spoken upon at this tyme.

When the Quenes Grace taketh an oppynnyon thought necessary to be remooved, or for ordouring of any other causes, here is not oone of Counsaill mete to be sued unto, that canne or may doe any good, but suche as ar contrary to our purpoos, as the Erle of Murray, thArchebusshop of Glasco, and the Busshop of Roosse, with other, whom the Quenes Grace of late hath called Frenshe men to thair faces in open presence, and hath not a litle bene well

well pleased with suche like woordes as I have spoken to the saide Lordes; wherof undouted thay were wery, and yet neverles thay accompanyed and counsailled with the Frenshe men contynually.

Mi Lord of Arren and my Lorde Maxwell be booth here, and I am sure woll take good parte with the Quenes Grace. Howe be it, thay booth wolde that the Lordes shulde come ynne, and see noe cause whye thay shulde be kept furth, but upon the Quenes displeasure, and to be accepted as the gretteste barons of this realme. Mi saide Lorde of Arren is not content towardes the Chaunceler, but susspecteth hym to be of the Frenshe faction, and saith, if he the saide Erle of Arren and thErle of Anguysshe were oons conyoynned to gader, thay with thair frendes shulde be able to defende the King booth ayeinste Fraunce and Scotlande. And over this he saide to me, withynne these 4 daies, that he wolde geve up his Colour, and sende it ayeine into Fraunce.

Sethenne the commyng hoome of my saide Lorde of Cassilles, his Lordeship hath spoken with Harry Stewarde in sondery causes, for his oune surety and for the Quenes honour; wherynne my saide Lorde saith the saide Harry his kynnesman wolbe ordoured, and that he hath doon myche good in these Frenshe matiers, as I am privea to parte of the same. For oon daie, the Quenes Grace being seke, and keping her chaumber, Groselles upon ymportune sute came unto Her Grace, and troubled her with myche matier, wherwith Her saide Grace was not content; and, after the same, wolde have bene famylier amongges the ladies and other gentilwomen of his oolde acquaintaunce, regarding not the Quenes sekenes and diseas. Wherupon the saide Harry sent to the saide Groselles, and badde hym avoyde the chamber, or elles he shulde keste hym doune the staire. The same tyme also that I caused the saide Groselles to be voided the Kingges privea chamber, as is afore saide, the saide Harry was as forwarde therynne as I was, not letting for the displeasur of the Lordes, but did take a faste parte, as he perceived did serve for my mynde and purpoos, and made good reapoort therof to the Quenes Grace. The saide Groselles, having in his company nigh 40 persons, complaynned to the saide Erle of Murray, and to the other Lordes, that he was in drede to tary and to goe aboute his causes for fere of his liffe, saying, that diverse nightes he was glad contynually to stande on his fete and to walke up and doune in his logging. I suppoos he hath not had myche pleasure sethenne his commyng. He complaynned of noone, but of suche as kept me company; insomyche as the saide Erle of Murray and the other Lordes his companyons awarded a precept to attache and geve sommons to a frende here of myne, called Patrik Synkler, an honeste gentilman, and an olde servaunte of the King and Quenes

here, to appere the next daye afore the Lordes, and wolde have putte the same in execution in the sight of the Frenshe men, fore anenste thair lodging, as I was going towardes the Courte, and the saide Patrik in my company. Howe be it, he was not attached there, for the precept came to my handes ayeinste the will of the officer. And if any wrong were doone, I saide I wolde aunsuer therunto afore the Kingges Grace; and soe I did furthwith, in suche maner, as I am sure the saide Lordes were not pleased of thair parte, for I layed soore to thair charges, thay favoured Einglande litle, and were given hoolly to the devotion of Fraunce; and I advised the King, though he were yong and tender of aige, to conscider, when he harde Einglande and Fraunce spoken upon, that His Grace had a gret possibilitye of enheritaunce to thaym booth, and that Fraunce was aboute to circumvent hym by many subtill wayes and meanes to his gret daunger, and wolde wisshe His Grace in Heven, to have the Duke of Albeny King of Scotlande; whiche his good uncle of Einglande contynually studieth and laboureth to defende to the uttermooste. The yong Prince was veray well pleased with my woordes, and diverse tymes sethenne hath shewed me what the Frenshe men have spoken, and is soe wise, that he canne take his tyme to speke secretely, and to geve warnyng if any susspecte persons be nigh in presence. The Kingges Highnes his uncle hath hoolly his yong harte, and as farre it is frome the Frenshe men. Thus the matier touching the saide tachement did reste, and noe moore rehersall made nor thing doon therupon.

I conceive also by my Lorde of Cassilles, that the saide Harry Stewarde reapoorteth that, over and besides suche matier as Groselles purpoosed in open presence, he wroote sent and deliverde sondery other secrete letters to the Quenes Grace, procuring a mariage to be betwene the Duke of Albeny and the saide Quenes Grace; whiche letters the saide Harry saith came unto his handes: and bycause he alleggeth he was oone of the principall takers furth of the yong King, in putting His Grace to large and libertye, and that therfore he thenketh, if ever the saide Duke shall come ayeine into Scotlande, it woll coste hym his liff; he therfore hath soe instaunced, solicet, and laboured the Quenes Grace, that Her Grace is noe thing inclyned nor mynded, naither to the said Duke of Albeny nor to the devotion of Fraunce, but clerely geven to folowe the high pleasure of the Kingges Highnes her broder. And yet some suspecte that Her Grace hath written privea letters into Fraunce, whiche in any wise I canne not conceive nor beleve, but suppoos the contrary to be true.

The Kingges Highnes and your Grace, in the furste instructions committe to me and to Mr Radclif, did putte an ordour for promising of pentions to the

the noblemen here. I am sure, if the Kingges said Highnes and the yong King his neviewe conclude of any good peas and amyte, many of the Lordes wolbe content to accept the Kingges saide pentions. Howe be it, as yet there ar noe promises paste to any personne of the same, but in generall woordes. And in case it shalbe thought to the Kingges Highnes and your saide Grace, pentions to be graunted, aither for the better setting forwarde of peas perpetuall or temporall, or for the better and moore assured observing of the same, if soe it be oons concluded; I therfore after my poore discretion have, with other writingges sent unto your Grace, a bill conteynnyng the names of suche Lordes as I understande ar mooste mete to deserve the saide pentions; and have devised the same of noe presumtion, but for a remembraunce to be further ordoured after your gracious pleasure, yf ye shall seme or commaund the same to be putte in execution.

The Quenes saide Grace saith she woll write at this tyme booth to the Kingges Highnes and to your Grace; and, amongges other thingges, I am sure she woll write for money, for soe her saide Grace hath required me right instantely to doe on her behalve. If Her Grace wolde, as she saith, folowe the Kingges counsaill and youres, a convenient somme mought be well bestowed upon Her saide Grace; but thenne the other Lordes, saying thay ar asmyche geven as any other to the folowing of the Kingges high mynde and pleasure, allegge the same money to be spent towardes thair putting downe subduyng and destruction. Wherfore I humbly beseche your Grace that I may knowe the Kingges high pleasure and youres, howe I shall ordour me in geving aunsuer in this matier to the Quenes saide Grace. I doe not faill of faire woordes, but the matiers and causes nowe in hande ar to be conscidered as shall stande with the Kingges saide gracious pleasur and youres, the effecte of the hooll premisses well remembred.

Humbly I beseche your Grace to call to remembraunce in what susspicion joloysy and daunger I contynue here. Yf the Quenes Grace conceive I write or sende aither to the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes or to thErle of Anguysshe, I renne thenne in her displeasur; and if I not so doe, thenne upon the other party I renne in susspicion and joloisy.

And where your Grace suppooseth I shall not nede to drede or doubte to putte in execution suche thingges as your Grace hath at this tyme commytte unto me; surely, after my poor witte, I shall endevour me to the same, to the uttermooste I canne or may, though I, being here in a realme withoute justice or good governaunce, full of devision striff and debate, see noe grete thing to truste unto for my surety.

All and every parte of the premisses written at large with many circumstaunces

staunces conscidered, these thingges folowing ar specially to be had furst in remembraunce. Groselles, depeched from the Quenes Grace upon Saturday the 21ti day of this moneth, departed frome hennes to Leith upon Sondaye next after, accompanyed with thErle of Murray, and other of that bande; and in the after noon paste over the water into Fife towardes the galees, and, after a shorte ordour putte to Dombar, goeth streight towardes Fraunce. As it shall stande with the Kingges gracious pleasure and youres for ordouring of the letter to be directe to the Lordes, after the Quenes intent and purpoos touching the mariage of my Lady Princes, with an other like letter specially to the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes; spedy diligence wolde be made therin. Also a letter from the Kingges Highnes, or frome your Grace, of good advice and counsaill to be geven to the Quenes Grace, using noe polecy, mynding to kepe the Castell, and to be obeyed by force, wanting power for the same, but if it come frome oute of Einglande; remembring alwayes that with the Busshops and the other Lordes temporall the wisdome and strenght of Scotlande doe consiste, and that thay offer thaym selves to doe thair duetes and service to thair Soveraine Lorde and maister, and to see his person and realme putte in good ordour, and the Quenes Grace to be hede and principall in every thing; and that thay be mynded to have peas betwene Einglande and Scotlande, and to doe that thing that may be to the pleasure of the King our Soveraine Lorde and Maister touching good peas and amyte to be betwene these realmes. Whiche may appere by thair letters, thair messages also sent unto me conteynnyng and purpoorting the same; as woll appere also by a letter written to my Lorde Dacre frome the saide William Hetherington, whiche went betwene the said Lordes and me, as diverse tymes he hath doon afore.

This day my Lorde of Cassilles hath sent your gracious writing to the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes, with his credence putte in writing; copy wherof I sende nowe, with the other, to your saide Grace.[1]

It

[1] Caligula, B. I. leaf 135.

" Copy of my Lorde of Casselles credence sent to thArchebusshop of Saint Andrewes.

" Item ze sall schaw my Lord Cardinellis credance to my Lord of Sanctandres as eftir followis.

" Item, in ye ferst, my Lord Cardinell recommendis him rycht hartlie to his Lordschip, prayand " his Lordschip till tak ee to ye weill and surtie of our maistaris maist noble person now in his " tendre aige, swa at he may be nowrist and brocht oup in maneris virtuuslie, lyk as ane noble " Prince aucht to be, and till expill all simpill folkis, or at is of ewill gouvernance, fra His Grace; " and at his Lordschip wald conweyne heyr with ye Queinis Grace for ordoring of ye Kingis house " and persone, and cause ye maist prudent vertuuse and vismen of Scotland to be in consell with ye " Kingis Grace, for his educatioun and gidding now in his tendre aige, and for administracioun of " justice, ordoring of his house and reaulme, to his honour and proffit; the Quenis Grace beand " allways ane and principall for preservacioun of ye Kingis auctorite, peax to be had amangis his " leggis, sua yat our Soverane Lordis persone may be preservit surlie in gud and vertuuse hawing.

" And

It was appointed and concluded by the Quenes Grace that thErle of Cassilles shulde not declare his instructions, to that all the auncient and wise Lordes of Scotlande were assembled and brought togader, if it couth or mought be. Howe be it, the Quenes saide Grace caused the said Erle this daye to declare the saide instructions afore suche Lordes as nowe are here, I being present. The saide Erle of Cassilles ourdoured hymself right discretely and seriously in his declaration, and, as I sawe tyme, I did adde and putte moore unto, as I thought convenient. And after that his Lordeship had shewed every thing at large, thenne the Lordes required me to departe for a tyme, to thentent thay mought reason and commyn upon all the causes amongges thaym selves. After whiche tyme I was called ynne ayeine, and at my commyng the Counsaill had concluded as farre as thay wolde for that season. The Quenes Grace shewed the saide Counsaill wolde goe noe further withoute the advice of the moore auncient Counsaill that was to come. And, as I suppoos, she writeth to your Grace the oppynnyons of the Lordes; and yet her letters were made afore the convenyng and commyng of thaym togader.

Her saide Grace humble besecheth the Kingges Highnes to help Her with some money towardes the meyntenaunce of the Kingges househoolde here, shewing that booth She and the officers want for that purpoos. And over this Her Grace requireth your saide to help that the Kingges Highnes woll remember her with some convenient somme of money towardes her oune use.

" And syne my Lord of Sanctandres is Primat and principall Prelat of yis realme, suld tak ye " laubour and pyne on him, to cause gud ordour to be had, and unite betuix ye Quene and ye " Lordis, and he to be principall in auctorite ondre ye Quenis Grace, and he to giff consell to Hir " Grace for till wse Hir in ye samen wyese, at gud ordour and justice may be haid amangs ye leggis " and realme. And yis, beand donne be zour help and visdome, may cause our master to be ye " greteist man at evir wose in yis reaulme. And uthir ways it may cause gret displesseur and " inconvenientis betwene ye Kingis Grace and subjectis of his reaulme, and at Ingland will tak na " nullie, nor can fynd ye vay to cum to na perfyct conclusioun of ye materis send be ws now laist " in Ingland, without amytte and ordour be put in our Soverane Lord and his realme. For our " master beand weill giddit, and ye men of gud all gangand ane gait, ye materis, quhilkis we wor " send for, wolbe addressit in sic ane sorte, yat ye Consell of Scotland will hald yaim content of our " deliverance be ressoun, baith in word and deid, &c.

" And farthar, my Lord Cardinall bad me schaw to my Lord of Sanctandres, yat he west weill " his visdome vald help his zoung master, now beand in his tendre aige, because of ye gret luff and " kindnese at his fadre schew to him in his promocioun, and, in tymes bygane sen his decese, hes " bene ye principall man for gud ordour and peax to be had in yis reaulme. And my Lord of " Sanctandres doand swa, and concurand with ye Quene for ye weill of ye King and his realme, he " sall cause ye King of Ingland, with help of him selff at our haly Fadre ye Papis hande, mak him " Legat of Scotland, with power to conferme all ye abbassis of Scotland, sic lyk as he dois in " Ingland; quhilk wor ane gret proffit to yis reaulme, and gret honour and proffit to zow; with " monye uthre gud wordis quhilk he sayd suld follow in deid, as ze suld perfitlie knaw, &c. &c."

Ymmediately

Ymmediately upon the making of this my letter Her saide Grace made speciall instaunce to me for this matier, and required me to have it to be putte into your gracious remembraunce. And Almighty God have your saide Grace in His mooste blessed preservation. At Edinburgh, the 24ti day of Januarij.

Your mooste humble preiste and bedeman,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) T. MAGNUS.

Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CXII. ARCHBISHOP BETOUN, &c. *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

RYCHT Excellent, Rycht Hie, and Mychty Prince, we commend our lauchfull service to Zour gracius Hienes with all humylite honor and reverens. We have undirstand and perfitlye knewis be zour rycht wirschipfull discreit and wyse traist servitouris Maister Thomas Magnus Archedekin of Est Ryding, and Roger Ratcliff Squiar of zour Prive Chalmer, als be diverse gracius writtingis send in this realme be Zour hie Grace, and be my Lord Cardinale, and laitlie be record of Gilbert Erle of Cassillis, Lord Kennedy, Ambassydour to our Soveraine Lord, send with oyeris to Zour Hienes and laitlye returnyt, ye greit inteir luff and hertlye kyndnes Zour maist excellent Hienes beris to zour derrest nephew our Soverane Lord, of quhilk we thank Zour Grace a thowsand tymes, and sall yerfor indewour ws at all our poweris to do Zour Grace trew service in ony thing possibill to ws, our part kepit to our said Soverane Lorde, zour said derrest nephew, his Realme, and commoun weill of ye sammyn: beseiking Zour Grace to continew in zour gud mynd to our Soverane Lord zour said Nephew, quhilk presentlye has greit neid yairof, becaus zour deir sister, our Soverane Lady ye Queyne, now taking and haiffing ye cur and gydschip of our said Soverane Lord hir sone, alsweill of his maist nobill Persoun, as of his rentis and proffettis, is be certane indisposit personis, nocht abyll nor worthy sic ane charge, sa mysgidit, yat Hir Grace in all materis concernyng ye Kingis Grace and common weill procedis be counesale of ye said indisposit personis, apone will, and nocht apone resone. Quharthrow our said Soverane Lord maist nobill persoun is drawin and inclinit to myshaiffingis and unvertuuse usagis, and kepit and haldin in ane place of

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 430.

rycht

rycht ewill air and dispositioun contrar his heill, abill to bring him to greit infirmiteis, at aperandly sall insew to ye danger of his lyf; and yerwicht justice is alnterly neclectit, slauchteris, murthuris, reiffis, depredaciones, and uthir crymes ar commoun, and mony committit about ye place of yer residence, and na correccioun nor punitioun is maid yairfor, bot diverse utheris greit injuris and inconvenientis ar committit, sum be command and causing of ye said Quenis Grace, sum be ye perversit and indisposit personis being about ye Kingis Grace of Hir inputting, greit divisioun is amang diverse greit men, quhilk mycht be esaly appoyntit, gif Hir Grace wald suffir concord to be maid amang yame. And laitly, quhair we war desyrit tocum to Edinburgh to ye Kingis Grace, because of returnyng of ye said Erle of Cassillis furtht of zour Realme of Ingland, quhilk had greit materis to discloise concernyng ye weill of bayth ye Realmes, we send to ye Quenis Grace, desyring certane ressonable thingis for our surty, yat had bene, but cause, laitlye ofbefor put in ward and presonit; and desyrit als yat asseuerans mycht be had amange greit men, at yai mycht convene surlye to our said Soverane Lordis service, but apperance of truble, and at concord mycht yereftir be maid amang yame, as was contenit in certane rycht ressonable articulis send be ws to Hir Grace.[1] Neviryeles Hir Grace wald nocht consent to ony gud wayis desyrit be ws, nor mak ws suyr of indempnite, bot refusit all our ressonnable peticionis; sa yat, throw impediment maid be Hir Grace, na concord can be had amang greit men, na conventioun ma be maid in yat place, in falt of suyr passage and repassage, for ye service of our Soverane Lord, and for ye greit materis of ye Realme. Quharfor we in our maist humble maner beseikis Zour maist gracius Excellence to consider our part, yat wald maist glaidly of all thingis prowide ye weilfair of our said Soverane Lordis maist nobill Persoun, and suyr keping of ye sammyn, and cause justice be executit in his Realme, and ye commoun weile yairof be forsene mantenyt and avansit; desyring allwayis to lyve in pece lufe and cherite with Zour Grace Realme and lyegis, and to do our possibilite

[1] A copy of this paper is in Caligula, B. VII. leaf 25. It expresses four things to be desired of the Queen for forty of the Lords, that are to come to Edinburgh against the return of Cassillis, to be shewn by Walter Ogilvy; viz., 1. Assurance to be made for two months between the Earls of Arran, Eglintoun, Angus, and Lennox; 2. A writing, subscribed by the King and Queen, that no one coming to Edinburgh shall be arrested, attached, &c., and that the Bishops of Saint Andrews and Aberdeen and the Earls of Arran and Argyll be appointed to assist the Queen; 3. That the King be removed from the Castle to the Abbey, that no footmen be hired or had in wages, and that no artillery be shot from the Castle; 4. That pledges be given for the performance of all points.

Minutes for the Queen's answer are in the same Volume, leaf 23.

Both these papers, which are placed in the catalogue under the dates of April and May, are in the same handwriting as the letter in the text.

for estabilising of ye sammin pece betuix yir Realmes. And howbeit our Soverane Lady ye Quenys Grace can nocht, be gude mediatioun, be drawin to consent to ye weilfair of ye Kingis Grace hir sone, tuiching ye rewle of his Persoun, and ye commoun weill of his Realme, tranquillite and pece within ye sammyn amang ye greit men yairof; that Zour Grace will nocht assist to hir in ony sic opinyonis as apperis tobe agane ye weill of our Soverane Lord and his Realme, bot rather hald zour helply hand to ws yat intendis na thing bot ye weilfair of ye Kingis Grace, his Realme and liegis, and suyr pece to be had with Zour Grace, zour Realme and liegis of Ingland, according to diverse your writtingis and credence send heir of befor. In cace ye Quenys Grace can be drawin be gude mediatioun to consent yat ane wyse Counesale of men of gud be chosin, to gyd and reull ye Kingis Grace and his Realme, and at noble vertuuse men be put in dayly familyar service to His Grace, quhilk sall instruct and leyr His Grace honorable gude and vertwuse maneris and haiffingis; we sall apply ws yairto, and be hartly gladyt Hir Grace be principale of ye Counesale, and all wayis have sic honour service and plesure as accordis hir estait our Soverane Lady and Queyne to have. And, gif it beis uyerwayis, Hir Grace disassenting to gudnes, we traist Zour Excellence sall nocht support Hir in any thingis tending to ye harme or skaytht of zour derrest nephew our Soverane Lord, his Realme, and commoun weill yairof. Rycht Excellent, Rycht Hye, and Mychty Prince, ye Sone of ye blissit Virgyne Mary mott conserve Zour maist noble Grace in evirlesting prosperite. Gevin be ws, at Sanctandros, ye 26 day of Januar, 1524.[1]

(*Signed*)	JAMES OF SANCTANDR̃:	ERL OF ANGUS.
(*Signed*)	GAWAN OF AB^{D}DIN.	ERL OF ERGYLE.
(*Signed*)	P^{D}OR OF SANTTAND̃:	ERL OF LENOX.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Richt Excellent, Richt Hie, Nobill, and Mychty Prince, ye Kingis Grace of Ingland.

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[1] On the same day Betoun wrote to Abbot Myll (Caligula, B. III. leaf 68.), acquainting him with their correspondence with the Queen, and their resolution to hold a convention at Stirling on the 6th of February.

CXIII. MAGNUS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace to be advertissed, that sethenne my laste letters sent unto your saide Grace of the 24ti. daie of Januarij, wherynne was conteynned the requeste of the Lordes, that thenne were at Saint Andrewes, for thair repairing and commyng hider to doe service unto thaire Soveraine Lorde and Maister, with the Quenes aunsuer made unto the same; there is gret apperaunce of myche trouble and busynes to be betwene the Quenes Grace and other the saide Lordes; as by copy of a proclamacion directe furth by the Quenes commaundement and the Kingges Counsaill here, and putte in execution, it may appere[2]; with further liklyhoode of busynes to be understande by

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[1] Holograph. From the British Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 132. This and the three next of Magnus's despatches have been printed by Galt, but not in order of time, nor with great accuracy.

[2] Caligula, B. VII. leaf 75., copy in Magnus's handwriting.

" James, by the Grace of God, King of Scottes. To our Sherof of Edinburgh, and his Deputes, " and to our lovites our Sheroffes in that part conjunctlie and severalie " specially constitute, Greting. Forsomyche as We, with expres avise consent and counsaill of our " Thre Astates in Parliament, have taken our oune autorite and guyding of our Realme unto our " selff, and by hooll consent and advice of our Thre Astates, the sure guiding and keping of our " Person unto our perfite age is geven and comytted to our derrest moder the Quene in Parlia- " ment; and nowe latelie there hath occurred sondery grete and weghty matiers and affaires con- " cernyng the hooll weall of our Realme and lieges, by sending of Ambassadoures from our derrest " broder and confederate the Mooste Cristenned King unto Us, and our derreste moder; and in " like wise by retournyng of our trusty cosyn and counsailour Gilbert Erle of Cassilles oute of the " realme of Einglande from our derrest broder and unkle the King of Einglande and his Counsaill, " and from our other Ambassadours; and other divers grete matiers ar daily occurring touching " the guiding of our Realme and lieges and common weall of the same; wherefore We, with the " advice and consent of our saide derrest moder and Lordes of our Counsaill, have written our " effectuous letters unto a Mooste Reverende, and Reverende Faders in God, James Archebusshop " of Saint Andrewes, Gawen Busshop of Aburdyne, and John Priour of Saint Andrewes, desiring " thaym to come here to Us to our toune of Edinburgh for thair beste advice and counsaill to be " geven unto Us and our saide derrest moder, with the rest of the other Lordes of our Counsaill, " for good deliverance and expeditions to have bene made of the saide Ambassadours of Fraunce, " and geving of good aunsuers and resolutions to the writtingges articles and credence brought by " our saide cosyn and counsaillour Gilbert Erle of Cassilles oute of the realme of Einglande, as " afore saide. And moore over our saide derrest moder haith sent unto the saide Busshopps and " Priour of Saint Andrewes many divers tender and effectuous writingges to the effecte afore " said. And to suche articles and credence, as haith bene sent by the saide Busshoppes and Priour, " our said derrest moder, with advice of our Lordes of Counsaill being here present with Us for " the tyme, haith made good ansuer, and, conferme to thayre oune desires specified in thayre saide " articles, sent thaym our saufconduit under our signet and subscribed by Us and our saide derrest

 " moder;

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by a copy also of an other proclamation made upon the saide Lordes party[1], which copyes, and the copy of a letter sent from the Busshop of Aburdyne to the

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" moder; as at moore lenght in our said writtingges, and our said derrest moders, past there " upon, is conteynned. Which all not withstanding, the saide Busshopps and Priour haith con- " tempnandly dissobeid oures and our said derrest moders effectuous letters and tender writtingges " foresaide, and not accept our saide sauf conduet. How be it the same was thought by the saide " Lordes of our Counsaill sufficient suretye to thaym for thayre comyng to do Us service, as thay " were required by our saide writtingges; not having conscideration nor remembraunce of thayre " trouth and kyndenes ought to Us, nor of suche thingges as was avisitly doon by thaym and with " thayr expresse consent in our laste Parliament, but rather in the contrary, and for getting of all " homage service and benefices, in the which thay, and every oone thaym, ar oblist unto Us and our " said derrest moder: And, in asmych as is or may be in thaym, they have attempted and pre- " sently attemptes ayeinst our estate and autorite riall, in hoolding of thayr private corrupt and " treasonnable counsailles trystes and communications in Saint Andrewes, and other places whayr " thay pleas, with Archebalde Erle of Angwishe, John Erle of Leneux, Walter Scott of Beanxhame " Knight, and other broken men, thayr complices favorares and assistares, and haith lately drawen " and perswadet to thayr evill pervers and treasonnable oppynnyon our trusty cosyn and coun- " saillour Colyne Erle of Argile, with divers other grete men our trewe lieges, tending there " throwe, as may be well presumet, to the utter distruction of our estate and autorite riall and to " the usurping of the same unto thaym and thayr said complices Erles of Anguishe and Leneux, " Walter Scotte of Beanxhame Knight, and other favorers and assistares, as said is. Our will is " therfor, and We charge youe straitly and commaundes that, incontinent these our letters sene, " ye in our name and autorite, by open proclamation at the Merket Crosse of our said burrowes " withynne the boundes of your offices, and all other places nedefull, commaunde and charge all " and sondery our lieges and subjectes, to lande and to burgh, of spirituall Lordes landes and tem- " perall, that noon of thaym take upon hande to ride or goe in maner of convocation or gadering " in company with the saide Busshopps, or Priour, or any of thaym, nor to convene with thaym or " any of thaym at counsailles, trystes, or communications, nor with our sayd cosyn Colyne Erle of " Argile, as long as he remaynes and abides at the corrupt pervers and treasonnable opynnyon of " the saide Busshoppes and Priour, under the payne of loosing of life landes and goodes. The " whiche to doe, &c. Yeven under our Signet, and subscribed by Us and our said derrest moder, " at Edinburgh, the day of January, and of our regne the 12 yere."

[1] Caligula, B. VI. leaf 394.

" Apud Sanctumandream, vigesimo quinto Januarij, Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo " vigesimo quarto.

" We do zou to witt that, forsamekell as it is understandin be the weill avisit Lordis of oure " Soverane Lordis Counsaill, they seand daily slauchteris, murthuris, reiffes, thiftis, depredaciouns, " and hevy attemptates, yat ar daily and hourely committit within this Realme in falt of justice, our " Soverane Lord beand of lese age, and his maist nobill Person beand haldin and seducit be certane " perticular and privat persouns, in grete eminent danger, and in ane onhailsum and unplesand " place, contrair his nobill and blyth complexioun; quhair, throw veray singularite and privat affec- " tiouns of the said evill avisit perticular persouns, for yair singular proffit and plesouris, nocht " regardand his grete honour, weilfar of his Person, nor commoun weill of this Realme, his autorite " ryall is mysusit contempnit and neglectit, sua yat thare is na dredour of justice nor of correctioun; " quhilk this lang tyme hes bene and is moder and occasioun of all trespas and evill dedis com- " mittit and done within this Realme: Quharfor the said Lordis, beand of gude will and mynd to " serve

the Countroller here[1], and the copyes of other twoe letters directe to diverse persons, oone from the Lordes, and the other from thErle of Argile[2], I sende unto your saide Grace.

By

" serve the Kingis Grace, dredand, quhen His Hienes cummis to perffite age, to be punyst and put " to thair charge, giff thay schupe nocht to remeid sic enormyteis and inconvenientis at thair pow- " eris now in his lese age: First, as be honest and gude persuaciouns, eftir yai wer desyrit to have " cummyn to Edinburgh the 15 day of Januar instant to have gevin thair gude counsalis in sic " erandis and besynes as occurrit be the Erle of Cassillys returnand laitly out of Ingland, that thair " suld be ane asseuerance tane betuix all persouns and partyis, and specialy betuix my Lordis of " Anguse, Levinax, on yat ane part, and the Erlys of Arane, Eglintoun, and Lord Maxwel, on that " uther part, and ather of thame, thair freindis servandis and parte takaris, and that the Kingis " maist nobill person wer brocht out of the Castell to liberte amangis his Prelatis, Lordis, Barouns, " and Thre Estatis, to ryde and pas be avise of thame in all the partis of the Realme, and that the " Lordis micht frely cum and serve the Kinges Grace, but ony compulsioun or dreid, and that " thair sall be na artilzary schot out of the Castell contrair the Kingis liegis, and that na futbandis " nor wageouris suld be rasit to waist the Kyngis money, and na maner of thing suld be usit nor " exersit be way of deid, bot that all the Kingis liegis micht frely pas and repas, and do thair trew " and afauld service to the Kingis Grace with thair counsaill person and gudis; and for mare " securite that all partyis contendand micht savely quhen yai desyrit plegeis to have bene gevin one " baith the sydis. Quhilkis honest offerandis and lieffull persuaciouns send to have be artilzeris, " wer as apperit gevin to thame that uterly refusit be the Quenis Grace and hir perticular Counsaill, " as cleirly apperit be the lichtly ansuere in perticular and evill avisit counsaill, to the distructioun " of his Realme, in grete defamacioun of oure Soverane Lord her son, in safer as lyis in hir or thair " poweris; nocht regardand his hie honor, helth of welefair of his Person, nor common weill of " this Realme; estymand to litill the daily trublys and depredaciouns of His Grace pure liegis " committit planely and cruelly in and about the toun of Edinburgh, quhair his maist nobill Person " is withhaldin. And the said Lordis, seand and perfitely understandand the samyn, hes fynaly " condiscendit to put remeid and reformacioun in the premissis, in safer as in thame, with help of " God, and of the trew and nobill Prelatis, Barouns, and liegis of this Realme; sua yat justice " may be furthborn, the Kingis maist nobill Person put to liberte and honor, his autorite ryall dred " and luffit, and to be reulit and gydit be ane wyse and discreit counsaill, evil avisit persouns, that " wald persuaid or inclyne His Grace to unverteuis gyding, removit and repellit fra His Hienes; " as to that effect, ordanit ane conventioun to be in Striviling on Mononday the saxt day of Feb- " ruair nixt tocum; and writtin to diverse Prelatis Lordis and grete Barouns for to keip the " samyn for finale conclusioun and resolucioun to be tane in the premisses; exhortand thame be " this generall proclamacioun, as they luffe the welefair of our Soveran Lord his Realme and liegis, " to keip the said convencioun day and place, sa mony as wilbe writtin for, and the remanent, " nocht writtin for, to be reddy to assist and concur with the said Lordis, quhen yai salbe warnit " thairto, for the furthbering of the Kingis autorite and justice. Certefying all and sindry oure " Soverane Lordis liegis, that na letteris, salbe gevin under the Signet nor Privat Sele with his " hand and the Quenis, sall have effect force nor strenth indurand oure Soverane Lordis lese age, " nor letteres that sall pas be deliverance of the privat persouns now beand with the King, bot " allanerly thay letters, that passis be deliverance of the Counsaill chosen be the Thre Estatis."

[1] Caligula, B. I. leaf 88.

" My Lorde Comptroller, I recommaunde me unto youe right hartely. And have received your " writting this Tuesday. Walter Ogilby hath shewed me, as touching these articles sent by my " Lordes here to the Quenes Grace for the universalle weall of the Realme, She haith made noe

" ansuer

By the same writingges many thingges shall appere unto youe, wherynne the Quenes Grace hath right grete nede of good and hoolsome counsaill; whiche, after my poore mynde, wanteth, as hath doone a good season, aboute Her saide Grace. Here is myche busynes for assembling of men to attende upon the yong King, whoome the Quenes saide Grace is mynded to take furth of the Castell here, and to sette forwarde with her oune person towardes Starling, where the saide Lordes have appointed to be upon Monday next commyng. Mi poore advice is and shalbe to the Quenes Grace, if it shall like her to accept the same, wherof I doubte, not to passe furth ayeinste the saide Lordes with any power, but rather to breke some parte of her oune mynde and oppynnyon, and to suffer thaym, upon some reasonnable waye to be devised and taken, to come hider for doyng service to thair Soveraine Lorde in peasable maner, and soe to departe frome hennes ayeine withoute any further vexation.

It is not thought here that any gret noumbre of men woll hoolde faste and surely to the Quenes party, albe it the Kingges person be present; but that the taking away of the yong King frome the Quenes Grace wolbe in joperdy, and moore likly to be doone thenne otherwise. For there ar right fewe men that woll fight ayeinste the saide Lordes on the other party, as is saide, but rather it is thought that myche moore people woll favour and fall to the saide Lordes thenne to the Quenes party.

" ansuer therto, nor is contented of the same; the whiche I truste shall redounde to a grete in-
" convenience here after. Ye woolde in your said writting that I shuide have commen to Edin-
" burgh, and kept my promes that I made to the Quene. Had I been hooll and in goode health,
" I had bene there long or this tyme. But seth it is soe, that the Quenes Grace woll followe noe
" counsaill, nor woll not looke to the weall of the Kingges Highnes her son, his Realme, and
" common weall, I am right glad that God send me sikennes that stopped me from Her at this
" tyme; for I see appearance of myche evill to come; and I had raither here of evill, thenne
" see it. I woolde not be in the company where good counsaill is not harde, but will all
" utterly to have domination. There is noe thing that may make this Realme in peace, but
" unite of the Lordes, and that is all utterly refused, as appeares. Therfor I have marveill of
" youe that desires me to be there, where will haith domination, and reason oppressed; and I
' to incur sklaunder being in that company. I woolde ye were well, and quite of all incon-
" venience, and lette me shifte the beste that I may; for I beleive within fewe daies ye woll
" here of newes that ye have not harde yet. I woll followe noe body but the Kingges Grace
" and common weall. And God kepe youe. At Saint Andrewes, the 24ti daie of Januar.

" Your oune Busshop
" off Aburdyne."

[2] Caligula, B. III. leaf 60. Argyll to John Drummond of Innerpeffry, dated Campbell, 23d January. Desires him to attend at Stirling on the 6th of February " well furnished with speres and fensable geire as apperteyneth."

I have

I have received twoe letters of late, oone from the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes[1], and the other from thErle of Anguysshe[2]; whiche letters I sende also to your saide Grace.

Accoording to your gracious commaundement conteynned in your laste letters of the 5th daye of Januarij, I wroote to booth the saide Lordes, and enterteynned thaym with as good woordes as I couth, couched after your saide commaundement, as dooth appere by thaire aunsuers, and specially by the saide Erles aunsuer as is conteynned in his letter.

The saide Archebusshop looketh for my Lorde of Cassilles and me to mete hym at Domfarmeling; but the Quenes Grace woll not accoorde therunto. And as to the credence shewed unto me by the bringger of his letter, was, that he wolde not faill to be a good servaunte to the King his Maister, and that he wolde endevour hym to the beste of his power for an unitye concoorde and a good peas to be had betwene Einglande and Scotlande, and woll soe ordour hym and his frendes in suche maner, that he trusteth the Kingges Highnes and your Grace shalbe right well content and pleased with hym.

Amongges other thingges the saide Erle of Anguysshe mentionneth the commyng hider of Groselles was parte ayeinste hym; whiche I beleve: but upon suche privea advertismentes as have bene geven unto me, sethenne my laste writing unto your saide Grace, I doubte there was some further matiers that paste by the saide Groselles, into Fraunce, otherwise thenne I was privea unto. And therfore it is suppoosed by some persons, the Quenes Grace and her Counsaill, of the Frenshe faction, doe drive the tyme to thay shall here further from oute of Fraunce, oonles the Quenes saide Grace have explaynned her mynde otherwise by her two gret paquettes of letters sent to the Kingges Highnes and to the Scottisshe Ambassadours there: wherunto I was not privea in any parte.

Some thingges ar to be gaderde and remembred upon the secrete thing discloosed to me by your Grace in your said laste letters, and upon suche

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[1] Caligula, B. VI. leaf 400. St. Andrews, 28th January 1524. The Archbishop states that he has received Wolsey's letter sent by Wod, but had not heard the credence sent; hopes to see Magnus and Cassillis at Dumfermline; has written to the King of England; and authorized Ogilvy to give Magnus a copy of their desires to the Queen.

[2] Caligula, B. III. leaf 71. St. Andrews, 27th January. Angus acknowledges the receipt of Magnus's letter of the 18th; is thankful for Henry's favour; can not see much of the Queen's favour to him, as in all her writings to the Lords to come to Edinburgh he is excepted; thinks Gonzolles' coming was not to little effect, but that he had a commission and credence unknown to Magnus, with a special article against Angus for coming out of France.

woordes as my Lorde of Cassilles shewed to me, spoken by Harry Stuarde, touching the Duke of Albeny, comprised in my letters laste sent unto your saide Grace.

The gales, with other 4 Frenshe shippes marchauntes ar not yet departed, but upon the pointe of departing; tarying for wynde and weder.

I see noe liklihoode of any good thing as yet to ensewe, on this side, by the Counsaill here towardes Einglande, oonles it be on the behalve of the Quenes oune person; wherynne is some doubte, by cause, as soon as Her Grace conceived the mariage of my Lady Princes did reste upon a possibilite, doubtefull unto her, Her saide Grace was not the beste content therwith. And also she had written and made up her letters, or that my Lorde of Cassillis had made declaration afore the Lordes of the causes to hym commytted, and the aunsuer by thaym made to the same. What woll further ensewe of all these busynes towardes, it is doutefull; as I am well assured your saide Grace dooth conscider.

Mi Lorde of Cassilles and I ar counsailling what is beste to be doone to kepe this intended busynes from a sodaine hasarde. I doubte the Quenes severall proclamations shall doe hurte, by cause Her Grace declareth openly the doingges and attemptates of the saide Lordes to be treasonnable actes. Nevertheles I shall soe call upon the Quenes Grace and upon my saide Lorde of Cassilles, that, if it be possible, this grete busynes shall not joyne upon soe narowe a pointe, and soe daungerous, as yet it is likly to doe. Howe be it, my commyng to the Quenes presence, for any my poor advertismentes to be geven to Her Grace, is moore by poore polecy used, thenne by any commaundement or calling to the same. And after the same maner ofte and many tymes the Abbot of Holy Roode House and the Abbot of Paslay be used, insomyche thay, being the mooste sadde and auncient counsaillours here, shewe unto me thay were never made privea to any parte of suche proclamations, as ar goone and paste furth at this season.

Here is daungerous tarying, for I see noe person in surety, but suche as ar hable to defend thaym selves; soe that, for want of drede of justice, I doe not conceive that reason lawe nor honour is conscidered; the yates be soe soore barred up, that justice canne not ne may have power to isshewe furth and passe abroode.

As these causes and matiers shall further procede, I shall advertise your Grace, if I be not enfoorced to departe from hennes; whiche I shall not be, afore I shall see cause of daunger. All our letters passe in perill, and therfore I accompt me noe moore in daunger, otherwise thenne I doe by the same occasion; insomyche as I am constraynned to send furth my letters by other

persons

persons thenne the postes. Even nowe I have seene a letter written to the Countroller from thErle of Rothes[1], copy wherof I sende nowe unto your saide Grace, and by the same your Grace may conceive, what parell it is to putte in execution in these partes the Kingges commaundementes and youres, conscidering the gret devision that is in this realme, commen nowe to soe high a displeasure, as appereth. And also in this present tyme is commen unto me James Dog, the Quenes trusty servaunte, to borowe of me for Her Grace the somme of 300 crownes, whiche withoute the Kingges commaundement and youres I am not hable to accomplisshe. And thus I am and have bene attempted sondery tymes afore. I muste doe as I may. As God knoweth, whoe ever moore have your saide Grace in His mooste blessed preservation. At Edinburgh, the 2de day of Februarij.

Your mooste humble preiste and bedeman,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) T. MAGNUS.

Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CXIV. MAGNUS *to* WOLSEY.[2]

PLEAS it Your Grace to be advertissed that, by my letter of the secounde day of this moneth, I acertaynned your said Grace of suche ymmynent daungers troubles and gret variaunces, as were right nigh at hande betwene the Quenes Grace here and other the Lordes, that is to wete, thArchebusshop of Saint Andrewes, the Busshop of Aburdyne, with sondery other Busshops, thErles of Anguysshe, Argile, Leneux, and many other Erles and Barons of this realme, as by the copyes of thair letters and of thair proclamations I doubte not at large did appere. Soe it was, as thenne I wroote unto your saide Grace, the saide Lordes assembled and convened at Sterling on Monday the 6th daye of the said moneth, betwene whoom and the Quenes saide Grace many messages have paste, for the pacifying of the variaunces and debates betwene

[1] Caligula, B. I. leaf 81. Without date, signed, "Rede and ryve." It informs Barton of the intended Convention at Stirling; states that Betoun was displeased with the writer for refusing to attend it; prays him to give good advice to the Queen; and expresses his own readiness to do Her service.

This letter is quoted by Pinkerton, p. 254, as giving notice of the plot of the 23d of November. He interprets the signature to mean, "read and tear."

[2] Holograph. From the British Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 135.

thaym, concernyng the preservation of the yong King here in his good health, education, and good governaunce, in this his tender age, the rule and ordouring of this his realme with due admynistration of justice, a directe ordour to be had for the bringging ynne of the revenues of his possessions, for the mayntenaunce of his estate and dingnitye royall, and for a good peas to be had betwene Einglande and Scotlande. And for somyche as the saide Lordes suppoosed by thair letters, directe to the Quenes Grace, it was right paynfull and troubulous to send from tyme to tyme soe far as betwene Edinburgh and Sterling, thay therfore, and for the moore commodyte of the causes in contraversy, repared to a toune called Dakeheeth, withynne 4 myles of this toune, upon Thursday laste.

And, for the debating and repressing of the attemptates committe by the saide Lordes, the Quenes Grace was mynded and procured that thErles of Arren, Murray, Eglyntoun, and Cassilles, with other Lordes reparing hider for the Kingges surety, shulde geve bataill to the other Lordes and party. Howe be it, upon counsaill and advice taken by thaym, thay made aunsuer to the Quenes saide Grace, thay sawe noe cause whye thay shulde soe doe, oonles the Kingges Grace here shulde goe furth in his oune person, and that any his subjectes wolde invade His saide Grace; as, if it soe were, thay wolde to the uttermooste of thair powers defend hym as thair Soveraine Lorde and Maister, and elles thay wolde not in any wise attempte any thing ayeinste the other party by hostilite of warre. The Quenes Grace being mynded that the King her sonne shulde not passe from oute of her custody and keping, in aventure His Grace shulde not retourne unto Her ayeine, wolde not agree to the requestes and myndes of the saide Lordes; but saide She was content that, forsomyche as a grete parte of this variaunce procedeth betwene Her Grace and thErle of Anguysshe, She was content, therynne and in all other causes, to stande to the ordour and arbitrement of the saide Lordes on the Kingges party and Hers. Wherupon Her Grace sent for me; and, after myche commynnycation, some parte pleasaunt, and some parte to the contrary, it was not possible She shulde be better mynded and inclyned, thenne She was at that tyme, to accepte thErle of Anguysshe to her gracious favour, for the better releiff of her causes in contraversy. Notwithstanding, the morowe after, all was tourned to the contrary, booth concernyng the promyse made to the saide Lordes, and the commynnycation had betwene the Quenes Grace and me, as is aforesaide, with such maner and woordes, as I thenke not convenient to be written: and as the case required, I gave but convenient sparing to the same.

And, bycause these matiers were of gret ymportaunce, diverse and sondery tymes

tymes I offerde that my Lorde of Cassilles and I mought have goone to have spoken with the Lordes of the other party, for the better pacefying of all causes; and specially the Quenes Grace wolde not that I shulde goe, though thErles of Arren and Cassilles on her party, and thoder Lordes on the other party, required the same.

These causes and matiers thus depending in contraversy, withoute ordour for reducing of thaym to any good conclusion, it was devised and agreed amongges the Lordes, with the Quenes consent, that thErles of Arren, Eglington, Cassilles, the Busshop of Rosse, and the Lorde Maxwell, shulde mete with the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes, the Busshop of Aburdyne, thErle of Argile, and other the Lordes of the other party, and thair counsaill, as Sir William Scotte and other, at Dakeheeth afore saide, on Saturdaye laste: and soe thay did, and accoorded right well to gader. Howe be it, whenne the Quenes party came hoome, Her Grace wolde not agree to the commynnycation, and suche ordour as was devised betwene the Lordes.

On Sondaie next after, newe messingers on the Quenes party were sent to the saide Lordes, to moove unto thaym that Her Grace was content thay shulde repaire and come hider to trete, speke and commyn of the causes in contraversy, soe that thay wolde agree and consent that noe thing shulde be doone to the demynition of her autorite, graunted unto Her Grace in the laste Parliament; or elles that thay wolde consent and agree that, where as the saide Parliament was proroged and contynued to the 15th day of this moneth, hit shulde clerely for this tyme be dissolved cassate and anulled. Wherunto the saide Lordes, conscidering there ar sondery thingges besides the Quenes saide autorite, concernyng the weall and surety of the yong King and of this his realme, to be refourmed, and ansuer also to be retourned to thair Ambassadours in Einglande, by the consent of the gret and mooste discrete Counsaillours of this realme; wolde not accoorde nor agre in anywise. Wherupon thErles of Arren, Murray, Eglyngton, and Casselles, the Lord Maxwell, Dan Carre of Cesforth, and Marke Carre, conveyd thair servauntes frome thaym, and went into the Castell to the King and the Quene, every of thaym taking with thaym oone or twoe servauntes at the mooste; and there contynue.

The officers of this toune, with the enhabitauntes of the same, sent woorde to the Lordes, that thay shulde come hider and be welcome unto thaym, and furthwith sette thair gates open; being afore sparred, and nightly kept with watche and warde. And soone after mydnight thErle of Anguysshe and thErle of Leneux came into this toune with 6 or 7 hondreth men, all at thair pleasures, and soe did take thair lodgingges, and went to thair restes. The residue of

thair men, as is saide to the noumber of twoe thowsande, remaynned with the Busshops, Erles, and other the Lordes at Dakeheeth, the same men being for the mooste parte, as is reapoorted, landed men of good honesty, and houshoolde men, well chosen and well horsed. Yersterday ayeinste night the saide Lordes and other thaire company afore saide came hider, and logged thaym selves in this toune, and nigh therunto as thay may, without the daunger of gonne shotte from oute of the Castell, and intende to kepe the Parliament for the weall of the yong King and of this his realme, and, as farre as in any wise I canne conceive, for a peas to be betwene Einglande and Scotlande. Wherof I assure youre Grace I see moore apperaunce hidertowarde, thenne of the Quenes party; conscidering, in my poore mynde, her counsaillours be moore of the Frensh faction thenne thay be to the favour of Einglande; and yet a gret parte of the Quenes Counsaill be moore inclyned to Einglande thenne to Fraunce.

The Quenes Grace of late hath bene myche desirous to a devorce and departing to be had betwene Her saide Grace and thErle of Anguysshe, and hath made many meanes for the same purpoos; insomyche that right lately Her Grace being content to have famylier commynnycation with me, shewed She wolde be content to geve to the saide Erle of her landes 1000 markes Scottisshe yerely, to suche tyme as Her Grace shulde avaunce some oon of his frendès to 1000 markes of spirituall promotion, soe that there shulde be noe further intermedilling betwene thaym, but the oone to be discharged of the other. Yet nevertheles the Quenes Grace even nowe maketh secrete motions after a better and moore godly maner to the saide Erle: wherunto I am mooste privea. I pray God Her Grace wolbe of good perseveraunce, and thenne I woll not doubte but other thingges shall myche the better come to the Kingges high purpoos and youres.

Withynne 4 or 5 days moore, certaine knowlege wolbe had, to what effecte this trouble and busynes woll insewe, and furthwith I shall advertise your Grace of the same, by the help of Almighty God, whoe ever moore have Your saide Grace in His mooste blessed preservation. At Edinburgh, the 14th daye of February.

Your mooste humble preiste and bedeman,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) T. Magnus.

Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CXV. MAGNUS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace to understande that, in my laste letters sent unto your saide Grace of the 14th daye of this moneth, amongges other matiers, I advertissed your Grace of the going to the Castell here of suche Lordes as pretended to take the Quenes parte and oppynnyon, and of the commyng into this toune furste of thErles of Anguysshe, and Leneux, and thenne after of thArchebusshop of Saint Andrewes, the other Busshops, and the Lordes temporall.

Ymmediately upon the reparing and commyng hider of the saide Lordes thay did proclamations to be made, declaring the cause of thair saide commyng, and gave soore injonctions to the Lordes in the Castell, that noe gret artillary shulde be shotte oute of the same at the toune, nor at any of thaym, upon gret paynes, the daungers therfore, if any like thing shulde chaunce, to ensewe upon the saide Lordes in the Castell, if thay couthe or mought be goten, and elles to be putte in execution upon thair landes, nigh frendes, and favourers of thair oppynnyons, in mooste daungerous maner; by reason wherof, or for favour borne by the saide Lordes in the Castell to the toune, or to the Lordes there, or to booth, noe parte of the saide artillary was shotte; albe it there were bent directely upon the toune 5 gret gonnes of brasse called cannons, besides sondery other fawcons.

In this meane tyme the Quenes Grace sent unto me a right good and an honeste preiste, her stewarde, and by hym desired me to speke with thErle of Anguysshe, shewing, as Her Grace had doon afore, if She mought be putte in surety to enyoye the autorite graunted unto Her saide Grace in the Parliament laste hoolden here, withoute demynition therof, She wolde accepte hym into her gracious favour. Wherupon I had commynnycation with the saide Erle, and founde hym right reducible, and well inclyned to the Quenes pleasure; and right soe I advertissed the Quenes saide Grace by her saide stewarde; by whoom after ayeine, the saide Quene sent unto me a ryng, requiring me by the same token to procede in the message afore sent unto me. And soe I did, and at large commynned therynne with the saide Erle of Anguysshe, whoe by the advices of the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes and the Busshop of Aburdyne, besought the Quenes saide Grace to putte her pleasure in writing, and She shulde have a reasonnable aunsuer by the consent of the Lordes. With this message I went to the Quenes Grace at the Castell; and, aswell as

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[1] Holograph. From the British Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 59.

I couth,

I couth, I gave Her saide Grace my poore advice in these trobelous and comberous causes.

After this Her saide Grace sent unto me a letter by her saide stewarde, directe to the Lordes, conteynnyng her mynde to be shewed unto thaym; whiche letter, in the beste maner I couthe, I deliverde to the saide Lordes the 17th daye of this moneth, and received an aunsuer therunto from the saide Lordes: copy of the Quenes saide letter[1], and of the same ansuer[2], I sende nowe

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[1] Caligula, B. III. leaf 104. Copy by Magnus.

" My Lorde of Saint Andrewes, Aburdyne, Erle of Argile, with the reste of the Lordes there " with youe. Wete ye, I have written to youe, when ye were in Daketh, in this wise, that is to " say, if that ye my Lordes above written woolde that I agreed with my Lorde of Angwishe, I " desired that I shulde not be hurte in the autorite that was geven Me by youe and Thre " Estates, with the keping of the King my sonnes Person, whiche as yet I desire of youe my Lordes; " all ye, my Lordes, making Me in surety of this, shall use your counsaill as foloweth.

" Furste, I desire that I may have the keping of the King my sonnes Person, and I am content " that there be noble men aboute His Graces Person, as the Lordes thinketh best, soo it be doone " with myne avice and counsaill; by cause I am his derrest moder, and wolde his person moost " good of erthly thing.

" Secondly, as touching the benefices, I desire that I be principall in the disposicion of the same, " with the avice of the Lordes that ar mooste noble, chosen or to be chosen concernyng highe " benefices, as bushopriches and abacies and all dignities a bove a thousande pounde by yere, " and that all other benefices be at my disposition withoute any restriction.

" Thirdly, touching wardes, mariages, and releiffes, with other the Kingges casualties, to be " disponed by Me principally, with the avice of the Lordes chosen and to be chosen in Parlament, " to the King utillite and prouffite.

" Fourthly, touching all grete matiers betwene realme and realme, for treating of peas and " disposicion of grete officers, as Chauncelour, Treausorer, Countrooulle, with all other officers to " be put aboute the King my sonnes person, that I be principall with the Counsaill of the Lordes. " These thinges above written being assured by the acte of Parlament to be made nowe instantly, " I being assured by a plege competent, with all thayre writting, that the said plege shall byde with " Me, unto the same be fulfilled in every pointe, I shalbe content to take my saide Lorde of " Angwishe in the King my sonnes favour and myne, and to intreate hym as I ought to doe, to " myne honour and his; he doing for his part as I shall desire of hym, whiche shalbe noe thing " but reason, and that I may live in good rest and peas, to myne honour, seing that I am content " to doe my Lorde of Angwishe honour and favour. And further, geve credence to Doctour " Magnus and the berer, with ansuer in writting."

[2] Caligula, B. III. leaf 103.

" The ansuer of my Lordis of Sanctandros, Abirdene, Ergile, and uther with tham, " to the thinges desyrit be the Quenis Grace.

" First, tuiching the reull and keping of the Kingis maist noble Person, thay ar content that the " Quenis Grace be evir with Him at hir plesure; his Person nevirtheles being ordourit gydit and " reulit be the ordinance of the Lordis of Counsaill chosin or to be chosin thairto be the Thre " Estatis of the Realme in Parliament, the Quenis Grace being ane principall; and that noble " men be depute be the Counsaill, the Quenis Grace being ane principale, to await continualy " upon his Person: and alsa that verteous personis servitouris and officiaris be namit and depute " be the said Counsaill, the Quenis Grace ever being ane principale, to serve His Grace day and " nicht,

nowe unto your saide Grace. Thus I, withoute help but my self, contynued in sute betwene these gret parties, from the 12th daye of this moneth to the saide 17th daye of the same; whiche daye aboute noon I received the Kingges mooste honourable letters, with your gracious letters also, and other directe to the Quenes Grace, and the Kingges letters adressed to the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes and to other the Lordes: whiche I deliverde with some busynes, by occasion that the commyng hider of Sir Cristofer Dacres servaunte with the same letters was knowen by the watche kept dayly and nightly booth aboute the toune and castell, and that also booth the saide parties were susspicious, oone upon an other, specially for suche tidingges and newes as shulde come from the Kingges Highnes and your Grace. Yet nevertheles I passed thorough with good maner, furste to the Quenes Grace, and thenne to the Lordes.

The Quenes saide Grace accepteth in reasonnable good parte the Kingges said letters and youres; but the Lordes received the Kingges letters in the

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" nicht, and allquhair as the said Counsaill with the Quenis Grace sall giff thame charge. Pro-
" viding alwais, that His Grace salbe movit furth of the Castell of Edinburgh to uther wele
" disposit and esy places, and that he ryde and pas in his awne Realme to sindry partis, as the said
" Counsaill sall devise and ordane; the Quenis Grace always being ane and principale of the
" Counsaill.

" Secundly, tuiching the disposicioun of benefice, the said Lordis thinkis that all grete benefice,
" as bischoprikkis, abbacijs, prelacijs, denerijs, and uther, elective, suld be all disponit to noble and
" vertuous persouns, mete to serve the Kingis Grace, be the said Counsaill, the Quenis Grace being
" ane principale of thayme. And as for uther small benefice, they ar content that thay be disponit
" be the Quenis Grace.

" Thridly, tuiching wardis, mariageis, nonentres, releiffes, and uther casualites pertenyng to the
" Kingis Grace, the said Lordis thinkis thay suld be disponit to the Kingis proffitt be the
" Counsaill; the Quenis Grace ever ane principale of thame.

" Ferdly, tuiching the reull gyding and directioun of the grete materis of the Realme, as
" tuiching weir and peas, making of alliance and confideratiouns with other Princes and thair
" realmes, and tuiching the putting of ordour of justice in this Realme, making of grete officiaris
" and small officiaris for executioun of justice, and speding of sic thingis as sall concerne the
" Kingis estate ryall; the said Lordis thinkis that ar thir thingis suld be sped and done be the
" said Counsaill, the Quenis Grace being always ane of thame, quhen Hir Grace list to be present
" with thaym.

" Fiftly, to mak the Quenes Grace sure that all thir thingis, alsfer as concernis Hir parte, salbe
" treuly done, the said Lordis ar content that Hir Grace have a plege deliverit to Hir, to remane
" with Her Grace, unto thir thingis be establit conservit and maid sure in Parliament now pre-
" sently, and actis to be maid theirupon in the best and surest forme.

" JA. SANCTANDꝫ Archiep̃s.
" GAWINꝰ ABIRD̃ Ep̃s.
" ERLE OF ARGYLE.

" Subscrivit be thir thre Lordis, and in name of the remanent of the Lordis now being present
" in Edinburgh."

mooste

mooste joyous maner, with lawly thankes to His Highnes, that soe graciously, soe indifferentely, and in soe pleasaunt a maner, had thaym in his blessed remembraunce; whiche I assure your Grace is highly estemed, to the counforte of the gretteste parte of all the noble, wise, richeste, and hardieste men of this realme.

The saide 17th daye thErles of Cassilles and Eglynton came from oute of the Castell, upon asuraunce, to speke and commyn with the Lordes in the toune, and by thair meanes and suche other further sute, assuraunce was graunted to all the Lordes in the Castell, to come also into the toune to commyn of all causes withoute any assuraunce required or demaunded on the other party.

Thus, by meanes of the Kingges mooste gracious letters and youres, the good myndes of the Lordes well inclyned to good unyte and concoorde and some parte by my poore soliciting and labouring, there is a concoorde and agrement betwene the Quenes Grace and other the Lordes, concluded yersterday the 21ti daye of this saide moneth, as your Grace shall conceive by the articles of the same, whiche nowe I sende unto your said Grace[1], mentionnyng myche of all the hooll matier.

As

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[1] Caligula, B. III. leaf 102.

" Thir ar the offeris of the Lordis maid to the Quenis Grace after thansuer made afore.

" In the first, that the Kingis Grace maist noble Person be removit furth of the Castell to the " Abbay, for reasonable causis moving thame.

" Item, for disposicioun of benefice and casualiteis, thay desire that thair be chosin 6 or 8 Lordis " be the avise of the Thre Estatis for disponyng of the same, that is to say, all bischoprikkis, abbacijs, " priorijs, and all utheris benefices electivis, to be at disposicioun of the said 6 or 8 to be chosin as " said is, the Quenis Grace alway being with thame principale and odd person; and all uther bene- " fices, nocht electivis, under a thousand pund, to be at hir disposicioun allanerly.

" Item, that thar be chosin be the Counsaill to be chosin be the said Thre Estatis, Lordis and " gentilmen, as beis thocht be thame, to be daily and nichtly with the Kinges Grace alway; the Quenis " Grace being principale kepar, and Sche to resort and remane with Him at hir plesour, and nocht " be removit thairfra. Providing that His Grace be nocht transportit out of the Realme, under the " pane of crime of lese majeste to the doaris assistaris or consentaris thairto; and that His Grace " salbe removit fra place to place within the Realme be avise of the Quenis Grace, and the Lordis " chosin be the Thre Estatis or thame depute be thame thairto, Sche being principale as said is.

" Item, anent casualiteis, remissiouns, benefices, and offices, takkis, roumys, gevin lauchfully be " Hir Grace, to be ratefyit and apprevit in this present Parliament; and the offices now to be gevin, " togidder with the universall gyding of the hale Realme, to be gevin disponit and ordourit be the " Lordis to be chosin now in this present Parliament, the Quenis Grace alwais being ane.

" Item, the Erle of Anguse sall bind him to the Kinges Grace, under the pane of crym of lese " majeste, nocht to intromett with the Quenis Grace persoun gudis nor laundis, quhilkis may pertene " to him, be reson that he is hir husband, unto the terme of Witsonday nixt tocum. And as for " hir servaundis, sall giff assouerance in the best forme can be divisit.

" And for the observyng and fulfilling of the premisses, except the article concernyng the Erle of " Anguse,

As yet your gracious letter in cifres is not commen unto me: I have sent to Sir Cristofer Dacre for hit by poste to Hexham 4 daies agoe.

I sende also at this tyme unto your said Grace copy of the Actes of the laste Parliament hoolden here, wherunto the Quenes saide Grace refarred myche of Her demaundes, to thentent and purpoos your saide Grace shall and may understande theffecte of the same.

Your Grace shall also understande, what mooved the Lordes and gentilmen, that repared to the Quene in the Castell, to come thider. Furste, thArchebusshop of Glasco is maister to the yong King, and contynually attendeth upon his person. ThErle of Murray, of the Frenshe faction, contynueth in truste not oonly to have in mariage my Lady Margarete, the Quenes and thErle of Anguysshe doughter and haire, but also to have the warde and mariage of the yong Erle of Hontelay, the gretteste man of lande in Scotlande. The Busshop of Rosse, in maner and totally, is creauncer and counsaillour to the saide Erle, and is the grettiste Frenshe man, as all men say, aboute the Quenes Grace, and the mooste doth experiment his counsaill for that purpoos. ThErle of Arren, in whoe there is noe cruell mynde nor high displeasure, is soe bounden to the Quenes Grace by promyse or otherwise, that he darre not displeas her, or elles it is and mooste specially to be nooted for the preferment of his sonne to the abbasy of Paslay, by cause he canne not nor may receive the Busshopriche of Murray. These twoe benefices be conveyd betwene the Abbot of Paslay and the Erle of Arrens sonne, being a yong thing. I knowe not whye that my Lorde of Cassilles kept company in the Castell, but aither for attendaunce upon the Kingges Grace, or for the favour or frendeship of his kynnesmen there. ThErle of Eglington, being a sadde and a varay auncient man, was there by occasion of fede and displeasure betwene hym and thErle of Anguysshe, for the deth of his sonne[1], whenne Sir Patrik Hamylton was slayne; and yet he is mynded to be agreed. The Lorde Maxwell loveth the King his Maister, as I am sure doe all the other, and therfore he repared to the Kingges presence; and also by cause he trusteth to have, for his sonne or nigh kynnesman, the abbasy of Melroos. Marke Carre hath of late, of the Quenes gifte, an hondreth

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" Anguse, quhilk is oblist for him selff, the saidis Lordis oblissis thame thairto under the pane of " cryme of lese majeste; and to mak the same be actit and apprevit in Parliament; quhilk beand " ratifijt in Parliament thay to be releschit of thar said band and oblissing: the Kingis Grace alway " beand removit to the Abbay, as said is. And, giff it plesis the Quenis Grace erar to have plegeis " heirapon, Sche sall have the same, togidder with assouerance to hir servandis, off quhat Lordis or " utheris thay will desire, and in the best forme can be divisit, and quham Sche plesis name.

" Thir offeris ar acceptit be the Quenis Grace."

[1] John, Master of Montgomery, was slain by Angus's party in 1520. See Lesley, p. 115.

markes in fee oute of her landes; and by occasion therof, and also that the saide Mark, and Dan Carre Lorde of Cesforth, be at a gret variaunce with the Lord of Boclough thair nigh kynnesman, nigh kynnesman also to thErle of Anguysshe, and of his party at this tyme, thay booth entred the Castell; or for the weall and surety of the yong King thair maister; as I doubte not thay did.

These Lordes afore saide were putte in mynde by the Quenes Grace, that the Kingges Highnes wolde sende unto Her booth men and money, to mayntayn her causes ayeinste the other Lordes. Hit mooveth me to write unto your saide Grace in this matier, by cause your Grace may conceive, what mooved the saide Lordes and gentilmen to repair to the Quenes Grace, rather thenne the other. I pray God Her said Grace may well be loved booth of Scottishe men and other, and that Her Grace be nowe aswell mynded for a good peas as I suppoos ar some other; but I doubte Her Grace woll have some privea waye by her selff, as she hath had afore. Howe be it, her power in that party is likly to be restraynned. As yet I darre not write playnly unto your Grace, but in my next letter your saide Grace shall have further knowlege and advertismentes in sondery thingges.

I truste these Lordes be well sette for a good peas to be had betwene booth these realmes, and that it shalbe the furste matier that thay woll procede unto. I shall not faill, God willing, to doe my diligence for soliciting of the matier; and, purpoosely for this cause, my Lorde of Saint Andrewes and I, at all our metingges in this troubulous tyme of busynes, have ever had a good parte of our commynnycation, and have studyed, howe the same peas may come to good effecte, the oone waye or the other, to the Kingges high pleasure and youres. I doubte there is oone hath attempted to doe some hurte therynne; the certainty knowen, your Grace shalbe advertissed therof.

Mi saide Lorde of Saint Andrewes writeth at large to your Grace at this tyme; whoom I fynde veray faste, of good mynde, and well inclyned to the surety of the yong King his Maister, and for the good of peas to be betwene booth these realms, and to doe that thing that may be to the Kingges high pleasure and youres, concernyng the weall of booth the saide realmes, as hidertowarde his Lordeship to his gret coste, payn, travell, and busynes, hath putte in experience; and soe is mynded to contynue, if he may be well bakked, counforted, and favoured by the Kingges Highnes and your Grace. For where afore the Frenshe King and the Duke of Albeny had good truste, love, and favour towardes his Lordeship, specially that Scotlande shulde contynue the oolde lege with Fraunce, and that this realme, the rather by his meanes, shulde be kept faste in favour to Fraunce, and not to be devided in

any

any parte from the same; it is suppoosed to his Lordeship that, aswell by reaport and relation, as upon putting in execution suche thingges as at this tyme ar doone, and at a point to be concluded, the saide Frenshe King and the Duke shall bere ayeinste hym, and all his frendes, thair higheste and gretteste displeasure; wherof he hath noe cure, the Kingges saide Highnes and your Grace contynuyng your love and favours to his yong maister and to hym. Wherunto his Lordeship trusteth verely, and soe to doe I put hym in good truste and confidence, as is my duety to doe, and as assuredly I knowe wolbe accomplisshed.

My saide Lorde fyndeth hym greved that the Archebusshop of Glasco hath doone hym self to be exempt from the see of Saint Andrewes[1], as your Grace shall conceive by his letter, and as he is infourmed, it shulde be doone by the meanes of the Kingges Procuratour lying in the Courte of Roome, at the Kingges high commaundement and youres. I putte my saide Lorde oute of doubte, as farre as I have had any knowlege or perceiving, it is not soe. Howe be it, his Lordship hath required me right specially to put your saide Grace in remembraunce that by your favour a reformation of the saide exemption may be opteynned; whiche I conceive shulde myche conferre to his counfort and pleasure.

Your Grace shall conceive, by the articles of the conclusion of the gret busynes here, howe farre the Quenes Grace varieth from her messages that Her Grace sent unto me, and from the contynue of the letter of her oune hande sent to the Lordes, wherynne credence was committe unto me, and that by all liklyhoode She woll take good advisement betwene this and Whitsondaye what is beste to doe, trusting of a devorce to be had betwene Her Grace and thErle of Anguysshe. For whiche purpoos and other causes, it is openly spoken here that Mr Cantelay, of whoos departure I made mention in y laste letters, is paste towardes the Frenshe King, and to the Duke of Albeny, and soe to Rome.[2]

It will appere unto your Grace, by the saide articles of the agrement, howe the saide Erle of Anguysshe standeth and is bounden for perfourmaunce of his promise made to the Quenes Grace; notwithstanding, afore the saide bande and promys paste the saide Erle, he protested openly that, in case the

[1] On the 20th of February Archbishop Dunbar wrote to Wolsey for his interest to retain this exemption. Caligula, B. III. leaf 135. In this letter he states that he was "techour and eruditor" to King James.

[2] Among the Royal Letters in the Chapter House, Vol. V. leaf 47, is a holograph one from Queen Margaret to Wolsey, dated February 21, praying him to favour her servant, who was on his journey to Rome; and in the British Museum, Vespasian, F. III. leaf 37, is a letter of credence for John Cantelay from James V. and Margaret, dated at Edinburgh on the 20th.

King of Eingland wolde be content therwith, the same to be firme and stable, and elles to be utterly voide and of noone effecte; and therupon did take an instrument.

Albe it the Quenes Grace yersterday, with the consent of the Lordes aboute Her saide Grace, was fully content, as appereth by hers and all thair handes writing; yet nowe I here there is some variaunce or some repentaunce. That maner is to myche used; wherof I am sory; for all thingges, doone and accoorded on daye, is altered the other daye: but this matier is goone soe farre, that it canne not nor may be retourned nor revoked ayeine. And Almighty God have Your saide Grace in His mooste blessed preservation. At Edinburgh, the 22ti. daye of February.

Your mooste humbe preiste and bedeman,

(*Signed*) THOMAS MAGNUS.

(*Superscribed*)
Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CXVI. ANGUS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

MY service beand recommendit in my maist laulie maner unto Zoure Grace. Pleise zoure Grace to be remembrit, yat my Lordis and I made ane writing to ye Kingis Hienes, of ye quhilk writing we haif ressavit the Kingis aunsuere; thankand His nobill Hienes of ye gude mynde yat he beris towart the Kingis Grace oure Soverane Maister, and his Realme, and ws yat ar his subjettis. And alsa ye Kingis Hienes and zoure Grace desirit me, at my parting, yat I suld be ane gude servand to ye Kingis Grace my Soverane Lord, to help at my power for to put unyte concorde and pece betuix yer twa realmez, and for to draw the grete men of yis realme fra ye way of France, and fra ye Duke of Albanyis cast. To thir foresaid poyntis I have done my utir diligence, baith with my persoun freyndis and gudis, and nocht sparit for fere nor displesser of na maner of persoun, bot alnterly regardand ye weill of my Soverane, and plesour of the Kingis Hienes and zoure Grace, I have drawyn ye maist parte of ye Lordis of yis realme to my cast, and yat was nocht done without grete pane and travell; zoure Grace beand remembrit yat ye Kingis Hienes and ze causit me to mak ane band, yat I suld nocht intromett with ye Quenys Gracis persoun landis nor gudis, unto ye tyme yat His

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 98.

Hienes

Hienes mycht cause his Ambassiatouris to speke with ye Quenys Grace, to se gif Scho wald be contentit, at ye plessour of ye King of Ingland, for to trete me as hir husband, and I agane to do Hir Grace plessour stede and service, according to hir estate and honoure. At ye sicht of ye King hir broyer, I haif at all tymez offerit my service to Her Grace, bot Scho will on na wise be contentit with me, bot perseveris ever mare in hir evill mynde, contrary me and all yat takis my way. Tharefore I beseke ye Kingis Hienes and zoure Grace, yat ze wil be contentit, yat I may intromett with all thingis yat pertenis to ye Quene yat I haif richt to, baith of resoun and gude conscience; and gif nede beis, yat I may haif the Kingis help and zouris incontrare Hir, and all yat will take hir parte, according to the Kingis promys and zouris. For I have at my sympil power done ye Kingis Hienes and zoure Grace ye best service yat I couth in thir partis, and sall persevere in ye samyn.

Ferthir I wrait boith to ye Kingis Hienes and to zour Grace for twa beneficis yat war vakand in Scotland, ye one callit ye Bischoprik of Murray, the othir callit ye Abbacy of Melrose; and as zit I have nocht gottin na ansuere from ye Kingis Hienes and zoure Grace, gif ze haif gottin ye promocioun fra Rome of ony of yai saidis beneficis to my brothir; nor I haiff gottin na ansuer fra zoure Grace anentis ye bullis of ye Abbacy of Coldinghame, yat zour Grace promyst to me, quhen I was with zow my self. My hoill troist of all thir materis ar in to zour Grace. I beleif yat I sall do swa in thir partis, that ye King and ze sal nocht think it tynt yat ze do to me. I haif maid no diligence to ye Popis Holynes, becaus I belevit zoure Grace wald ramember parte apoun me.

And as for tythingis in this realme, I refer yame to ye Kingis Ambassiatour for. I beleif he has writtin yame at lenth to zour Grace. I beseke zour Grace to tak so moch pane apoun me, to recommend my sympill service to the Kingis moist noble Hienes and to ye Quenys Grace; desirand zour Gracis ansuer agane of all thir forsaid poyntis. And, gif yare be ony service yat I may do to the plesour of zoure Grace in to this realme, charge me, and I salbe reddy. As God knawis, quhom ever preserf Zour nobill Grace at zour hartis desyre and plesour. Writtin at Edinburgh, ye 8 day of the moneth of Marche.

Your Gracis servand at command,

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Cardinallis Grace of Ingland.

(*Signed*) Erl of Angus.

CXVII. MAGNUS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace to be advertissed that, sethenne my laste writing unto your saide Grace of the 22ti daye of the laste moneth, here have bene soe many contrarietes nowe oone waye and nowe an other, that therfor to this present tyme I have not oonly had any matier of certainty to write unto your Grace, but also I have bene troubled and combred in my mynde, in suche wise as I never was afore, by occasion that I have not founden the Counsaill here soe clerely mynded for peas and amyte towardes Einglande, as I suppoosed I shuld have doone. Howe be it, as every thing procedeth here, your saide Grace shall conceive by these presentes.

The next daye after the date of my laste letters sent unto your saide Grace, the King and the Quenes Grace here came from oute of the Castell to the Parliament, and soe departed, and went to the Abbay of Holy Roode House, the Erle of Anguysshe bering the croune, thErle of Arren the septre, and thErle of Ergile the swoorde, and soe after, oone with an other, fell in further favour and good famyliarite; and by meanes of frendes, with litle sute, the said Erles of Anguysshe and Arren were right well accoorded and agreed, in suche wise and maner as I suppoos thay woll not breke ayeine. Albe it the Quenes Grace be not gretely pleased therwith.

After this, by Acte of Parliament and by the consent of the Three Estates of this Realme there were chosen thArchbusshop of Saint Andrewes, the Archebusshop of Glasco, the Busshop of Aburdyne, and the Busshop of Domblen, of the spiritualty, and thErles of Anguysshe, Arren, Argile, and Lenneux, of the temporalty, the Quenes Grace being furste and principall, to have the hooll rule and governaunce of the Kingges Person and of this his Realme, besides speciall commodities and autorite graunted to the Quenes saide Grace, mentionned and specified by copy of the articles of the concoorde and agreement, whiche with my laste letters I sent unto your saide Grace.

This fooresaide matier with other had in commynnycation and putte in ordour, the Lordes required thErle of Casselles to declare his credence and instructions, directe unto hym by his colleges the Ambassadours of this Realme resident in Einglande, and appointed a tyme for the same, and furthwith sent for me. Howe be it, afore my commyng, the saide Erle had purpoosed all

[1] Holograph. From the British Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 55.

his

his mynde in the presence of the Kingges Grace, the Quenes Grace, and of all the Lordes and noble men. Wherfore doubting what matier my said Lorde of Casselles had mynystred in myne absence, I had in a redynes a breve of myne instructions, touching the hooll circumstaunces concernyng the demaundes and requestes of the Ambassadours at thair furste commyng and reparing to the Kingges Highnes and your Grace, with the ansuers to the same, and the ordour devised for the peas perpetuall or temporall, not oone article omitted nor postepooned, some brevely conteynned, and some moore at large, for my better remembraunce: and at lenght oppenned shewed and declared the same, the saide Erle of Casselles confermyng every parte by me shewed at that tyme. And by cause I conceived many thingges were doutefull to sondery persons, I required that I mought here thaire oppynnyons, and I wolde make aunsuer to the same, and be redy to scanne and trye every parte, by reason, to be mooste effectuall and valeable, booth for the weall surety and preservation of the yong King, mooste proufitable and commodious for his subjectes, and the higheste way to cause his Realme to encreace and florisshe in riches. I was moore quik in this matier, by cause ther was a gret personnage naither favourable in woordes nor countenaunce therunto, as your Grace shall conceive withynne 4 or 5 dayes by an other letter to be penned after an other maner.

Hit was appointed that the next daie after, Sir William Scotte and oone Adam Otterbourne shulde have commynned all matiers with me afore the Counsaill; and in conclusion, upon my poore reasons made in fortefying your gracious instructions for a peas perpetuall or temporall to be had betwene booth these realmes, noe comprehension nor mention to be made in the same of Fraunce, grounded furste of the nigh marching to gader of these saide twoe realmes withynne oone yle and of oone speche and langage, the proxymyte of bloode betwene the Kingges Highnes my Maister and the yong King his tender neviewe here, the saide yong Kingges possibilitye of enheritaunce booth to the crounes of Einglande and Fraunce, and fynally the grete likelihoode he hath to be preferred afore all other to the mariage of my Lady Prynces, yf favourably and in mooste loving maner His Grace canne and woll use hym to the Kingges Highnes his uncle; my saide Lorde of Aburdyne, pretermitting reasonnyng in these premisses, made ansuer touching mariage oonly, and that peas shulde not procede afore mariage, but that reasonnable it were, that mariage and peas shulde concurre and goe to gader. And as I putte example of the concluding, furste of peas, and thenne of mariage, betwene Einglande and Fraunce, at the wynnyng of Tournay; right soe the saide Busshop shewed sondery examples for mariage furste to be required, and thenne

thenne peas to succede and folowe; concluding, if the saide mariage couth or mought goe forwarde, the hooll realme of Scotlande was fully mynded and inclyned utterly to abandon and leve Fraunce, and hoolly to be conjoynned with a perpetuall peas to the realme of Einglande; and elles, remembring the oolde lege betwene Fraunce and Scotlande contynued by the space of five or sex hondreth yeres, the saide Busshop alleged it was thought to the Lordes of Scotlande that it shulde be gretely to the reprooche of thair honours aither to agre to a peas perpetuall or temporall, as was required at this tyme on our party. Therfore I understande by the reapoorte of the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes, principall and president here of all other next the Quenes Grace, that the saide Erle of Casselles shall departe from hennes towardes Einglande withynne 8 dayes, to declare that the Counsaill here have determynned to require the Kingges Highnes to take an abstinence of warre for 8 monethes, or for a like tyme, as shall and may be concluded, withoute making any mention of Fraunce, to thintent that in the meane tyme the King and the saide Counsaill here may sende to the Frenshe King for saving of thair honours; shewing that by occasion of warre this realme is soe ympoverisshed, that of necessite they muste be infoorced to have peas with Einglande, or elles the realme to be utterly loste and distrued. With this, and many other thingges sounding to the Kingges high pleasur and youres, it is thought here the saide Erle shall passe forwarde with spede. And, as I understande, the said Archebusshop is mynded in breve tyme to take travell upon hym self for making of a good peas betwene booth these realmes, and is mynded also to sende to your Grace for a saufconduyt; and at this tyme writeth myche of his mynde to your saide Grace.

And, for somyche as I conceived, by reapoorte of sondery persons, that the Lordes, leving for this tyme booth thordour of a perpetuall and a temporall peas, were mynded to conclude upon an abstinence of warre for a season as is aforesaide; I therfore repared to the King the Quenes Grace and the Lordes, and, thay all being to gader, I saide conceiving howe nigh the ordouring of the saide abstinence of warre proceded upon suche articles and instructions as lately came hider from the Frenshe King, that I doubted howe the Kingges Highnes my maister wolde accept hit; and therfore, yf suche a thing shulde passe, I required to knowe what surety wolde be made for keping frome hennes the Duke of Albeny, and in case he came, and wolde enter into this realme, howe his commyng shulde be resisted. For it was naither the abstynence of warre for 8 monethes, nor for 8 yeres, that the Kingges Highnes my maister estemed somyche, as the weall surety and preservation of the yong King his dereste nevewe there present; whiche couthe not be doone, the saide Duke

Duke being in this realme, withoute myche doubte and suspicion of the yong Kingges mooste noble person to be in grete perill and daunger, yf this matier be not well fore seene and provided for afore. After the shewing of this, with sondery other circumstaunces concernyng the same, my Lorde of Saint Andrewes, and other the Lordes, said that the Kingges Highnes shulde therynne be soe well acertaynned and aunsuerde, as thay trusted shulde be to the high pleasure and contentation of His Grace in this behalve.

As farre as my poore witte canne extende unto, I have applyed me and used all the waies and meanes I couth to have induced and persuaded the Quenes Grace and the Lordes of Counsaill to have consented and agreed aither to the peas perpetuall or temporall, as was devised from your saide Grace; and for that purpoos have doone many noble men to here see and loke upon the copy of the Poopes breve, and to understande the grete goodnes and mooste singuler intier good will and mynde that the Kingges Highnes bereth to his dereste nevewe the yong King, with the blessid mynde and good advertismentes of the Poopes Holynes had towardes the saide yong Prince for the Kingges sake, and at the contemplation of His saide Highnes. And over this, to thentent and purpoos aforesaide, I have doone the beste chere I couth, ofte and sondery tymes, to the noblemen of this realme, insomyche that I have had the mooste parte of thaym with me, booth spirituall and temporall, some oone daye 10 or 12 Busshops Erles and Barons, besides many other good gentill men.

Mi Lorde of Saint Andrewes hath bene gretely charged sethenne Cristenmas with keping a grete house and contynually useth the same; in myne oppynnyon to his payne, by occasion of coste. His Lordeship saith to me, he hath enterteynned, and intendeth to enterteyne, the Lordes, in suche a soorte as shalbe for the weall of the yong King his maister, and of this his realme; and as shalbe to the pleasure of the Kingges Highnes and of your Grace.

The Quenes Grace enterteynneth thErle of Anguysshe with good countenaunce and famylier commynnycation, but contynually Her Grace procureth the saide Erle, by all the ways and meanes she canne, to a devorse, and at all tymes consisteth upon the same oppynnyon; requiring the said Erle, aswell by messengers as by her selff at thair meting, naither to make the Kingges Highnes privea therunto, your saide Grace, nor me. This knowlege I have by the saide Erle of Anguysshe.

I am right sory to write or mention any thing ayeinste the Quenes Grace here, but of trouth sethenne the commyng hider of Mr Radcliff and me, naither he nor I, nor I sethenne his departing, have founden the Quenes saide

Grace favourable and lovingly dispoosed and inclyned naither to the realme of Einglande, to the Kingges Highnes, nor to us his servauntes, oonles it were when Her Grace required or was in truste to have money, as I suppoos Mr Radcliff hath reapoorted. And for my parte, sethenne his saide departing, I have founden the same soe true, that I am sory to putte any parte therof in paper; remembring, whenne I have seen any good apparaunce, I have written the beste, and soone after founden clene the contrary; so that by occasion therof myche trouble and grete contraversy is in this realme, and mooste specially by cause good counsaill hath bene putte aparte, and wilfulnes accept and taken for the beste; and, by the occasion, the Kingges causes have bene neclected and putte to hynderaunce, that otherwise mought right well have bene advaunced, as with Goddes grace nevertheles shalbe herafter, yf all promyses be kept, as I truste shalbe, on the behalve of my Lorde of Saint Andrewes.

His Lordeship besecheth your Grace to have in remembraunce his matier for the reformation of thexemption of Glasco from the see of Saint Andrewes. A remedy to be opteynned in this matier shulde be right pleasaunt to my saide Lorde, and myche to the contentation of his mynde. I truste that, betwene your saide Grace and the saide Archebusshop, many thingges shall come to good effecte and purpoos, upon this mutuall intelligence perfitely had nowe betwene your saide Grace and his Lordeship.

I have written unto your Grace at sondery tymes that I have bene in fere and daunger of my contynuaunce here, whiche was mooste specially for the Quenes displeasure had towardes me, and to suche as reasoorted unto my company; insomyche as suche her servauntes of her oune, as Her Grace commaunded booth at my furste commyng hider and sethenne to reasoort unto me, have been and ar discharged from the presence of Her Grace, oonly upon susspicion that thay shulde discloos unto me some parte of her secretes; as in good faith thay did not, but ever used thaym in my company as veray honeste and right wise personnages. And sethenne the Quenes said Grace received the Kingges laste mooste honourable letters, Her Grace, naither afore for wante of money, nor sethenne, wolde looke upon me, nor suffer the yong King to speke unto me.

Furthermoore pleas it your Grace to understande, that my sauf conduyt shall expire and goe furth withynne 26 dayes. Wherfore I humble beseche the Kingges Highnes and your Grace that I may be discharged of myne aboode and contynuaunce here; for ofte I am in susspition and some daungier, and spende the Kingges money, and myne owne, in right large maner, and doe noone otherwise prevaill in the cause of my commyng hider, but as your saide

saide Grace dooth conceive. Some persons say, "This Einglisshe man doothe "noe good amongges us, and hath noe cure though oone of us bete doune an "other; for we wolde be of the same mynde and oppynnyon if we were in "Einglande." Other there ar also, that by occasion of my long contynuaunce here making reasonnable sute, be therfore moore hawte and highe in thair oppynnyons, thinkking and also speking many symple woordes, as if the Kingges Highnes were right nude and bare of frendes, and glad therfore to sette soe myche by thaire favours.

ThErle of Anguysshe and his breder full humbly recommaunde thaym unto your Grace, and the saide Erle writeth unto youe at this tyme, and booth he and his broder William beseche your Grace that they may have knowelege, what is doon by your gracious favour for making sure of Coldingham[1] to the said William. For in case the matier be intriked with trouble in the Courte of Rome, thay be desirous to be advertissed therof, and specially of your gracious pleasure, trusting elles to have some remedy upon agrement with the competitor for a pention; whiche wolbe costelewe and chargeable, and therfore, if it mought be, thay wolde fayne with your gracious favour have some moore easy waye and meanes to opteyne the same promotion, asmyche for having rule of the men there, as for other proufite. I assure your Grace the saide Erle and his breder be as faste to the Kingges Highnes and to your Grace, next to the King thair maister, as is possible after thair powers. The saide Erle speketh and saith oppenly in gret presence, his maister not offended, he woll serve the King of Einglande ayeinste any Prince, making nor axing question whether the Kingges Highnes woll commaunde hym to goe, with asmany his frendes as he is able to assemble for suche a purpoos. The good enterteynnyng of the saide Erle in Einglande, though the Quenes Grace here were not nor yet is pleased therwith, is gretely estemed in this realme, to the Kingges mooste noble fame and grete honour.

At the commyng frome oute of the Castell of the Kingges Grace and the Quene his moder, and upon the reparing unto thair presence of thoder Lordes, Harry Stewarde attended for the Quenes Grace as he did afore, for 2 or 3 dayes; and after having daungerous countenaunce and better counsale, avoided prively, and paste, as I here, with two of his breder to the Quenes Castell of Sterling, and there contynueth. There ar also departed thErle of Murray and the Busshop of Rosse, booth to gader, and thErle of Eglynton with other.

[1] Lesley styles William Douglas, in 1520, the "new maid Priour of Coldinghame," p. 115., yet it seems that he had not in 1525 obtained his confirmation. Douglas, on the 1st of March, wrote to Wolsey, soliciting his interest at Rome. Caligula, B. I. leaf 79.

Upon Mondaye nyghte laste, here was myche busynes, and all the Lordes up with many men about the Abbay, upon a susspicion that the Kinge shulde have bene conveyd away; some say to the see, some to Dombar, some to Sterling, and some oone way, and some an other, at thair pleasures. Wherupon Marke Carre was taken, and kept in warde a night and a daye; and after, upon suche declarations, as was made by the yong King and the Quenes Grace, and at the commaundement specially of the yong King, the saide Marke Carre was put at large, and deliverde to His Grace. This matier being soe pacefyed, the said King and the Quene be commen from thAbbay, and doe lye and shall contynue for a season in the myddes of the toune.

This my letter hath taried these three dayes for want of my Lorde of Saint Andrewes letter. I truste thay booth ariving to gader shall depende the oone upon the other to some good effecte, by the grace of God, whoe evermoore have Your saide Grace in His mooste blessed preservation. At Eddinburgh, the 9th day of Marche.

Your mooste humble preiste and bedeman,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) T. Magnus.

Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CXVIII. Archbishop Betoun *to* Wolsey.[1]

My Lord, I commend my hertlye service to Zour Grace in my maist humyll and lawly maner. And has persavit cleirly, be zour Gracis writtingis, now laitly ressavit fra zour rycht wyse and discreit servitour Maister Thomas Magnus, bering the dait at Brydiswell ye 8th day of Marche, yat zour Grace, lik ane vertuouse prelat, ane prudent servitour and faythfull subdect to zour Soverane, is sa myndit to ye weilefair and increse of his blud, that ze with all hertly favour will leif na thing undone, yat may be to ye honour of his derrest nephew ye Kingis Hienes my Maisteris faythfull servitouris; and traisting yat my sympilnes be ane of yai, has nocht anerly purposit my erectioun to hear digniteis, bot alsua has movit the Kingis Hienes zour Soverane to do semlably.

My Lord, in verite seing the Kingis Hienes, my Soverane and Maister, using his awin auctorite be ye counesale of sobir personage of litill witt or

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[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 422.

experience,

experience, I nowyer nycht nor day decistit, with all my cur and besynes, calling yairto ye avyse and manteinance of ye gretest Lordis and of maist wysedome and experience, to sett remeid to yat mysordour; nocht alanerly for yat effect, bot alsua for ane resolutioun to be takin apoun ye commoun materis depending betuix yir twa realmis, to ye quhilkis na furtherance, bot rather impediment and delayis, was maid be yaim yat yan had gyding. And now, becaus yair has bene greit wariance betuix yir twa realmys throw ye occasioun of weir, perfit pece can nocht weile be haistely concludit for diverse causis, as ye Abbot of Cambuskenneth will advertyse zour Grace at mair lencht, quham to it will lik ye samyn to gyf credence accordingly. Thairfor we concludit apoun ye desyre of ane abstinence for ye haill sessoun of yis somer, yat in ye meyntyme, throw famyliar and mutuall tendirnes and conversatioun betuix our maisteris and yair subditis, and be zour Graces help and supple, ye effect of ye desyris, alseweill for ye part of Ingland as yis realme, may be brocht to sic fyne, yat be ye said abstinence yair sall grow ane perpetuale amite and pece, to ye plesure of God, honour eise and commodite of baytht ye realmes. To ye quhilk, insewand zour Gracis command and assistance, I sall gif sic help cuyr and faythfull diligence, yat zour Grace of ressoun sall laubour, alsweill at ye Papis Halynes as at ye Kingis Hienes zour Soverane, for my promotioun to ye auctorite dignite and previlegis, be zour Gracis writtingis and credence, planely and at lencht, to my sympilnes promisit. And, gif yair be ony doutis anent ye instructionis send with ye Erle of Cassillis, I, beand advertist yairof, sall oppin ye sammyn mair cleirly; assuring zour Grace yat I purpose sa faythfully with all my service and besynes sa effectuously concur with zour Grace, yat na man sall have power to brek ye abstinence or appuncmentis to be contractit betuix yir twa Princis, or to dissever yame fra mutuall kyndnes according to ye neirnese of yair blud. As mair amply ye said Maister Thomas Magnus, of quhais wysedome and vertuouse governance in yis realme I have sic experience, yat he is of my counesale in all my besynes, can and will in every behalf at mair large advertyse Zour Grace, quham God conserve eternaly. Off Edinburgh, ye 15 day of Marche, 1524.

Zour Gracis, with all lauchfull service,

(*Signed*) James Primat of Scotland.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Cardinalis Grace
of Zorke &ca.

CXIX. Bishop Dunbar *to* Wolsey.[1]

My Lord. I commend my laulie service to Zoure Grace, advising the samyn the letters, quhilkis it has pleasit the Kingis Hienes write to me of Lundoun the 8 day of this instaunt moneth, to giddir thame ze wrait of the samyn daite, I haif ressavit by his counsaloure Maister Thomas Magnus[2]; and gretumlye rejosis to perceve thairby, as by mony uther significatioun and remonstrancez, the greate affactioun and entiere lufe His most gracious Excellence beris towartis his derrest nepveu my Soverane, quhilk moir and moir declaris the self by effect. Quhare the said lettres desyris most the conjunccioun of thir two realmez in mair perfite amite and confederacioun; requiring me, amangis utheris heyre my Lordis of Counsale, to persist in determinacioun according to the commoun weale; to quhilk, yocht I am be all law and reasoun most oblist, zite mekill mair grantis me thertoo astrict, at the requisicioun of so greate ane Prince most tendre to my Soverane, and so desyrous of his goode and prosperous estaite; and als at zoure hortacioun following, quhilk I dewowe all lefull service to me possibill to His hie Majestee; thankand als zoure Grace for zoure goode lettres and opinioun ze bere of me, quhilk I sall studye at utter lauboure in effect to compreif, as at moir lenth I have writin ansuere to zoure first letterz with my Lord of Cassillis[3], quha presentlye divertis to zou, instructit in this and the uther chaergis committit unto him and his collegies my Lordis Ambassiadouris.

My Lord, I praye God eterne conserve zou in felicite. Writin of Edinburgh, the 15 daye of Marche.

Excellentissime Vestre Reverendissime Dominationis

Mandatarius,

(*Signed*) Ab Donen'.

(*Superscribed*)

To my Lorde Cardinallis Grace of Zorke, &ca.

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[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. I. No 16.

[2] In the Chapter House, State Papers Scotland, p. 74. is the Bishop of Aberdeen's letter of thanks to Henry VIII. of this same date.

[3] Cassillis returned to London on the 19th of March, and on the 23d concurred with the Bishop of Dunkeld and the Abbot of Cambuskenneth in concluding an abstinence of war until the 15th of May, which is printed by Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 35.

CXX. Queen Margaret *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Deryst Brothar the Kyng, in my mast hwmblyst vys I can I recomend me to Your Grace. Plesyth Your Grace to vyt, it is gyfne tyl ondarstand in thys Raulme, yat Your Grace is solystyd to vryt to ye Paypez Halynez be som gret parssonage of thyz Raulme, to revok and a null the exsempcyon gyffne to ye Byschope of Glasgo, vylke haz bene mastar to the Kyng my son, and therefor belyvez erar that Your Grace suld stand for hyz prevelaige and exsempcyon, than revok or anull it, as he vylke is and haz bene ay trw to the Kyng my son and Me, and gat the Archbyschopryk tyl hyz revard at owr request. Prayeng Your Grace ther for Ze vyl wryt to your Orator the Byschope of Bath in Rome, not to solyst in that matar to hyz damage nor prejwdyz, for it vyl be thowt strange. Besekyng Your Grace to lat Me vyt your mynd in thyz behalfe. And God have You in Hyz kypeng. Vryten the 22 day of Marche.

(*Signed*) Your humbyl Systar,

Margaret R.

(*Superscribed*)
To the hy and myhty Prynce, my deryst brothar, the Kyngs Grace.

CXXI. Archbishop Betoun *to* Wolsey.[2]

My Lord, I commend my hertlye service to Zour Grace in my maist humyll maner, certefying ye sammyn I resavit zour full effectuouse and substanciall letters dateid at Brydwell ye 16 day of Marche ; persawyng be ye sammyn, and alsua be ye report of rycht wyse and honorabill Maister Thomas Magnus, zour Gracis faythfull servitour, yat ye Kingis Hienes and zour Grace be verray glaid and joyus of ye gud ordour now takin in ye establissing of ane certane of nobill and wyse Lordis to be about the Kingis Hienes my Soverane : schewing also how ye Kingis Hienes zour maister is myscontentit of ye depesche and charge gevin to ye Erle of Cassillis, being hiely movit and displesit at yame, quhilkis has bene ye occasioun of sic magre and unfrutfull resolutioun takin in yis greit and wechty cause, and marowr in quhayis defalt ye said mater is

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[1] Holograph. From the Royal Letters in the Chapter House, Vol. V. leaf 45. A letter to the same purpose from James V. to Henry is in Vespasian, F. III. leaf 36 b, and has been printed by Ellis in his first series, Vol. I. p. 251.

[2] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. VII. leaf 96.

postponit,

postponit; quheyer it be in ye Quenis Grace of yis realme or uyeris, it will nocht faill breifly to appeir. And also ye Kingis Hienes of Ingland and zour Grace desyris ane better conclusioun to be takin, ouyer of perpetuale or temporale peax, betuix yir twa Princes, or ye returnyng of ye said Erle: quhairinto my repair to zour Soverane, sua it be in breif tyme, sall gyf singular supplement and help. For ye quhilk purpose zour Grace has send ane saulf-conduct of ye Kingis zour Soveranis for my repair to His Hienes, lik as mair amply zour Gracis letters proportis.

My Lord, albeit yair is, with greit laubouris besynes and cure, concurrand yerto ye gud will favour and help of the Kingis Hienes and zour Grace, ordour taking of ane substanciall and wyse Counesale of nobill men to be about ye Kingis Hienes my Soverane and Maister; nochtyeles, without yair be sum personages amovit, quhilkis gevis greit occasioun to ye said zoung Prince of insolence, and to tak hie and wilfull opinionis, apperandly; heir-eftir trubill and danger sall accrese, alsweill to His Hienes as to baitht ye realmes. Assuring zour Grace, yat I and ye remanent of ye Lordis of Counesale nevir intendit to seik ony practicis subtill or exquesit wayis for hynderyng of gud amite and peax betuix yir twa Princis, yair realmes and liegis, for any aventur, ouyer of victory adversite or rewyne yat mycht ensew to ye realme of France; bot of verray gud mynd in Parliament concludit resolutly apoun ane abstinence of weyr for certane tyme, yat in ye meyne sessoun with honour, matur and ryp deliberatioun, ane perpetuale or temporale peax may be lauborit, to ye plesure of God, proffect eise and contentatioun of yir twa realmes. Quhilk conclusioun being in Parliament, with ye avise of the Estatis of this realme, determinat, ma nocht in schort tyme, the said Erle being enterit in ye said realme of Ingland, or ye cuming of zour Gracis letters, ye Kingis Hienes and Lordis of his secreit Counsale now resident on the northsyde of Tay, I and ye Erle of Anguse being in yis towne of Edinburgh for ordouring of ye Bordouris, stanching and setting of innormiteis, be surly alterit and changit, without ane Parliament be of new sett and affixit; quhilk detfully requiris lang tyme and provisioun. Praying zour Grace, gyf it plesis ye sammyn, to send to me ane saulf conduct in mair ampile and large forme, yan yis now send laitlie to ye said Maister Magnus, for ye space of ane zeir, to pas throw ye realme of Ingland, to quhatsumevir uyer partis, to our haly Fader ye Paipe; sua yat with dew processes and lasar, I ma put my propir besynes in yis realme to gud ordour, and solist sic gud wayis within ye sammin, or my departing, yat in my passing throw ye said cuntre, ma with avise and consent of the Estatis of yis realme, treit and commoun with ye Kingis Hienes and zour Grace apoun sic thingis, as may finaly be to ye weill

of

of baitht our Maisteris yair subjectis and liegis. Beleifand fermely yat zour Grace, of zour hie providence and wysedome, will nocht suppose yat havand sic cur and auctorite, baytht in spiritualite and temperalite, as lyis to my charge, was ony wyse myndit suddanly to repair towartis ye Kingis Hienes and zour Grace, and to be restrenzeit to pase throw certane landis, quhair my besynes and erandis ar nocht anerly to be dressit unto zour said Soverane, bot alsua unto our haly Fader ye Pape, for ye service of my Maister and weile of yis his Realme, as in every behalf ye said Maister Thomas Magnus, zour rycht wyse honorabill and discreit servitour, being to me of counesale, and haifing knawlege and perfyt advertisment of all sic materis as here occurris, will advertyse zour Grace witht ample and large informatioun. And yus God preserve Zour Grace. Writtin at Edinburgh, ye 29 day of Marche.[1]

Zour Gracis with all lauchfull service,

(*Superscribed*) To my Lord Cardinalis Grace of Zork, &ca.

(*Signed*) James Primat of Scotland.

CXXII. Angus *to* Wolsey.[2]

My Lorde. In my maist hartely maner my service beand recommendit unto Zour Grace with detfull reverence, I have ressavit zoure lettres datit at Brydwell the 16 day of yis instant Marche, and thankis zoure Grace of zoure saide hartelie wrytingis, gude and loving mynde towart me at all tymez. And, quhare zoure Grace thankis me of my gude bering and havingis towart the King my Soverane for the wele of baith ye realmez, sen my last cummyng in Scotland; in yat mater I refer me to the Kingis Ambassiatoure Maister Magnus, gif I have nocht done my uter power to bring all materis in yis cuntre to ane gude and fynale resolutioun, in safer as lyis in me, twiching all ye pointis and artikillis the Kingis Hienes and zoure Grace desirit me to fulfill at my departing. And, quhare the Kingis Hienes and zoure Grace desiris me, be

[1] On the same day Betoun wrote to Bishop Cockburn an answer to the Bishop's letter from London of the 15th of March, in which, as likewise in another letter to the Secret Council, he appears to have desired the conclusion taken respecting peace, as sent by Cassillis, to be altered. The Archbishop assigns the same reasons against its speedy alteration as in his letter to Wolsey, and directs him to solicit Henry VIII. and Wolsey to grant the abstinence of war for a certain time, as contained in Cassillis's instructions. This letter, which is in the Chapter House, State Papers Scotland, p. 43, is signed, not like that in the text, but "Ja. Stãdr."

[2] From the Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 431.

zoure writing, to supersede the intromecting with ye landis or gudis pertenyng to ye Quenys Grace for ane schort tyme; makand mencioun in ye samyn writingis, yat the Kingis Grace has writtin scharplie unto Hir at this tyme, beleiffing eftir the sicht thareof Scho sall stand bettir myndit to me nor Scho did of before; I am sory the Kingis Hienes and zoure Grace has tane sa mekle pane in yat mater, and na thing cummyn til effect. As for me, I ever was and is reddy to use the Kingis and zoure Gracis command and counsale in yat mater and all utheris, myne alligiance to my Soverane anerly except; and besekis the Kingis Hienes and zoure Grace to be contentit yat I intromett with the Quenys landis and gudis, safer as I aucht of richt and gude conscience; and forthir I will nocht desyre.

I made mencioun in my uthir wrytingis, lately send to zoure Grace of before, off twa beneficis vakand in this realme, the Bischoprik of Murray and Abbacy of Melroise; desiring the Kingis Hienes and zoure Grace, for the service and plesure I mycht do the samyn, it wald have plesit zow to have lauborit for the promotioun yerof at ye Courte of Rome, to my brother, oyer for one or boith: and I have gottin na ansuere quhat is done in yat behalf. And besekis zoure Grace it will like zow to advertise me in write, quhat ze have done yeranent, and quhat I sall lippin to thairin. And forther I wald be advertist, gif zoure Grace has gottin ye bullis of Coldingame to my said brother; or, gif yai may nocht be sped, yat I may lauboure sum uther way for the help yerof; for my hale traist is in the Kingis Hienes and zouris of thir materis above writtin. And as for all tythingis in yer partis, I refer to the Kingis Ambassiatour Maister Magnus, quhilk I traist will write ye samyn at lentht to zoure Grace.

Over this, my Lord, I have avisit the said Maister Magnus to write unto zoure Grace to cause the Kingis Hienes at his plesure to send sum litill thingis for tokynnys to the King my Maister, as hornys, bowis, arrowis, pursis, or uthir like plesures; and yat I may have the deliveray of yame[1], quhareby I traist to kepe His Grace in bettir trane towart His said Hienes, than he has bene afore. And, gif yare be ony service I may do to the Kingis Hienes and zoure Grace in thir partis, I am and sal be ay reddy to fulfill the samyn at the utermaist of my power. As knawis Oure Lord God, quha have zour Grace in His happy tuicioun and governance. At Edinburgh, the 29 Day of Marche.

Be zour Grace humyl Servitour,

(*Signed*) Erl of Angus.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Cardinalis Grace of Zork, &ca.

[1] This request was repeated by Magnus, and appears to have been ultimately complied with, for on the 24th of August Angus in a letter to Henry VIII. mentions that he and Magnus have delivered various presents to James V. Caligula, B. I. leaf 114.

CXXIII. Magnus *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleas it Youre Grace to be advertissed. Youre gracious letters, dated at Bridewell the 16th daye of this moneth, with the other, were deliverde me here the 21th daye of this saide moneth, at whiche tyme the Kingges Grace and the Quenes Grace here were gone northwardes, and the Lordes departed into sondery places and contreys; as afore I wroote unto your said Grace they intended to doe. Ymmediately upon the receipte of the saide letters I passed over the water from hennes to Domfarmeling, and founde there thArchebusshop of Saint Andrewes, nowe Chaunceler of Scotlande, and thErle of Angwisshe, and deliverde to thaym your gracious letters, whiche thay received in mooste humble and thankefull maner. And, for somyche as thay were commyng towardes Edinburgh for ordouring causes upon the Bordours, and were determynned to contynue and tary there by the space of 6 or 7 dayes, it was accoorded that I shulde passe towardes the King and the Quenes Grace, being thenne at Saint Johnstoune, and from thennes to retourne ayeine to the said Lordes at Edinburgh.

At my commyng to Saint Johns toune, upon knowelege had of the tyme of my reparing and commyng to the presence of the Kingges and the Quenes said Graces and to the Lordes of thaire Counsaill, furste, after mooste condingne salutation, I shewed in famylier maner the newes touching the over throwe of the Frenshe King, and of all his armye in Italy, and howe the said King, and the King of Navarre, with sondery other Princes, and a grete noumber of other estates and grete Lordes of Fraunce, were taken prysonners, besides an other noumber of thaym slayn in the feilde; and shewed thair names, as were acertaynned to me frome Mr Brian Tuke, besides also a grette noumbre of the commynnalty booth slayn and taken prisonners. Whiche newes, albe it some notice of the same were had afore with light credence, came cooldely to the knowlege of the herers, in maner as a thing not possible. Howe be it, the matier better degested and remembred, some were right sory, some couth not conteyne, but braste furth thaire inwarde crewell cogitations, and some said, "Thus the King of Einglande can sitte at hoome, and cause the King of "Fraunce to be venquesshed and subdued by his oune subjecte." I assure youre Grace this matier is highly estemed in these parties, and myche dolour

[1] Holograph. From the Museum, Caligula, B. VII. leaf 3.

made by many that suppoos thay have loste thare frendes and kynnesfolkes. The yong King was desirous to here the certaintye of this matier, but the Quenes Grace made noe maner demaunde therof, naither she gave any congratulation for the same, as farre as I couth conceive, or in anywise it couth come to my knowledge.

After commynnycation openly had of these premisses, I required the Quenes Grace that I mought speke with her a parte; and soe I did, in a privea chambre, all folkes avoided but oonly Her said Grace and my selff. And there I deliverde to Her said Grace the Kingges mooste honourable letters, which Her Grace received in full honourable maner. And, after Her Grace had over seen and redde 5 or 6 lynes of the same, she altred her countenaunce in suche maner, that it was an houre after, or Her Grace couth sobur her self from weping; and long it was, and with myche payn, or that Her Grace couth bring the said letter to an ende. In the meane tyme some woordes were betwene us; and, as it apperteynned for my party, I armed me with pacience, some deall combred to make aunsuers. Howe be it, whenne I sawe the Quenes countenaunce proceding aither for sorowe or displeasure, and rather in myne oppynnyon for displeasure, insomyche as Her Grace saide suche a letter was never written to any noble woman, I required Her Grace with pacience to noote every parte of the said letter, and to be aswell content with the same, as the Kingges Highnes my Maister was with her letter, and a letter also written frome thErle of Arren by her advice and commaundement to the Kingges said Highnes, conteynnyng sondery manasingges, with many hawte and high woordes litell regarding the Kingges high honour, declaring noon Ambassadours to be sent into Englande, if that thErle of Angwisshe shulde be sufferde to come into Scotlande; which letters the Kingges Highnes did lightly overpasse withoute any displeasure or making matier or question for the same. I shewed also theffecte of the Kingges said letter paste not withoute sondery other occasions; that is to wete; the Kingges Highnes, at the putting to large and liberty of the yong King, for his erection to his estate and dingnite royall, was content to spende his gooddes and money for the weall and surety of the said yong King, and for the mayntenaunce of Her Grace in her autorite, and to be in myche higher estymation thenne she was afore; trusting therfore to have had her mooste benevolent mynde and favour for the conyoynnyng and knytting to gader of these twoe realmes in perfite peas favour and amyte, upon many and sondery mooste loving advertismentes, aswell shewed to Her Grace by many writingges, as by the reapoorte booth of me and of Mr Radcliff; sounding ever to the mooste singuler weall surete proufite and grete avauncement of the saide yong King, and for the commyn weall of this his realme

realme of Scotlande: yet Her Grace, without any speciall remembraunce had of the premisses, and of many other sondery grette kyndenesses shewed by the Kingges Highnes, whenne she had the hooll autorite withynne the realme, naither wolde folowe the good advice and counsaill of the Kingges said Highnes, for the better fortefying and maynteynnyng of her said autorite, nor sende thAmbassadours of this realme into Einglande with any favourable commission for the good enterteynnyng of firme peas and amyte to be betwene these twoe realmes, but as was in the moost light and mooste sclender maner; soe that hidertowarde noe good resolution nor effectuall matier succedeth therby. Over this I touched the intelligence suppoosed to be betwene Her Grace and Fraunce, and her favour borne and had to the same, and the mynde she bereth to have a devorce betwene Her Grace and thErle of Angwisshe. All whiche matiers I besought Her Grace to conscider, and to remembre; and, if Her said Grace had not bene soe favourable nor circumspecte in the said matiers, as Her Grace couth or ought to have bene, that yet it mought like Her Grace to have good respecte to the same; specially for the weall and surety of the yong King her sonne, and of this his realme, and for the pleasure of her mooste assured frende and mooste loving broder the Kingges Highnes.

Her Grace excuseth her selff, that she bereth noe favour naither to Fraunce nor to the Duke of Albeny, and reaporteth Her Grace to the yong King her sonne; whoos Grace woll say as shall stande with her pleasure, and I doubte He followeth her instructions and commaundement to myche, as dooth appere after. Yf any thing woll refourme Her Grace, and induce Her to some better ordour, the Kingges mooste honourable letters, nowe deliverde to Her said Grace, ar mooste effectuall to that purpoos, though at the furste motion every thing worke not as I truste it shall doe herafter. For undoutedly were not for drede of the Kingges Highnes, Scotlande wolde favour Her Grace in right sobour maner; and therfore Her saide Grace, conceiving the same, and that the Kingges Highnes woll withdrawe from Her his gracious favour, if she applye Her noe better to his high pleasure, woll in myne oppynnyon refourme Her selff, and conscider the mooste hoolsom advertismentes and counsaill geven to Her Grace by the Kingges Highnes and your Grace at many tymes by paste. Howe be it, I conceive Her Grace bereth her boolde upon the yong King her sonne in suche wise, as if he were at full age she wolde procure His Grace to asmyche busynes as He shulde be able to fortefye or mayntaine; soe as it is thought to the Lordes of Counsaill, if the yong King be not otherwise educate and brought up, thenne yet His Grace is, it woll turne to busynes, whenne He shall come to age. For it is douted his disposition wolbe myche inclyned to cruelty; for whenne the Quenes Grace taketh

taketh displeasure with any the Lordes or other, thenne Her Grace procureth the saide yong King to be sad hevy and pensive, to looke doune and glowme upon thaym, and to have unto thaym some soore and sharpe woordes.

ThErle of Angwisshe contenteth His Grace right well by meanes of pleasure doon by his hawkes and houndes; and yet of late the saide yong King, upon information given by the Quene, mooved right specially the saide Erle to be devorsed from Her Grace, and required hym to agree therunto for the pleasure of His Grace; promising to doe many thingges for hym, accomplisshing this his desire. This motion the said Erle haith avoided, and woll doe, not concluding upon any like thing withoute the Kingges high pleasure and consent be had to the same.

The Quenes Grace was not a litle mooved at me for bringging unto her of the Kingges moost honourable letters, shewing in maner that myche of the matier proceded of the information of me, and of suche other to whoom better credence was geven thenne unto Her Grace. Her said Grace said also she wolde make noone aunsuer to the Kingges letters, by cause Her Grace doubted, if she shulde soe doe, some parte therof shulde be to sharp; naither She wolde receive any letters from the Kingges Highnes, but if She knewe afore the contynue shulde better pleas Her Grace; for suche an other letter wolde be her deeth.

Having some conscideration to this matier, and mooste specially to your gracious advertismentes and commaundement geven unto me, I have not deliverde the Kingges letter to thErle of Angwisshe, the rather by cause he is content to take pacience upon suche promyse and commynnycation as was made for not medeling with any thing of the Quenes, till Whitsonday next commyng; notwithstanding he woll doe and be ordoured therynne, the oone way or the other, after the Kingges high pleasure and youres.

At my being at Saint Johns toune I had commynnycation with the Archebusshop of Glasco, and thErles of Ergile and Lenneux, and shewed thaym I doubted myche howe the Kingges Highnes my Maister wolde accepte the message and offer paste up by the Erle of Casselles; suppoosing His said Highnes wolde not be content to here of any abstinence of warre to be taken betwene His Grace and his mooste tendre nevewe, but rather mynded unto a trieux, from moneth to moneth, to be taken upon the Bordours for the space of twoe monethes at the mooste. And if in the meane tyme nor thenne, there wolde be noe better nor noe moore loving resolution taken for a good peas on the party of Scotlande, I thought verely the Kingges said Highnes my Maister, God willing, wolde prosecute thaym that were the causers of this delay and empechement of the said peas.

The

The said Lordes shewed me thay had knowlege of the same matier from my Lorde Chaunceler, sent unto thaym by poste afore my commyng, and that thay were clerely mynded and determynned to pleas the Kingges Highnes, and to kepe a good peas with His Grace, not letting for Fraunce, nor for any other cause; but thay besought the Kingges Highnes that they mought have the saide abstynence of warre graunted as was required, to thentent that in the meane tyme thay mought discharge thaym to Fraunce, specially for saving of thaire honours. I axed thaym, if thay were soe mynded, conscidering in what case the Frenshe King and the realme of Fraunce standeth ynne at this tyme, to what place or whither thay wolde repaire or sende to speke with the saide Frenshe King. Thay saide it shulde be sufficient for thaym to sende to the Counsaill of Fraunce. I advised thaym soe to see to thair honours, that for thair long tarying therupon thay did not utterly decay distroye and loose the commyn weall of thair realme. For suche thingges were in hande and wirking, that percase, whenne thay wolde be mooste fayn to have peas, it wolde not be gotten; and also it may soe chaunce, thay shalbe inforced to sitte and holde thaym at hoome, for any entercourse of marchaundise to be had by thaym, aither into Einglande, Fraunce, Flaunders, or Spayn, or into many other partes of Cristendome. These woordes thay thought were soore spoken unto thaym, and therfore thay required me of patience till the Kingges commyng to Edinburgh; whiche is appointed to be upon Saturdaye afore Palme Sonday, and that thenne, and soone after, the Counsaill shulde assemble for this matier. With this I was content, as the case for the tyme required.

From the saide toune of Saint Johns toune I paste to Domblene, to speke with the Busshop there, oone of the privea Counsaill, a right honeste and a sobur man. And as afore I had commynned with the other Lordes, soe I did with hym, and founde hym well mynded and myche disspoosed after myne oppynnyon, being a right nighe frende kynnesman and counsaillour to the Busshop of Aburdyne, nowe farre in the north parties. And from thennes I came to Starling, and Lithco, and soe to Edinburgh, and mette there with my saide Lorde Chaunceler and thErle of Angwisshe, as was afore appointed.

And as to the saide Chaunceller, upon thenterlasing of commynnycation betwene his Lordeship and me, in maner as afore was had to the saide Lordes, and some deall more at large, by occasion of the grete truste favour and kyndenes that the Kingges Highnes and your Grace bereth towardes hym, I procured hym with the beste woordes I couth to passe into Einglande; whiche to doe, albe it your Grace had sent unto hym a sauff conduyt for the

same

same intent and purpoos, he said he couth not soe sodainly, conscidering this realme as yet is not stablisshed, but in a begynnyng for justice and good rule to be had in the same, aswell upon the Bordours as in all other places. And over this, my saide Lorde Chaunceler saide it wolde be Eister holidays, or that the Lordes now abroode in sondery parties couth be assembled; and, for somyche as the saide abstynence of warre was that thing that was determynned by the Three Estates, there couth noon other thing passe to be sure, but by like autorite and Acte of Parliament; wherunto it is required, that warnyng of 40 dayes be geven afore; soe that his Lordeship saith he canne not in any wise be redy to sette forwarde till the moneth of Auguste, and thenne he intendeth, as he saith, to goe to Roome for doing the King his maisters homage, and to viset see and salute the Kingges Highnes and your saide Grace, where soe ever ye shalbe at that tyme; and soe, in his going and commyng, to conclude every thing that shall apperteyne to a good and a perfite peas betwene the realmes of Einglande and Scotlande. And for that intent and purpoos he requireth to have a sauff conduyt for the space of a yere, as I understande he writeth to your Grace at this tyme; as by the contynue of his letters your said Grace shall conceive moore at large.

Hit is not to be doubted but the Lordes and noble men of this realme thenke myche by the over throwe of the Frenshe King; specially, as I perceive, for the losse of thair frendes and kynnesfolkes. And yet the saide Chaunceler taketh the matier veray lightely, saying he hath noe cure of Fraunce, for Scotlande, in defence of the same, have loste sondery thair Kingges with grete noumbre of thaire noble men, to the distruction of thair realme. And this oppynnyon he saith that booth he and the hooll Counsaill here doe kepe, and shall kepe without feynnyng or dissimylation, thair honours saved, for the discharging of thair bandes and promyses, as some deall is afore rehersed. Further thenne this, for any thing that I canne doe, I canne not bring the saide Chaunceler; and therfore I reteyne his sauf conduyt in my custody and keping accoording to your gracious commaundement.

As to thErle of Angwisshe, he taketh the over throwe of the Frenshe King not a litle to his counforte, as doe all his frendes and kynnesfolkes; and hering that the Kingges Highnes intendeth to passe into Fraunce in his oune person, licence opteynned of the King his maister, he saith and speketh it openly, he is and shalbe redy to serve the Kingges Highnes in his journay with 500 or 1000 men at the pleasure and commaundement of the Kingges said Highnes. His Lordeship hath written to your Grace moore of his mynde at this tyme by his letter, which nowe I sende unto your saide Grace.

The

The saide Erle is made Warden of thEste and Myddle Marches of Scotlande, whiche roome he saith he wolde not have taken upon hym, but furste to doe service to the King his maister, and thenne next to the Kingges Highnes of Einglande. And full humble he recommaundeth hym to your Grace, beseching the same that some good Warden or Wardens may be on the party of Einglande; and thenne he doubteth not to do good service booth to the King his maister and to the Kingges said Highnes. And amongges other thingges the saide Erle requireth, if any offenders being Scottishe men shall flee into Einglande, that thay be not received there; and in like and semlable maner he saith that Scotlande shalbe ordoured to Einglande; trusting therby that good rule shalbe kept upon booth the Bordours. Wherunto I conceive the saide Erle is fully inclyned, trusting therby, besides other his service, to deserve thanke of the Kingges Highnes and your Grace.

Here have bene afore my Lorde Chaunceler and the saide Erle, the Lorde Hoome, the Lorde of Bouclough, all the Carres, and other landed and hedesmen of the saide Marches, and ar bounden for thaym selves, thair servauntes and tenauntes, to kepe good rule upon the Bordours, aswell withynne Einglande as Scotlande, and to attende upon the saide Erle whenne he shall call upon thaym. Wherfore under the correction of your Grace, the Kingges Highnes and your said Grace not offended, after my poor oppynnyon, conscidering the strooke and autorite that the said Erle hath, booth thorowe Scotlande and upon the Bordours, there shulde not be oone soe mete to have the rule upon the Bordours of Einglande, as the Lorde Dacre; for I am sure the saide Erle wolbe myche moore ordoured by the saide Lorde Dacre, thenne by any other Einglisshe man lying upon the Bordours, by cause the saide Lorde Dacre is not oonly his kynnesman, but also his Lordeship hath the perfite experience for the well ordouring of booth the Bordours; to whoos counsaill I am sure the saide Erle wolbe the mooste glad to lene: and by this meane, practises may be surely used, aswell in every parte of Scotlande as upon the Bordours, which after my mynde canne not soe well be doon as by the saide Lorde Dacre. I beseche your Grace to pardon me, for I write as I thenke, and as the affaires in these parties shulde beste come to good effecte and purpoos for the weall of booth the realmes.

The saide Erle of Angwisshe full humble recommaundeth hym to your Grace, beseching youe to have in your gracious remembraunce the benefices he wroote foore to your said Grace for his broder; and specially the priory of Coldingham, wherof I made mention to your saide Grace in my late letters. The said Erle hath shewed unto me that, amongges other thingges, he hath

taken upon hym the rule of the Bordours, specially to doe pleasure to the Kingges Highnes, and to be moore able, though it be to his coste, to resiste the Duke of Albeny, in case he wolde approche to arive in Scotlande; and hath promised of late to the yong King, that, if the said Duke attempt to enter into Scotlande, he shall geve hym batell withynne 8 dayes after his commyng: and soe in like maner he hath faithfully promised to me, and wolde I shulde thus write unto your Grace. His oppynnyon also is, that the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes, the Chaunceler, woll contynue a good and a faithfull man, and that he darre not goe from his party and oppynnyon for suche displeasures as ar had ayeinste hym by sondery grete men in this realme. Some parte of the Quenes landes, waisted and myspended, wolde doe well to help the said Erle towardes his charges &c. He kepeth an hoole parte to the Kingges Highnes. The saide Erles oppynnyon is, that he wolde be glad the Kingges Highnes shulde sende hider, at some tymes, some propur tokyns to the yong King his nevewe, as hornes, bowes, arowes, or some other like thingges of smale value; and he, having the deliveray of the same, trusteth to trayn hym myche moore to the Kingges pleasure, thenne the Quene hath doon with all the money she hath had. Mi Lorde Chauncelers mynde and oppynnyon concurreth with the same.

Upon Thursday next, as afore I wroote to your Grace, my sauff conduyt shall expire; and therfore, till further I shall knowe your gracious pleasure, I have opteynned my said sauf conduyt to be enlarged for a moneth moore. Humble beseching your Grace to call to remembraunce the gret charge of receipt that I have of the Kingges, to aunsuer for the wardes, landes, and other, having under me but a poore preiste for my depute; and doe not knowe howe he ordoureth the same. This is a thing, that ofte and many tymes combreth my mynde, and putteth me to an inwarde trouble; and therfore eftesoons I humble beseche your Grace to have me in your gracious remembraunce. For here I spende the Kingges money, and myn owne, right largely, with litle counforte; and the Kingges Highnes not soe well served in that roome of receipt, as if I were at hoome my self. And besides the same, I doubte to renne in daunger sondery wises, by occasion of myn absence and long aboode in these partes; for I have accompted of gret sommes of money spent in the north parties for the Kingges warres, withoute having any penny towardes my charges; and as yet I naither have quietaunce nor discharge for the same. And besides that, ther ar sondery other sommes of money, wherof I have enterd to accompt for parte, and some parte I have not accompted fore; and thus, oonles your Grace be good and gracious Lorde unto me, I am likly to incurre in perell and daungier. Money matiers be not lightly to be looked upon,

upon, and therfore it was never my mynde to have medled in any suche roomes, but at all tymes and in every thing, as I canne or may, I have bene, am, and shalbe, at your gracious commaundement. As knoweth Our Lorde God, who ever moore have Your said Grace in His mooste blessed governaunce. At Edinburgh, the laste day of Marche.

Your mooste humble preiste and bedeman,

(*Signed*) T. MAGNUS.

(*Superscribed*)
Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CXXIV. BISHOP COCKBURN, &c. *to* WOLSEY.[1]

MY Lord, in our maist lawlie and humile maner, we commend our service to Zour Grace. And yis nycht heir com ye post with a writing of ye Maister of ye Postis with yer twa writingis til ws, quhilkis we haif send to zour Grace heirwith. Hed we gottin sufficient instructions for peax, we suld nocht sparit our trawell to haif returnit. And quhair my Lord of Sanctandros, Chaunceleir, prayis ws to sollist ye abstinens, becaus we haif utterest ansuer fra ye Kingis Hienes and zour Grace, ze wil nocht consent yairto, and peax ma nocht be concludit without Parliament, we sal speid ws ye hastliar to cause yat Parliament to be soner callit, and yan we salbe sory ye peax we haif begwn to propone cum nocht to gude fyne; and sal sollist yat mater with all our power. And quhat service zoure Grace will command ws forthir, we salbe reddy, as we ar bundin of dett, because we wer sa hartlie resawit, wele cherist, treictit, and rewardit be ye Kingis Hienes and zour Grace; quhom ye Blissit Virgyn haif in blissit keiping. At Hunttingdon, ye 6 day of Aprile.

Be zour servitouris,

(*Signed*) RO: DUNKELD.

(*Signed*) ALEXR̃: ABBAS CÃBN̄TH̃:

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Cardinalis Grace.

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[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 93. An abstinence of war till the 15th of May was concluded at London on the 23d of March. Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 35.

CXXV. Queen Margaret *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Derest Broyer ye Kyng. In my maist humle wyse I recommend Me to Zour Grace. Pleise Zou to wyt, I resavit, be ye handis of Maister Magnus zour servand, ane vrittyn datit ye 23 day of Merch, quhilk writting is rycht soor and scharp, considering yat I haif nocht deserwit ye samyn, bot at my wtter powar did in all thing yat I mycht to Zour Grace; ye quhilk I beseik Zour Grace humlie to call to zour remembrans, and nocht to gif credance to uyeris personis, yat luffis Me nocht, nor zet ye veill of ye Kyng my son. And alswa I beseik Zour Grace to consider I tuk ane gret mater on hand at zour desire and commandment, wyth deligent lawbouris yat I mak continuall at Zour Grace desir and plesur: and utterly atour frendis will I regard litill to thair plesour and favour, notwythstanding Zour Gracis scharp vrittyn nou laist send, I sall kep ane gud part to Zour Grace; besekyng Zour Grace to tak my gud mynde and deid as it is, and to remembir quhat trubill I haf had and hes, for zour saik; and how ye Duke of Albanye, at his fyrst cummyng, put Me fra my twa sonis, and yan I wes fane to leif yis Realme. Secundly, he put Me fra my sone, efter I wes maid, be ye avise of hyme and in Parliament, to remane wyth his Persone, and thocht to haf put Me furth of Scotland; and alwas for Zour Grace sake. And yan ye Duk had gret suspitione yat I favorit zour wais and plesure; and now, quhene I haif maid ye Duk planly to understand yat I do zour plesure in contrare hyme all wtterly, quharthrow I knaw haif tynt hyme, zet Zour Grace will nocht haif consideratione yeirof, bot takis mair tent to myssive billes, yane to Me zour syster; quhilk I think rycht hevy, I doand sa gret ane act in contrar ye said Duk, as I did now, quhilk all Scotland durst nocht dò nor haif tane it apone hand: ye quhilk was bayth rycht gret trawelle and cost to Me. Yis being well considerit, me think it is to be remembryt, and sufficientlye aquitte be gud part and assistans to Me. For in ye first, be my mast deligent lawbour, haifand remembrans of Zour Grace, and it yat mycht be plesand to Zou, I giffand ye aventour to opyne sic ane quhauty mater and , quhilk mater, and it had bene refusit and advertisit to ye Governour, it wald haif bene maid relevant to haif dystroyt Me, as wald haif bene surly folowyt. Secundly, I causit ye Kyng my sone to cleme his awin autorite

[1] Caligula, B. VII. leaf 65. This is indorsed by Magnus, "Copye of the Quene of Scottes letter addressed to the Kingges Highnes, datid a good tyme paste;" and appears to be the copy transmitted by him to Wolsey, as stated in his letter of the 19th of April, p. 364.

personally

personally at his Lordis and Baronis and Thre Estattis, all beyng assemblit togider in his presens; ye quhilk beyng at yat point yai durst nocht deny, bot halely consentyt to ye samyn. Alswa I dresit to haif ye office of Reall Mageste to be assygnit to Me, quhill ye Kyng my sonis laufull aig, to ye effect yat yis Realme suld nocht bene disolat off a immediat persone to be yair heid, togider wyth ye keping of ye Kyng my sonis Persone. And to yis effect, and be yir resonis, ye Governour was nocht necessair to be in yis Realme. And alswa I causit ane lauchfull Parliament to be proclemyt; and at ye said Parliament causit ye Governour to be dischargit of his office, for ye Kyng my sonis liftyme. And all yis beyng solistit be Me and na uyer, for ye plesour of Zour Grace, trasting yerby to haif wone Zour Grace speciall lufe and favouris; quhilk as me think now is ye contrary. And alswa, and it plese Zour Grace, zour serwand Maister Magnus can schow Zour Grace, quhou ye Franch Kyng Inbassatour, yat come last, wes retretyt. And yis I beseik Zour Grace to remembir apone Me, as yis requiris; and gif Zour Grace will nocht be gud and kynd Prynce and Broyer to Me, as I think I haif deservyt, yan I beseik Zour Grace nocht to do Me ewill, nor to cause my Lord of Anghuse to tribill me in my leiffyng nor my persone; bayth for Zour Grace honour, and because I ame ye Kyngis moder and zour suster. And Zour Grace nocht beyng in my contrair I trast surly yair dare na Barroun in yis Realme do Me ane utter displesur, for dred of it yat may follow herefter at ye King my sonis hand. And it is nocht wnknawing yat I haif ye Erle of Anghuse under summondis be ye Papis executoriallis, and ye pley dependand; and sa be yat ressoun he may nocht intromet wyth Me be ye law, and by rycht and resson I traist yair be na nobil man of yis Realme will do Me opynly desplesour, salang as ye Kyng my son leffis. Beseikand alswa Zour Grace, yat Ze will stand ane kynd broyer to Me, and at my wtter powar I sall deserwe it, and do yat I can to zour plesour, nocht sparand for na bodyis desplesour; sa yat Zour Grace will consider it, and nocht to reward me wyth wnkyndnes and displesour for my gud mynd and deid, and yaim yat luffis Me nocht, to be herd befor Me, as I persaif Zour Grace dois be zour last writtin sent to Me, quhilk report, as I ansur to God, is rycht wntrew, as sall profe in deid. Beseikand Zour Grace to let Me be advertisit of zour plesure in haist. And God preserf Zour Grace. Writtin .

CXXVI. MAGNUS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace to be advertissed. Your gracious letters of the 29th of Marche were deliverde to me here the 5th day of this moneth, conteynnyng all at large the overthrowe of the Frenshe King, the way howe I shulde use me, furste to the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes and to the other of the Counsaill here, thenne to the Quenes Grace, and so to the yong King, for deliverey of the Kingges mooste honourable letters to His Grace: howe also the Ambassadours of Scotlande were at a pointe to departe homewarde on Monday the 3rde daye of this moneth, and howe I shulde sewe for the proroging of my sauff conduyt, and with diligence advertise your Grace, as I shulde doe and procede touching theffecte of your saide gracious letters.

At the ariving here of the same, the yong King and the Quene were at Donde in the north parties, and with thaym noe moe Lordes of Counsaill but thErles of Argile and Lenneux; all other being thenne abroode in sondery places, oone farre from an other, thArchebusshop of Saint Andrewes at Domfarmeling, and thErle of Anguysshe at the Bordours.

I sent to the Quenes Grace, and advertissed Her of my busynes, and commyng towardes Her Grace. She acertaynned me that the yong King was soe diseased at that tyme, that I couth not speke with His Grace, though I came unto Hym; and shewed also the absence of the Lordes from the Courte; and advised me to remayn in these parties till Saturdaye laste: whiche day it was appointed, as in my laste letters I wroote unto your saide Grace, the King and the Quene shulde have bene here; but that appointement failed by occasion of the yong Kingges sekenes and diseas. Howe be it, His Grace is nowe well recovered and amended, thankes be to God, and this daye is at a place called Burlay, tomorowe at Domfarmeling, and the next day, being Tenable Wennesdaye, here at Edinburgh.

Mi Lorde of Saint Andrewes and I have bene to gader, and after myche commynnycation he saith he is right sory that the Kingges Highnes and your Grace be noe better content with the aunsuer retourned by thErle of Casselles; shewing it is not possible unto hym to doe any moore thenne he hath doon, till the assembling to gader of the Counsaill; whiche he saith shalbe these Eister holidays. And fynally he saith he woll soe use and ordour hym as he

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[1] Holograph. From the British Museum, Caligula, B. VII. leaf 1.

trusteth

trusteth veraly shalbe to the contentation booth of the Kingges Highnes and of your Grace.

ThErle of Anguysshe hath kept company here with me these twoe dayes, and yet dooth, and woll, till we shall mete with the King and the Quene at thair commyng over the water. The saide Erle defendeth the Chaunceler, in his oppynnyon, to be a good man, and that he is hoolly geven with his good mynde towardes Einglande. Howe be it he saith, as trouthe is, as farre as in any wise I canne conceive, Scotlande is mynded to have peas with Einglande. And, if there were any thing otherwise mynded or intended, the said Erle, with the helpe of his frendes and the Lorde Dacres upon the Bordours, there shalbe good peas kept to Einglande by Scotlande, magry thair hedes spirituall or temporall that woll attempt any thing to the contrary. And to this I am sure he is fully mynded and inclyned, like a loving man to the Kingges Highnes and your Grace. Notwithstanding he trusteth the Counsaill, at thair meting and assembling, woll inclyne thaym some other wise, moore to the contentation of the Kingges said Highnes and of your Grace. Yf it be possible, I intende to practise to gete the yong King to speke sharply to the Counsaill in the favour of the Kinges Highnes his uncle; and as I shall doe, your said Grace shall in all haiste have knowelege with the circumstaunces.

I suppoos this day or to morowe to have my sauff conduyt sent unto me from the Chaunceler, proroged for a moneth further. Howe be it, the said Erle of Anguysshe, to whoom I truste, saith he and his frendes shalbe sauff conduyt to me, or to any other the King of Einglandes servauntes. By my said last letters I doubte not, but your Grace had knowelege at large howe every thing proceded at that tyme.

This daye afore noon I received a letter from Carlell harralde at armes, dated at Hontingdon the 5th daye of this saide moneth, wherby he advertissed me of the commyng hoome wardes of the saide Ambassadours. By cause noe better thing as yet canne come to effecte, I write but brevely to your Grace at this tyme. I shall not pretermitte any thing committed to me by your said gracious letters, as farre as my poor witte canne extend unto, by the Grace of God, whoe evermoore have Your said Grace in His mooste blessed tuition and governaunce. At Edinburgh, the 10th day of Aprill.

Your mooste humble preiste and bedeman,

(*Signed*) T. MAGNUS.

(*Superscribed*)
Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CXXVII. Bishop Cockburn, &c. *to* Wolsey.[1]

My Lord, in our maist lowing maner we commend oure hwmyll and leiffull service to Zoure Grace; and efter our thankfull ressawing, treyting, deliverans, and greit rewardis done to ws be ye Kingis Hienes and zoure Grace, we ware gratiouslye depechit be ye Kingis Hienes. With help and conwoying of Carlele herrold, send with ws be zoure Grace, we comen heir with deligens, as we promyttit, and sall forthir solist and do our power for amyte and peax betuix yer twa realmez, as ye said Carlele herrold will schew zoure Grace; and as we are dett bundyne to ye samyne. Besekyn zoure Grace to commend our sympill service to ye Kinges Hienes, and to thank ye said Carlele of his gud and thankfull conwoying of ws at ye command of zour Grace; quhome we pray God preserve in sawle and body at zour maist noble harttes desyre. Writtyne at ye Abbay of Cauldstreym, in Scotland, ye 16 day of Aprile be zoure servitoures, as said is, ye Ambaxatouris of Scotland,

(*Signed*) Ro. Byschop of Dunkeld.
(*Signed*) G. Erll of Cassillis.
(*Signed*) Alex[r] Abbot Cambuskenneth.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Cardinalis Grace, Legat and Cancellar of Ingland.

CXXVIII. Magnus *to* Wolsey.[2]

Pleas it Your Grace to be advertissed. Albe it as yet, by occasion that the Ambassadours be not commen hoome, I have no playn resolution of suche causes as your saide Grace commytted unto me, aswell by your gracious letters of the 29[ti] day of Marche, as by the other of the 7th day of this moneth, ensewing the effecte of the former; yet, as I doon afore by my laste letters, I write at this tyme to your saide Grace howe I procede in the saide causes, with the liklihoode of suche successes as ar to ensewe in the same.

Furste, the overthrowe of the Frenshe King is arived here by Scottishe marchauntes lately commen from oute of Fraunce, in as large maner as the

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 83.
[2] Holograph. From the Museum, B. VII. leaf 61.

same

same hath bene written frome oute of Einglande. Whiche matier hath bene taken here in right straunge maner, till nowe of late; insomyche as some have bene sory therfore, and right many greved for the same, and full fewe counforted or pleased with the saide newes or tidingges. And some have spoken cruelly ayeinste me for bringging suche newes to these partes, whoos woordes as yet have waved but as the wynde; and nowe the said newes doe soe satell and synke into the Scottes myndes, that, hering of the King our Soveraine Lordes going into Fraunce with his army royall, thair oppynnyon is for the mooste parte, His Highnes shall wynne and opteyne Pares withoute daunger or parell of batell: thay, hering also that the Kingges Highnes woll take noe contynuaunce of truce, abstynence of warre, nor peas, after thaire requestes sutes and desires, but till the 15th day of the next moneth, ar some deall mooved therat; some saying, if warre folowe, thay muste defende and doe as thay have doon afore, and the grettest parte be mooste desirous of peas. Howe be it, the fall of Fraunce is soe sorowfull to many of thaym, that thay ar not a litle myscontent therwith.

Here have bene newes brutes and rumours at sondery tymes of late, that the Duke of Albeny had wonne and rescued ayeine the said Frenshe King, being right joyous tidingges here, and as paynfull to me to here and see the same: the certainty wherof is nowe knowen all to the contrary. Notwithstanding, it is bruted here howe the Duke of Albeny is paste all daungers, and at his liberty, and that he tryhumpheth in Roome with the ruling there the affares of Scotlande; insomyche as a chaplaine of thArchebusshop of Saint Andrewes is commen hoome frome Roome, and arived here upon Eister even, shewing that the saide Archbusshop of Saint Andrewes hath opteynned the abbasy of Melroos, notwithstanding any writingges paste frome hennes, or from oute of Englande, to the contrary. And over this, it is spoken here, that the said Duke hath provided and opteynned the Busshopriche of Murray for oone Mr Thomas Hayes, that was his secretary in these parties. Yf it soe be, your Grace may therby conceive the said Duke woll have the moe frendes in Scotlande, and his presumed autorite wolbe the moore regarded, whiche shall expire aboute this tyme twelve moneth. It was shewed unto me of late for certainty that by way of commynnycation it was reasonned and spoken by the said Archebusshop and other, in case the said Duke shulde repare into these partes, though he were admitted to noon autorite, yet thay muste accept hym for a Lorde of this realme, and for the second parson.

Ymmediately afore the commyng hider at this tyme of the said Archebusshop, he had received writinges from thAbbot of Camskynnell, Ambassadour, declaring, as I am prively infourmed, that your Grace shulde say to the said

Abbot, if noe better resolution were had, thenne yet is, for a peas, the Kingges Highnes woll not repute, take, and accept, the said Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes, the Busshop of Aburdyne, and thErle of Argile, as his frendes, but as his enemyes. Whiche I conjectured aither to be soe, or myche like therunto; for, at his meting and myne, he was more straunge unto me thenne he was at any tyme afore. And also the Quenes Grace shewed unto me that, in thair commyng hider frome Domfarmeling, the said Archbusshop shewed, what newes he had frome oute of Einglande, and that the Kingges Highnes wolde not accept thair offers, nor that there was noon other thing doon but a truce contynued till the said 15 day of Maij. Wherfore, as the Quene reaporteth, the said Archbusshop said these woordes, "If we shall have warre, "we shall doe as we have doon afore; and though we be devided, yet in suche "a case we woll conyoyne togader for defence of the realme." And upon this commynnycation he demaunded the Quenes Grace, if she wolde doe the same accoordingly. Wherunto Her Grace said, she wolde doe the beste she couth for the weall and surety of the yong King her sonne and of this his realme. And thus, the Quenes Grace sheweth unto me, thay paste over into other commynnycation. Thay ar at all tymes of contrary oppynnyons, for the oone favoureth not the oder.

Being advertissed of this conference and commynnycation, I was the better riped in my mynde what I wolde purpoos and say to the said Archbusshop at his and my meting, whenne we shulde speke at large of these matiers. And, at our assembling for the same purpoos, I shewed unto hym I doubted not but his Lordeship had sure and perfite advertisment of thAmbassadours departing frome the Kingges Highnes and your Grace, and that thay were commyng hoomewardes, as his Lordeship and I had spoken of afore, withoute any good resolution had or taken for any peas, but, as is afore said, to the 15th day of Maij. Wherfore I did breke with his said Lordeship all at large, moore then I did at the other tyme afore, and shewed unto hym, conscidering the grete favour he fyndeth booth with the Kingges Highnes and your Grace had towardes hym, and the grete loove and service that all men suppoos he oweth to the yong King his maister and to this his realme, he shulde mooste specially, and above all other, study and devise to kepe these twoe realmes in a good peas unite and concorde, and to avoide all occasions that shulde procure variaunce discoorde or warre to be betwene the same, and mooste specially for the weall of the said yong King, whoos Grace and his Counsaill proceding sincerely and intierly in perfite love and amyte, as a mooste loving nevewe shulde doe with his good uncle, being a Prince of soe high fame and estymation as His Highnes is, shulde therby fynde noe litle proufite, but grete

grete increace of honour to his high exaltation, and for the myche better mayntenaunce of his estate and dingnite royall, to the grete weall of his realme, and counforte of his good and loving subjectes of the same; and that the said Archbusshop shulde not soe highly esteme the honour of hym self and some other asmyche defaced and violate by consenting to a peas for 8 monethes, as for 8 yeres; wherby grete inconveniences ar like to ensewe in sondery wises, if better regarde be not had in breve tyme to this matier. I added also that the delaye of a peas perpetuall or temporall, and the desire of a truce to be concluded for the saide 8 monethes, is but oonly in the mean tyme and season to see the successes of Fraunce, not mete nowe to help Scotlande nor thaym selves, but moore likly, if better fore sight be not, to bring Scotlande to like hurte and damage, as thay have doon afore, and percase to as utter ruyne and destruction, as thay ar at nowe thaym selves. I induced also that I suppoosed the said Archbusshop was not soe desirous of the exaltation promised to hym by the Kingges Highnes and your Grace, that for any perticuler cause concernyng hym self he wolde pretermytte that thing that is mooste beneficiall for the King his maister and of this his realme. I shewed also unto the saide Archebusshop, that upon the pleasaunte writing whiche he and other the Lordes had sent to the Kingges Highnes, His Grace restraynned from the Quenes Grace his dereste suster his gracious favour, upon thaire informations for thaire better atteynnyng to thaire oune weall and intended purpoos; trusting, by thaire faire and blandisshing letters, every thing shulde by thaire meanes have succeded to the desired ende; yet nevertheles litle or noe thing came by thaym to any good effecte, but oonly to the avauncement of thaire oune autorite purpoos and desire. With these woordes and reasons, and suche other persuasions as couth come to my poor remembraunce thenne and sethenne, I have doone asmyche as to me is possible for the conducing of every thing to the Kingges high purpoos and youres. The saide Archbusshop of Saint Andrewes, as in my laste letters I wroote unto your Grace, saith it is not possible for hym to doe any thing moore, but as oone man of the Counsaill. And, for somyche as he conceiveth the Kingges Highnes and your Grace be not content with thaire offers made for peas, he woll see by the advice of the Counsaill what is further to be doon; but naither is here the Busshop of Aburdyne, nor the Busshop of Domblene, and as to thErle of Arren, he withdrewe hym selff, after thay were conyoyned in the principall and privea Counsaill, and came not hider sethen. The good Erle of Anguysshe kepeth still at oone point, as an honourable man, hoolly dedicate to the Kingges Highnes and to your Grace. And I have soe enterteynned thErles of Argile and Lenneux, what oone way and other, and

specially by reason that thErle of Argile saith he thenketh it is mooste beneficiall for Scotlande to have peas with Einglande, and saith that to whoom or whider he and his companyons shulde sewe for saving of thair honours, he knoweth not, and therfore he rekenneth it is a good excuse, and that it is the beste to have good peas with Einglande. ThErle of Lenneux, being a noble gentilman, saith for his party, albe it his uncle and broder have thair living in Fraunce, yet hit shall ever be his desire that a good peas shall ever contynue betwene the King his maister and the Kingges Highnes his uncle. Soe that upon the commyng hoome of thAmbassadours nowe at hande, and the assemble of the Counsaill, it woll soone appere, if any lette be contrary to the Kingges mynde and youres, in whoom the defaute resteth. And, to thentent the temporall Lordes shulde not in anywise be invegled nor induced from thair good purpoos, I have prayed thaym, in case any spirituall men wolde moove thaym contrary to the commynnycation had betwene thaym and me, that thay wolde conscider and remember, howe many ar of the Dukes promotion, and ever wolbe redy to procure warre ayeinste Einglande, and yet thay woll not oons sette thair fete forwardes towarde the feilde, but be redy to procure and putte all the noble men to the perell and daunger; regarding in maner noe thing, naither the weall nor surety of the yong King thair Soveraine Lorde, nor of his nobles, naither the commen weall and proufite of this his realme, but oonly thair sensuall and blynded habetites. Thus I use oone noble man after an other, spirituall and temporall, as it apperteynneth; trusting every thing woll come to some better purpoos, thenne yet it hath doon.

The Kingges sharp and quykke letter hath brought the Quenes Grace here to some better ordour thenne Her Grace was ynne afore. I have at large, accoording to your gracious commaundement, nowe at oone tyme and nowe at an other, spoken and commynned of every thing with Her saide Grace. Her Grace wolde be glad that the Kingges Highnes wolde take a peas with the yong King her sonne, Her Grace, and thErle of Anguysshe, saying she wolde fynde to be on her party a good noumber of Lordes; but contynually Her Grace is noon otherwise mynded, but to be devorsed from the said Erle of Anguysshe, as the Kingges Highnes shall conceive by her letter, whiche nowe I send up with this, and a copy of the same to your Grace, which chaunced to come to my handes.[1] I have many tymes shewed to Her Grace, that the Kingges Highnes and your Grace myndeth not thErle of Anguysshe for any other cause, but oonly to thentent the King his maister and Her Grace

[1] See p. 356.

may

may the better be served by hym, and that it is myche to her honour to accept hym as her husbande into her gracious favour: but in anywise Her Grace woll not consent therunto, and yet Her Grace saith she woll take thErle of Angwisshes parte, and that he woll take her parte, ayeinste all other, and saith Her Grace woll undertake for the same. I suppoos there hath not any man bene soe enterteynned by any noble woman, as the said Erle is by the Quenes said Grace. There is betwene thaym as good and loving countenaunce and commynnycation as can be thought, in suche wise as all men seyng the same, but suche as knowe the maner, thenke there is gret love and favour betwene thaym. And in conclusion, every thing that the Quene dooth it is to procure the said Erle to consent to the devorce; and therfore I canne not see howe the said Quene shulde be sure of the said Erle, using hym in suche maner, naither I see howe her oune causes shulde be defended and ordoured, but oonly through the favour of the yong King. And yet Her Grace wold have all the hooll autorite to her self. And, in my poor oppynnyon, if Her Grace had the same, she wolde aither be to high or to lowe therynne, as she was afore. And Her Grace, not being sure of thErle of Anguysshe, hath noon other to be on her party, but light personnages, and suche as were of the Duke of Albenys privea counsaill. The yong King, by the provoking of the Quenes Grace, continually laboureth the said Erle for the saide devorce. Many of the said Erles frendes be mynded, that he shall not consent therunto in any wise, oonles the Quenes Grace fynde cause reasonnable, which is thought woll not be to her honour; and also sondery his saide frendes wolde not he shulde offende God in his conscience, nor doe that thing that shude miscontent the Kingges Highnes. And some other there be, that wolde be glad the said Erle were at his liberty, to thentent he mought mary, and have yssewe maill to enherit his lande; and for that purpoos some procure hym, if the devorce goe forwarde, to take to wiff thErle of Argiles doughter: but the said Erle of Anguysshe woll mooste be ordoured after the pleasure of the Kingges Highnes.

I have deliverde the Kingges mooste honourable letters to the yong King his dereste nevewe, whoos Grace accepteth the same mooste joyously, and is gretely and myche counforted by the same. His said Grace and the Quene his moder I truste woll doe thair partes in calling of the Counsaill, for the yong King is not content that thAmbassadours come hoome withoute concluding of peas. The said yong King saith, he loveth the King his uncle and the realme of Einglande above all other. Hit is with some busynes, or that I canne speke with His Grace, or that His Grace canne speke with me; for we are susspecte, whenne we speke to gader.

Yf noe peas be concluded, the Quenes Grace looketh for warre, and in myne oppynnyon wolde rather have the same thenne peas, by cause she wolde fayn be revenged of her adversaries. And, if soe it shulde chaunce, Her Grace wolde have it rather afore Whitsonday, thenne after, by cause thErle of Anguisshe is bounden till thenne, naither to intromitte nor medle with her body goodes nor landes. Fayn wolde the Quene nowe, whenne she may doe litle, pleas the Kingges Highnes; and whenne she mought have doon myche, thenne was all pleasure putte a parte.

The yong King, as he saith to me, had lever be in Eingland with the Kingges Highnes his uncle, then here; and the Quene his moder, as Her Grace saith, is of the same oppynnyon. The yong King foloweth her counsell in every thing. As I shall conceive further in this mater, soe I shall advertise your said Grace, with my poor mynde to be shewed in the same. Scotland is nothing provided for warre, nor noe man provideth nor purveyeth therfore. If any good peas can be had, it shall be well attempted, and elles, if it be but for a small tyme, under the correction of your Grace, all the avauntage that mought be wolde be had ayeinst Fraunce.[1]

There is grete spuling robbing and reving, dailly and nightely, upon the Este Bordours, aswell on the party of Einglande, as on the party of Scotlande; and, as is shewed to me, by cause there is noe Warden on thEste Marches of Einglande to mete with the Warden of Scotlande, to see for redresse and the better ordouring of the contrey, as yet going all at large. It may therfore like your Grace to have this matier in your good remembraunce, as shall stand with your gracious pleasure.

This my poore letter serveth at this tyme for noon other effecte nor purpoos, but by cause your Grace, being desirous to here howe the Kingges affares in these parties doe procede, may have some knowlege and intelligence of the same; albe it as yet thay be not commen to a playn resolution. And if the Ambassadours, whoe wolbe here this night, doe helpe me any thing, I truste all shall doe well. Thus Almighty God have Your said Grace in His mooste blessed preservation and governaunce. At Edinburgh, the 19th day of Aprill.

Your mooste humble preiste and bedeman,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) T. Magnus.

Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

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[1] In the original this paragraph was written in cypher.

CXXIX. ARGYLL *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

SCHIR, I commend my lawly service unto Zour Graice in to my maist humble and liefull maner, quhome plesit to ondirstand, that I have rasavit ane writing of Zour Hienes fray zour consaleur and servand Maister Thomas Magnus, and hard and consavit his credens, schawin to me at lincht yare anentis, and quhow at Zour Grace is informit yat I do my best in doing my devoir and dett into serving the Kingis Grace my Soverane and Maister, zour tendir nepheu, and in forthering guid lufe and amyte betuix Zour Graice and Hym. Schir, eftir sic wit and knawlege, as pleises God to gyve me, I sall nocht faill to serve my Maister as ane trew servand and subject, and suld aply me ye mair yareto, and it wer to me possible, for ye lufe and tendirnes yat of resoun and nature aucht to be betuix Zour Hienes and Hyme, quhilk I traist Zour Graice will schawe unto Him effectuislye now in ye tyme of his tendir aige. And all ye guid, yat I can or may, sall ay be to the forthering of guid luf and peace betuix Zour Grace and Him, in honorable maner; as I dout nocht bot Zour Grace will provyde yeranentis, as efferis; and as at mair lyncht I haif schawin to Zour Graces traist counsalour forsaid, quhom to humblie I beseik Zour Grace to gif ferme credens in all liefull, yat he sall schaw Zour Hienes in my behalf. And gif yerbe ony service leffullie, yat I cane or do to Zour Graice, I salbe richt glaid to accompleis ye samyn, conforme to the command of Zour Hienes, quhome ye glorius Virgin Mary have in hir blissit tuitioun and keiping. Writtin at Edinburgh, the 27 day of Maij, be

Zour Graces richt humble and richt
obeisant serviteur leifully,

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Graice of Ingland &ca.

(*Signed*) ERL OF ARGYLE.

CXXX. MAGNUS *to* WOLSEY.[2]

PLEAS it Your Grace to be advertissed, that of late I have received from your said Grace twoe your severall gracious letters, the oon dated at your place besides Westmynster the 10th daye of this moneth, and the other the 17th

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. III. leaf 279. A contemporary copy is in the Chapter House, State Papers Scotland, p. 108.

[2] From the British Museum, Caligula, B II. leaf 43.

day

day of the same; with sondery other letters to the Kingges Grace, the Quenes Grace, to thArchebusshopp of Saint Andrewes, and to other the Lordes.

As to theffecte of your furste gracious letter, amongges other thingges I conceived, and yet conscider, the maner, with the circumstaunces, howe your pleasur and commaundement is I shulde use me touching commynycacion, aswell for concluding upon a good peas, as for ordouring of the Ambassadours and thair commission, if at this season, or for the tyme of my being here, thay shulde eftesoons be sent into Einglande, soe that, for want of good ordour at thair repaire thider, the matiers be not voide and frustrate, for lakke of a perfite conclusion to be taken here. In which matier, as the case shall require, I shall endevour me, aswell as I canne, to accomplisshe and folowe, for my party, your said gracious commaundement.

I deliverde to the yong King here the Kingges mooste honourable letters, which the said King received mooste thankefully, and in mooste loving maner, and at this tyme sendeth unto the Kingges Highnes his letters of aunsuer to the same. But as yet the said yong King canne not by hym selff rede an Einglisshe letter, but by the help of some oone of his Counsaill; naither canne devise, but as is assingned and instructe by the same Counseill: speciallye nowe in the absence of the Quenes Grace his moder. And over this, it is enacted by the said Counsaill that noe person shall speke nor commyn with the yong King in secrete maner, but if some oone of the Counsaill, or suche as thay have assingned for that purpoos, be privea therunto. Which is paynfull to His Grace, as he hath shewed unto me; and the lette therof hath bene cause and occasion, and yet is, that in sondery matiers naither His Grace knoweth my mynde, nor I his. Nevertheles, I know His Grace bereth his intier and mooste singuler favour and truste to the Kingges Highnes his uncle. And, for somyche as I shewed His Grace, that the Kingges said Highnes is mynded to sende unto hym some pleasures and remembraunces for his honting, and other disspoortes, this sommer season; right humbly His Grace thanketh the Kingges Highnes for the same, and right lowly recommaundeth hym unto His Grace, as to his dereste and mooste good uncle; beseching His saide Highnes to sende unto hym a good bokeler, for of that he is right desirous; insomyche that, whenne His Grace doth see my servauntes, he commendeth and praiseth myche thair swoordes, and London bokelers. And the bukler to be provided for His Grace may not be ordeynned, as if it were for a childe, for that His Grace loveth not, but to have every thing like unto a man. Insomyche, that the swoordes he daily useth ar a yerde afore the hiltes; whiche His Grace woll as roundely and quikly drawe furth, and putte up ayeine, as any man in his Courte. His Grace hath harde that the Kingges Highnes

Highnes his said uncle at some tymes wereth and useth a bukler; and that mooveth His said Grace to be the moore desirous therof.

And wher as the Kingges pleasure and youres is that I shulde enterteine the Quenes Grace here with as good demonstrations as canne be; upon the receipt of your gracious letters, I sent to Her said Grace, lying at Starling, the Kingges mooste honourable letters, and youres, with a poore letter of myne oune; copy wherof I sende nowe unto your saide Grace, and the aunsuer to the same, with the copy of twoe other my letters, and a letter from the Quenes said Grace to me lately directed[1]; wherby some parte of her mynde appereth, with my replications to the same, in suche wise as I doubte not but your said Grace woll conscider to what effecte and purpoos the Quenes said mynde and intent is inclyned. And, by cause Her Grace, in the letter She laste sent unto me, being but a shorte letter of her oune hande, desired me to geve an ansuer to the berer, what Her Grace shall truste unto; sounding in effecte, to my poore understanding, that Her Grace wolde knowe the mynde of the Kingges Highnes, what His Grace wolde doe for Her towardes her assistence for maynteynnyng of her oppynnyon, grounded, after my poor mynde, all upon wilfulnes by light and symple counseillers, Harry Stewarde being the principall, of whoom your Grace hath harde &c, for subduying of thErle of Anguysshe and other: whoom if the Quenes said Grace wolde have accepted into her gracious favour according to the advertismentes and counsaill geven by the Kingges Highnes and your Grace, Her said Grace mought aswell and as peasably have ordoured the King her sonne, and this his realme, with the assistence of the Kingges Highnes, as couth have bene thought, with noe grete payn trouble nor busynes. And yet, as the case standeth, if Her Grace wolde contynue aboute the yong King, being the principall and the furste of the Counsaill, having at her oune disposicion, for her frendes and servauntes, being fewe in nomber, all benefices and promotions under a thowsande pounde, Her Grace mought in myn oppynnyon contynue and live myche better to the pleasure of God, to the honour of her self, counforte of the yong Prince, contenting of all people, and for the weall of booth the realmes. But Her Grace hath a mynde oone way to be revenged of the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes, and to be devorced from the said Erle of Anguysshe[2], and to erecte into autorite suche persons as with Her Grace ruled afore, and naither

[1] Caligula, B. II. leaves 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54.

[2] It appears that the Queen's desire on this point was ultimately gratified by a sentence of divorce pronounced by the Cardinal of Ancona, but not before the 11th of March 1527. An attested copy is in the State Paper Office, and it will be printed in due course.

 mynistred

mynistred any maner of justice, nor bare favour in any wise, to Einglande; but were hoolly, and ar, dedicate to the Duke of Albenys bande and party, as I doubte some other be, that nowe rule; but the other were of the worse soorte, and of suche corage that they forsoke to kepe booth the feilde, toune, and castell. Wherfore I made aunsuer to the Quenes demaunde and desir aforesaid, as appereth by the copy of my letter. And after my poor mynde, the Kingges Highnes shulde not be soe farre charged, as I am sure the Quenes Grace wolde require, naither to assiste ayeinste her; but to geve Her Grace good woordes; and, as her causes and matiers may chaunce and fortune honourably to procede, soe the Kingges gracious favour moore ample to be geven to Her saide Grace and her causes from tyme to tyme. And as long as the Scottes stande and be devided after this maner, they ar and wolbe myche moore desirous of peas, thenne of warre, to be betwene booth the said realmes.

I have also shewed to thErle of Angwisshe, howe singulerly well the Kingges Highnes accepteth his true loyall and honourable demeanour, and howe well for the same His said Highnes ymprinteth hym in his love and cordiall affeccion, and have shewed to the said Erle that the Kingges said Highnes hath commaunded me to geve unto hym an hondreth pounde; albeit hit was not deliverde, by cause I had not somyche money in Scotlande redy at that tyme. For whiche the Kingges mooste bounteuous gifte and rewarde the said Erle geveth his mooste humble and mooste lowly thankes to the Kingges Highnes and your Grace; shewing that as his duety is, next to his Soveraine Lorde and Maister, the Kingges said Highnes shall have his service to the uttermooste of his power. I shewed hym also, not oonly howe good and gracious Lorde ye ar, and have bene, unto hym, touching the contynuyng of hym in the Kingges gracious favour, but also howe favourably, and in the mooste benevolent maner, your said Grace hath recommended the cause of Coldingham to the Poopes Holynes, trusting to have good aunsuer and expedition therynne to his contentement. Wherfore the said Erle geveth also to your saide Grace his mooste hartie thankes and gramerces. Furthermoore, according to your gracious commaundement, I advertised the said Erle of the grete robbingges and depredations made upon the Bordours by the subjectes of booth sides using to ride in grete noumbres with banners displayed, spoilling and taking all that thay may have or gete, and howe, whenne they be pursued in Einglande, furthwith thay flee and be received in Scotlande; and howe that semlably the Scottes robbing in Scotlande doe flee for thair refuge into Einglande. Wherfor I advertissed the said Erle to have perfite regarde and remedy herunto for the Scottisshe partie, and that Warden Courtes, with dayes of true, be kept, and justice admynistred as it apperteynneth and shewed hym that

that the Kingges Highnes my Soveraine Lorde and Maister woll doe the same, as it shall apperteyn for his side.

The saide Erle conceiving this the Kingges good advertisment and youres, furthwith departed from hennes, and made noe party privea for what purpoos he paste unto; and withynne 4 daies after came sodeinly upon the gretteste theves upon the Bordours, called Armestrongges, being the gretteste maynteners of the theves of Tyndaill, as I was acertaynned booth from Sir William Bulmer and Sir William Eures; and of thaym hath taken 12 persons; wherof ar the gretteste and mooste cheif capitayns, Sym the Lorde, and Davy the Lady. The said Erle also hath wonne thirty scoore noote, 3000 shepe, 500 gootes, and many good horses; and besides this, as is said, hath brent many good houses; and hath doone this withoute any coste to the King or woorde therof spoken, till all was doone. And this I ascribe to procede upon the good advertismentes geven by the Kingges Highnes and your Grace, for the singuler weall and proufite of booth the realmes.

Over this, I have procured the Archebusshop of Glasco, forsomyche as I am infourmed from Sir William Bulmer that the theves of Tyndaill stande and be accursed and declared rebelles booth to God and to the Kingges Highnes, with agravations in dewe prosses paste furth for the same purpoos, to sende monition of cursing ayeinste theym, that aither favour assiste or maynteyne the said theves, or that ete or drink or is conversaunt with thaym, or that mooste specially doe mynistre to thaym any sacramentes or sacramentalles of hooly church. Whiche the said Archebusshop hath doone, and is and wolbe redy to make further agravation, as laufully is to be required, aither by intymation of the prosses of vicessitudinis causa, or otherwise, at the pleasure and commaundement of your said Grace.[1]

And, besides the other letters afore said, I have deliverde the Kingges mooste honourable letters and youres to the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes, and to thErle of Anguisshe, thErle of Argile, and to other the late Ambassadours in Einglande; all whiche Lordes full humbly and mooste thankefully have accepted and received the same. And, albe it the said Archebusshop and I were not soe familier to gader, as we were afore, by occasion of the causes mentionned of late to your said Grace; yet the said letters have reduced us booth to be as famylier as we were afore tyme. And, by cause I repaired moore to the Lordes temporall and was moore famylier with thaym, thenne with the said Archebusshop; in my poore oppynnyon it was an occa-

[1] In the Appendix to the first volume of the new edition of Sir Walter Scott's Poetical Works (1833) is published a denunciation of the thieves of Tynedale by the Bishop of Durham in 1498. To this, or to some subsequent proceeding of the same kind, allusion is probably here made. The Archbishop of Glasgow's curse against those on the Scottish side of the Border will be given in a note to p. 417.

sion to hym the rather to inclyne to some towardenes. And also I was right straunge, suppoosing and saying it was myche doubtefull unto me, howe the said prorogation of peas for 40 dayes wolde be graunted; by reason wherof the said Archebusshop, being in maner for all spirituall men aloone, sent with all spede and diligence booth for the Busshop of Aburdyne, and for thAbbot of Camskynnell; whiche Abbot, as afore I wroote, was not here at the grete assembly of the Lordes; but, as I here, he hath doone his parte well sethenne his hider commyng.

At the convenyng and meting of these Lordes and other the Lordes of the Privea Counseill, it was spoken that there were 6 Scottes right good Einglisshe men, that is to say, thAbbottes of Holy Roode House and Pasley, the Lorde of Saint Johns, the Dean of Glasco, Patrik Synkler, and Mr John Cheseholme. Whiche Patrik and Mr John, being olde servauntes to the late King, and of good honesty, having many frendes and kynnesfolkes, mooste specially have resoorted unto me, and have kept me company contynually; not letting, naither for displeasure of the Quenes Grace in her tyme, nor nowe of the said Archebusshop; mooste effectually, by cause thay be good servauntes to the yong King thair master, and right evill Frenshmen. At whiche convenyng and assembling, it was concluded, furste that the said Privea Counsaill shulde sitte, and after to call moe unto thaym. In whiche Counsaill, being as prively kept as ever was any in Scotlande, it was concluded a Parliament to be kept here the 6th daie of July next commyng. Wherupon a commyn brute roose, that in the said Parliament peas shulde be concluded with Einglande at the leiste for three yeres, wherof the mooste parte of all the people were glad and joyous; but it was not soe clerely determyned.

Ymmediately upon this commynnycacion arived here your said gracious letter of the 17th day of this moneth, conteynnyng that the Kingges Highnes was content with the prorogacion of peas for 40 dayes further. Wherupon I repared to all the Lordes assembled to gader, and, accoording to your gracious commaundement, shewed unto thaym that, where of late, at thaire speciall requeste and instaunce, I had written to your Grace to be meanes to the Kinges Highnes to graunte a prorogation of peas for 40 dayes moore, upon truste, as was promised, that in the mean tyme some good resolution, aither by Acte of Parliament or otherwise, shulde be taken for the stablisshement of a peas betwene Einglande and Scotlande, I had in commaundement from youre said Grace, that the Kingges Highnes, my Soveraine Lorde and Maister, trusting that the yong King his dereste nevewe, and the said Lordes of his Counsaill, woll sincerely and lovingly procede with His Grace, as, by reason of proximitie of bloode, and for many other considerations for the weall surety and exaltacion of his saide nevewe thair Soveraine Lorde, it apperteynned,

apperteynned, was not oonly content to agree to the said prorogation of peas for 40 daies further, but also to be of as good will mynde and favourable inclynation to all and every thair reasonnable requestes petitions and demaundes, as of right and good reason thay owe to pursewe and desire. Of whiche message and aunsuer the said Archebusshop Chaunceler, and all the other Lordes, were veray glad, and humble thanked the Kingges Highnes and your Grace of the same; and furthwith, being upon Monday the 22^{ti} daye of this moneth, the Chaunceler and Counsaill did the Parliament openly to be proclamed, and to be hoolden here the 6te day of Julij.

And where as your Grace assingned by your gracious letters the said peas to begynne and to take effecte at the receipt of your said letters; all the said Counsaill made speciall requisition after unto me, that, by cause the present peas thenne was proclamed to Monday 8 days after, that the said peas for 40 dayes mought begynne at the said Monday, being the 29th day of this said moneth, to thentent thaire Parliament proclamed mought be withynne some parte of the said 40 dayes. Wherunto, conceiving noe greate daungier nor domage to ensewe for soe breve a tyme, with the conscideration afore said, I consented accoorded and agreed.

The said Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes writeth, booth to the Kingges Highnes, and to your Grace, at this tyme. And, as it appereth booth by woordes and writing, he is well mynded and inclined for the weall of booth these realmes, and specially that a good peas may be concluded betwene thaym, and good love and amyte firmely to be entreteyned betwene the Kingges Highnes our Soveraine Lorde and the King his Soveraine Lorde and maister; and for the better declaration of his intent mynde and purpoos, I have procured hym to putte the same in writing, as shall appere booth to the Kingges said Highnes and to your said Grace. Moore I canne not doe for the inserching of his said mynde, but to noote his procedingges aswell as I canne; whereunto I shall take speciall regarde.

At this tyme he mentionneth that fayn he wolde, by the Kingges gracious favour and youres, have thexempcion of Glasco remedied and refourmed, whiche he accompteth to be a thing myche to his comforte and pleasure. And, as touching the other avauncemente to honour, wherof your Grace hath putte hym in counforte, he saith, if any suche thingges shall chaunce to comme to passe, that all thingges commyng by the grace of God, and by the favour of the Kingges Highnes and your Grace, shalbe welcome unto hym at all tymes. And, in all the commynnycation and conference had betwene hym and me, he calleth the Kingges Highnes his oune good maister next to the King his Soveraine Lorde, and your Grace his mooste esspeciall good

good Lorde and maister. The said Archebusshop requireth your Grace, that herynne he may have some aunsuer of your gracious mynde; and in case the same matier woll not be graunted at the petition of a Prince, he saith he woll wey the cause with money. Howe be it, the saide matier of exemption wolde be well seen unto, by cause thArchebusshop of Glasco seweth booth to the Kingges Highnes and to your Grace for the same, and the yong King favoureth his oppynnyon and party, and at this tyme hath written with his oune hande to the Kinges Highnes for the same matier; and dailly the said Archebusshop of Glasco calleth upon me to be meanes for hym to your said Grace. And therfore your Grace must devise some remedy, wherby thay booth owe of reason to holde thaym content, and also the yong King muste have some aunsuer; whiche may be geven prively, but it muste be in suche maner, that the said Archebusshop of Glasco may not knowe it; for the King favoureth hym myche better thenne the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes. These twoe Archebusshops sing not oone song. Yf conveniently it couth or mought be, good it were, that the saide Archebusshop of Glasco, albe it prively for his promotion he leaneth with his favour towardes the Duke of Albeny, as for like causes doe other, shulde have some occasion from the Kingges Highnes, or your Grace, to traine with his good woordes the yong King, at some tymes, to the devotion of Einglande; for the said Archebusshop for the mooste parte is contynually attending upon the said yong Kingges person. Betwene these twoe partes is not a litle grogge, for the said exemption; and therfore I doubte not your Grace woll conscider the matier, and ponder the same accoordingly.

ThErle of Argile writeth at this tyme booth to the Kingges Highnes and to your Grace; wherby his good mynde woll some deall appere. He hath received the Kingges money in mooste thankfull maner, and wolde not that his uncle, nor broder, nor any other, shulde as yet be privea therunto; shewing that, oons a good peas concluded betwene booth these realmes, wherynne he saith he woll do his beste devour, the Kinges Highnes shall have his service next to his oune maister assuredly. The said Erle writeth specially at this tyme for the preferment of his broder to an abbasy here, and the yong King hath adressed furth his letters for the same purpoos, declaring to the Poopes Holynes that the King of Einglande his uncle, and other his confederates, woll render thankes for the favours shewed to hym and his causes by His said Holynes. Over this the said Erle humble besecheth the Kingges Highnes and your Grace, that at his sute and for his sake, a servaunte or kynnesman of his, called Cambell, prisonner in London, may be putte at large and liberty, and sent hoom into his contrey; and as it may lye in his power, the said Erle saith that,

that, aither oone way or other, he shall endevour hym to recompence the same with his service.

Accoording to your gracious commaundement, I have enterteynned and doo enterteine suche personnages and men of honnour, as after my poore discretion I thenke ar to be consciderede, oon by an other; and glad I am that the Kingges Highnes and your Grace hath in remembraunce the good Erle of Leneux, whoe, withoute cause, being a Lorde mooste stronggeste of men here, being also of good substaunce towardes the parties of Einglande, hath in the King my Maisters caused shewed the greteste gratuitye and kyndenes of any other, the Erle of Anguisshe oonly except. Howe be it, the said Erle of Lenneux for this present tyme is not here, but I looke for hym afore Sonday next commyng, and thenne I woll present unto him the Kingges gracious token gifte and rewarde; whiche I am well assured he woll receive in mooste acceptable and thankefull maner, and, besides that, woll kepe sure parte with thErle of Anguisshe, whoe woll not faill to Einglande, if any man may truste an other, as yet not commen hoom from the Bordours.

The Counsaill hath decreede the prorogation of my sauf conduyt to the 20ti daye of July; yet nevertheles I assure your Grace they ar not content that I, or any other Einglisshe man, shulde tary and contynue so long amongges thaym, if by any honeste occasion they couth avoide me. Insomyche as, where I suppoosed I had logged in an house of the Quenes, Her Grace, having the same to ferme, hath geven hit up; by reason wherof at this present tyme I am discharged of the said logging, notwithstanding I offer to pay rent for the same, after 20 markes by the yere, quarterly, though I tary any parte of the quarter. And as yet Scotlande hath not bene charged with me any thing; naither I have not seen, in oon tyme nor other, aither fisshe or flesshe in the Kingges house and courte of Scotlande, sethenne my commyng hider. For my parte I have doone and shall doe, as farre as I may, I truste withoute reprooche. By occasion of my being here, many thingges ar kept moore cloose by the Counsaill, thenne thay have bene afore; and therfore I and other for me, secke the wayes and meanes we canne to come to knowlege of causes. And albe it many folkes have bene susspecte for resoorting unto me, yet of late, as hath bene afore, I had with me myne olde acquaintaunce Sir William Scotte of Bawery, and serched of hym asmyche as I couth; whoe shewed unto me, that the Counsaill here were fully mynded, at this next Parliament, aither to conclude a peas, leving oute Fraunce utterly, or elles a peas to be taken in maner and fourme after the comprehencion, as is devised and conteynned in Latyn; insomyche as the said Sir William Scotte trustethe to come and to be Ambassadour hym self into Einglande.

At

At my laste writing unto your Grace, I advertissed youe of the litle Frenshe shippes that lye here, and doe myche hurte unto Einglande, and shewed, howe they had brought ynne a ship of salte commyng towardes Barwik for vitelling of the same; whiche shippe is a Frenshe shippe commyng by sauff conduyt with Einglisshe men in the same, under the sauf conduyt of Fraunce for daunger of Frenshe men. For whiche shippe I have some busynes here; and if, by defence of the lawe, or by any other good polecy, it may be the said shippe shall retourne ayeine into Einglande, for my parte I shall doe what I canne.

Furthermoore, pleas it your Grace, here ar twoe honeste gentilmen, called Patrik Synkeler and Mr John Chesehoolme, mencionned afore in this my present letter, whoe, as I suppoos, have bene well acquainted with my Lorde Dacre, and also with my Lorde of Norfolke, and sethenne my commyng and reparing hider have bene in the Kingges causes right esspeciall frendes unto me; to whoom I was advertissed from Mr Radcliff, that for thair good service doone they shulde be rewarded, aither of thaym after £20 by the yere; and that also oone Mr Adam Otterbourne, the Kingges Advocate and Recorder of this toune, to have asmyche; whiche money thay have deserved at large, and ar able and right worthy to deserve. Wherfore I beseche your Grace that I may knowe your gracious pleasure, howe I shall ordour me for myne oune discharge in this behalve.

Fynally, and specially to be rememberde, it is commen to my knowelege, that by the Chaunceler and other of the Counsail, howe many I knowe not, sethenne my receipt of your gracious letters last sent unto me for the prorogacion of peas as was required, oon Patrik Wemys a Scottishe man, being an archer for the corse to the Frenshe King, is sent into Fraunce with sondery letters to the Counsaill there, to the Frensh Kingges moder, and to the Duke of Albeny; to what effecte, the matier is kept soe cloose, that it is not knowen. Some say it is to discharge Scotlande from Fraunce; and some say it is to advertise Fraunce howe it standeth betwene Einglande and Scotlande, and therupon to have thair consent and counsaill. I couth and wolde have broken this matier to the said Chaunceler; but I doubted, if I soe shulde have doon, that it woolde have bene occasion to hym to have halted in some parte, or to have coloured his letters; but sethenne his said letters be paste in due fourme as shulde appere to any good man, I doe spare what I shall say or attempt, till I shall further have knowlege of your gracious advertismentes in that behalve. Trouth it is, the said Patrik Wemys is paste and goone, aither with generall or speciall letters; and, under the correccion of your Grace I thenke it shulde doe well, advertisment therof shulde comme unto me from oute of Einglande,

as

as if the same had commen from oute of Fraunce. All the Counsell here geve unto me good demonstrations of peas of thaire oune seching, and the commynnalty speketh the same and be mooste desirous therof. As causes come unto my knowelege, soe I write unto Your Grace, whoom Almighty God have in His moost blessed preservation. At Edinburgh, the laste day of Maij.

Your mooste humble
preiste and bedeman,
(*Signed*) T. MAGNUS.

(*Superscribed*)
Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CXXXI. QUEEN MARGARET *to* WOLSEY.[1]

MY Lorde Cardinall, W[*e racom*]mend Ws unto Zoure Lordeschip in oure maist tendre and hertlie manere. And plese ye samen understand We ressavit latlie zoures writingis, datit in Maij instant, deliverit unto Ws be Maister Magnus, quhairby We have perfytlie considerit zour good aufald and thankfull mynde towart ye Kingis Grace oure derrest son and Ws; quharof, insafer as We may, We thank zour Lordeschip in oure best manere. Alsua, my Lorde, ze sall knaw yat We wrait unto ye Kingis Grace zoure maister, oure derrest bruther, furtht of Sanct Johnstoun langheretofore, schawing His Grace in quhat gude mynde ye Kingis Grace oure derrest son and We at yat tyme stude unto His Graces plesure in all behalfis, desiring his counsale help and supple tuiching ye King oure son and Ws. Of ye quhilkis wrytingis as zit We have ressavit nane ansuer fra His Grace. And now We have writtin presentlie unto His Grace, desiring to have ansuere of oure said wrytingis, and to be advertist fullie in quhat mynde His Grace sall surlie stand unto Ws in all behalfis, because We have put and presentlie puttis oure hale confidence and traist in His Grace. And, gif We be frustrat yerof in His Gracis defalt, his honour wilbe insafer hurt; and His Grace will have ye fewar frendis. Herfore, my Lorde, haiffing in zoure wisdome ferme traist and beleve, We beseke zour Lordschip remembre wele quhat parte We have evir kepit towart ye Kingis Grace oure derrest bruther, and be all zoure gude wayis

[1] From the Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 92.

sollist His Grace to send unto ye Kingis Grace oure derrest son, and Ws, full and resolute ansuer, in all behalf as forsaid. Ferder, my Lord, I will nocht cummer ye Kingis Grace my bruder nor zour Lordeschip with lang writingis at yis tyme, because litil regarde hes bene takin in tymmes bypast; and als I am laitlie informit yat copies of my wrytingis hes bene send furtht of Ingland unto ye Lordis of yat uyer partye. And Eternal God have Zour Lordeschip in His blisset gouvernaunce and tuicioune. Writin at oure Castel of Striviling, ye last day of Maij.

(*Signed*) Yours MARGARET R.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Cardinale of Inglande.

CXXXII. ANGUS *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

RICHT Excellent, Richt Hie, and Mychty Prince, in my maist humyll maner I commend my hartlie service to Zoure Grace, and thankis the samyn of zoure gracius favoure and tokennys gevin unto me; nocht only for that, bot al uthir grete rewardis and thankis done to me all uthir tymes, quhairupoun I salbe remembrit, and do Zoure Grace pleseris and gude service, as I am addettit to do, before all utheris nixt my Soverane, zoure nevo, the King of Scotland, as I sall, God willing, preif in dede during my naturall life. Pleise Zoure Hienes I have schewin my humyll sote and service to ye Quenys Grace zoure sister; how be it, it is nocht accept, bot Scho remanys in Striveling fra hir son the Kingis Grace, and is reulit by me with ane parciall evill avisit consale, aganis the law of God and haly kyrk; and, as God knawis, I have kepit my parte towart Hir, and uthirwayis, as I promyst to Zoure Grace and to my Lord Cardinal, and ay abade at zoure and his commandment tharein, and sa sall continew. Richtsa the soverance, takin in Parliament betuix Hir Grace and me quhill yis last Witsonday, I have observit and kepit in all poyntis, and nocht intromettit with nothir hir landis, malis, fermes, nor gudis in the meyn tyme; as I traist Maister Magnus, Zoure Hienes Ambassiatoure here present, can testify. And, gif yare be ony service or stede yat I may do to the plesure of Zoure hie Grace, it sal be ay redy at command at my power nixt my aune

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 91. The date is given wrong in the catalogue.

Soverane.

Soverane. As knawis the Eterne God, quhay, Richt Excellent, Richt Hie, and Mychty Prince, conserve Zoure Hienes in gude and lang life. Writtin at Edinburth, the 8 day of Junij.[1]

Be zoure humyl servaunt,

(*Signed*) Erl of Angus.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Richt Excellent, Richt Hie, and Mychty Prince, the Kingis Grace of Ingland &ca.

CXXXIII. Magnus *to* Wolsey.[2]

Pleas it Your Grace to be advertissed. As it appereth in the latter ende of my letter laste sente unto your Grace of the laste daye of Maij, I wroote that oone Patrik Wemys, Scottisheman, being an archer for the corse to the Frenshe King, was goon and paste into Fraunce with letters from the Chaunceler here, and from other the Lordes thenne not knowen, directe to the Counsaill of Fraunce, to the Frenche Kingges moder, and to the Duke of Albeny. Wherupon, as nigh as I couth, I shewed my conceipt and poor oppynnyon in my saide letter. And by cause I had noe certaynty of that matier at that tyme as appered, I therfore have inserched by all the wayes and meanes I canne, booth by woordes and writingges mooved and sent to sondery persons, to have knowlege, what is the veraye effecte of the said Patrikkes message into Fraunce; wherof I have some advertisment moore at large thenne I had afore, as herafter enseweth.

Of late sondery letters have paste betwene the Busshop of Donkell, lying in his diocise, and me; and amongges other I received oone[3] deliverde to me by a chapelaine of his, whoe wolde I shulde have brent the same, as soon as I had seen and looked upon hit. Howe be it, I thought better to kepe hit; wherby it appereth that he wolde, for matier expreste in the same, I shulde sende unto hym in all haiste aither Patrik Sinkler or Mr John Chesehoolme, my right speciall and trusty frendes mentiouned in my former letters to your said Grace. Wherupon furthwith, at my desire, the said Patrik departed from hennes, and repared to the saide Busshop, and founde hym at Saint Johns toune. And upon thair meting to gader, the said Busshop shewed to the said

[1] On the same day he wrote a similar letter to Wolsey, which is in the same Volume, leaf 117.
[2] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 109.
[3] In the same Volume, leaf 99, dated on the 6th of May from St. John's town, that is, Perth.

Patrik diverse thingges, by mouth, whiche he wolde not putte in writing, concernyng and touching the effectuall cause of the said Patrik Wemys passing and going into Fraunce, openned and discloosed by the reapoorte of Sir William Scotte Lorde of Bawery, like as the same appereth, putte in writing by the said Patrik Sinkeler[1] accoording to suche conference and commynnycation as was betwene the said Busshop and the said Patrik, and as was specially shewed by the said Busshop. Whiche writing, and the Busshop of Donkelles letter, I send unto your said Grace; wherby it appereth what is written booth to the Frenche Kingges moder, and to the Duke of Albeny; and, if any moe writingges be paste, it woll appere also by the same to what effecte and purpoos the contentes of thaym doe extende unto.

The said letters are sent furth, as it is affermed by the said Busshop of Donkell, upon the reapoorte therof made unto hym by the saide Sir William Scotte, oonly by the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes and the Busshop of Aburdyn, and naither by thErles of Anguisshe, Argile, nor Lenneux, noon other being privea to the same with the saide twoe Busshops, but oonly the said Sir William Scotte and M[r] Adam Otterborne my loving frende; booth being wise and well lerned men, albe it in maner at commaundement as servauntes to the saide twoe Busshops.

After your said Grace shall have seen and conceived the effecte of the matier sent into Fraunce, in my poor oppynnyon there ar sondry thingges to be conscidered and remembred. Oon is, the saide matier came to the knowelege of the saide Busshop of Donkell by reapoorte of Sir William Scotte as is afore

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[1] In the same Volume, leaf 102.

" Copye of the writing made by Patrik Sinkeler touching the matier shewed unto hym by the " Busshop of Donkell, putte into Englisshe.

" Furste to remember the writing to the Duke of Albany that he shulde spede hym in Scottelande " in all haiste with supplye of money and artillary, for helpe to punnysshe ye traitours, whiche is " again hym and his autorite; for, if he doe not, the traitours woll over ronne us that is his part " takers: he, failling to haiste hym, for cawses aforsaide shall lakk our hartes and service, and we " shall cause to be doon in his contrary, soe that he shall never be able to gete nor pursue title " withynne this realme of Scottelande.

" Item to remember to Madame and the Counseill, desiring Her and thaym to cause the Duke of " Albany to retourne in haiste in Scottelande, as he is requiret by us; and if he refuse, that ye, " after the bande of Rowen, which ye desire us to kepe, sende incontynent to us twoe hundreth " thousande crounes, with a band of artillery, and men to handle the saide artillery, and an hundreth " and fifty haunted men in warre to putte our men in ordour. Yis being doon, we shall byde at " the forsaide bande, and moove warre ayeinste Eingland, and mainteyn ye same as long as ye " desire. And we desire youe not to send zour helpe and supplie be noumber of men, as was doon " the laste tyme, and that we have an haisty ansuer either be Patryk Wemys, or some of his " servauntes as he is ordayned by us."

saide,

saide, withoute copy of any the lettres to be shewed for the moore playn declaration of the same matier.

The said matier also is shewed by mouthe to the saide Patrik Sinkeler, and put oonly by hym in writing, for his better remembraunce to be had of the same. Notwithstanding, he is a sadde and a wise gentilman, and canne noote a matier or a cause right effectually. Also the said Sir William Scotte shewed to me of late, that suche matiers and demaundes, for saving the honour of Scotlande, shulde be intymate and made to the Counseill of Fraunce, as shulde not be possible by thaym to be perfourmed. Wherupon Scotlande shulde have occasion to conclude a good peas with Einglande, and to shewe declare and notefye to the Poopes Holynes, and to all other christen Princes, howe ofte and many tymes Fraunce hath failed in thair bande and promyse made unto thaym; but the said Sir William Scotte shewed not unto me that any letters were paste into Fraunce, as there ar in veraye dede.

I required of late the said Mr Adam Otterbourne to shewe me, if any suche letters or messages were conveyed or sent from the Counsaill here to the Counsaill of Fraunce; wherynne he was somdeall straunge; but he said unto me, if any thing were paste, it was asmyche ayeinste Fraunce, as with hit, oonles any other thing were paste by private letters; and further he said he had noe knowelege nor intelligence, but was in good truste that Scotlande was fully purpoosed and inclined, thair honours kept, to have peas love favour and amyte with Einglande, and utterly to avoyed thoccasions of warre to be betweene these twoe realmes.

Wherfor the effecte of the matier shewed by the said Busshop of Donkell, and putte in writing by the said Patrik Sinkeler, appereth booth for ordynaunce and money with other causes accident to the same, to be right high and chargeable to the realme of Fraunce; and, as the case standeth, not suppoosed to be maynteynned and avaunced, as is demaunded and requyred by the partye of Scotlande. Nevertheles the Kingges Highnes and your Grace, having contynuall advertismentes from oute of Fraunce, woll conscider to what effecte and purpoos the letters, suppoosed thus, and on this wise passed from oute of Scotlande, shall come unto, yf the same be doon and attempted by Scotlande, for a thing aither ympossible to the Duke of Albeny or for the realme of Fraunce. Sending furth of the said letters oweth the lesse to be susspecte, the sayinges and reapoortes of Sir William Scotte and Master Adam Otterbourne aforesaid well remembred, and elles thay ar the better to be nooted, and regarded with polecy to be used accoordingly, and as necessary it is to be required.

Here

Here is noe warre prepared for, but all men calling and desiring for peas to be betwene Einglande and Scotlande. Notwithstanding, there is grete apperaunce of trouble comber and grete vexation to contynue and be amongges thaym selves in these parties, soe that, if any warre were mooved, the oon parte of thaym wolde be glad to serve and labour for the favour of Einglande.

Under the correction of your Grace, these premisses for doubtefulnes of the same well conscidered, ther shulde be noe thing moor necessary thenne, ayeinste the latter ende of the prorogacion of peas for 40 dayes, and afor the Parliament shall begynne here, appointed to be the 6te daye of July next commyng, that some countenaunce of warre be made by Einglande, by sending doune of Mr Candisshe, or some other, to see for scowring of ordynaunce, and some other also to brute for other provisions and preparations to be made; whiche woll not oonly procure all the Borderers to make exclamation upon the Lordes temporall for peas, but also the said Lordes to be quik and diligent to call for the same upon the Lordes spirituall; whoe thenne of necessitye shalbe enforced to be diligent in thair procedingges for having a peas, though it be withoute the consent counsaill or advertisment to be geven unto thaym from oute of Fraunce. This matier woll not be displeasaunt, naither to the Kingges Grace, nor to the Quenes Grace his moder.

Yf the Chaunceler and the Busshop of Aburdyne intende well, as thay shewe by thair woordes and countenaunce, if thus thay have doone, aither for discharge of thair bandes or othes, if thay be soe bounden, myche the better it may be tollerate and sufferde, and thair procedinges to be accept accoordingly. By cause this is a secrete and a private matier, I doe not nor woll speke any thing therynne, till I shall have your further gracious commaundement in that behalve; doubting, if I shulde doe, the said Lordes being of good mynde, it mought percace alter thair good intentes purpooses and oppynnyons.

Lately I received from the Quenes Grace here twoe letters, the oon adressed to the Kingges Highnes, and the other to your Grace; whiche nowe with this I sende to your saide Grace. Thay shulde have paste forward afore this tyme, but I taried thaym till knowelege came unto me of the other matier afore saide. The Quenes said Grace contynueth as She did afore, and therfore I have noe further matier to be mentionned of Her Grace, but as is conteynned in my said laste letter sent to your saide Grace.

I am in good truste to retourne into Einglande the shippe with salte, taken and brought hider by Frenshemen, estemed to the valour of a thowsande pounde.

Good it were that the tokens, to be sent hider from the Kingges Highnes

to

to the yong King his dereste nevewe, were had in remembraunce. And Almighty God ever moor have Your saide Grace in His mooste blessed preservation. At Edinburgh, the 8te day of June.

Your mooste humble preiste and bedeman,

(*Signed*) T. MAGNUS.

(*Superscribed*)
Unto my Lord Legates good Grace.

CXXXIV. MAGNUS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace to be advertissed, that of late I wroote unto the same twoe letters, the oone of the date of the laste daye of Maij, and the other of the 8th daye of this moneth. I am desirous to have knowelege of the Kingges gracious mynde and youres touching the mooste speciall matiers comprised in the said letters; advertissing your said Grace that this present peas betwene Einglande and Scotlande shall expire upon Saint Thomas even next commyng, the 6th daye of July; wherfor I am desirous also to knowe the Kingges gracious pleasure and youres, howe I shall ordour me ayeinste the same daye; for thenne shalbe the furste daye of the Parliament appointed and proclaimed to be hoolden here. Necessarie it is, that speciall regarde be geven to this matier; for as it is thought the principall of the Counsaill here doe contynue, reste, and herken, to suche newes and advertismentes as thay truste shall come and be geven unto thaym from oute of Fraunce, mentionned in my former letters. And over this, by thair procedingges I have noe speciall confidence to thair fair woordes, but doubte the same to be moore of dissymulation, thenne of any trewe love or faithfull favour.

Upon suche knowelege as I have had from Sir William Eures[2], I have shewed to the Counsell here, what grete hurte and damage by depredations, thefte, robry, slaughter booth of men and women, brennyng, and taking of prisonners, of late hath bene doone and committed to the King my Soveraine Lorde and Maisters subjectes withynne the realme of Einglande, at oon tyme by 400 Scottishe men accompanying the Kingges rebelles and cursed theves of Tyndaill; and at an other tyme by 600 Scottisshe men accompanying the said theves. Wherfore I have required and demaunded, furste, of the said

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 115.

[2] Eure's letter to Magnus, 17th June, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 407. Magnus's answer, 19th June, ib. B. II. leaf 109.

Counsaill,

Counsaill, whye that thay permitte and suffer the said theves, being the Kingges rebelles, to be received suppoorted and maynteynned withynne the realme of Scotlande, and to be accompanyed with suche grete noumbre of Scottisshe men nowe in the tyme of peas, contrary to all good ordour of the same and clerely ayeinste justice, not by these meanes to acquire the assured love and favour of the King my Soveraine Lorde and Master, but rather, if due redresse and remedy be not provided for in breve tyme, to procure his high and grevous displeasure: secondely, why that suche prisonners as ar taken to the noumbre of 40 persons in the tyme of this said peas, ar not deliverde and made free, accoording to the oolde custome of the Bordours.

And over this, I have required redresse to be made of all suche depredations, theftes, robres, slaughters, and brennynges, as have bene doon sethenne the firste taking of this present peas, and specially that suche horses, to the noumber of an hondreth, as have been lately taken from the Kingges true subjectes in Tyndale and in thoos parties, may be deliverde ayeine.

To these requestes and demaundes, the said Counsaill have made aunsuer, that thay ar not content with any suche ungracious and unlaufull attemptates to be doon by the party of Scotlande, and that thay woll not favour the same, but shall be glad to provide for remedy in that behalve. And therupon thay have commaunded thErle of Anguisshe, Warden of thEste and Myddle Marches of Scotlande, accoording to the duetye of his office, to see for due redresse and remedy to be had in the premisses, as of right it apperteynneth.

The said Erle hath appointed sondery dayes of true to have bene kept at the Myddle Marches, and hath over shotte the same; wherof I marveill, and suppoos the occasion therof commeth not of hym self. Wherfore the daye of true for the said Myddle Marches is appointed and promysed to be kept the 29th daye of this moneth, and that in the meane tyme the prisonners shalbe freed and put at liberty.

In thiese matiers and causes I have had some busynes, and have bene resonnable rounde to the Counsaill. Howe be it, I am prively advertised that in putting at large of the prisonners lately taken, there wolbe some crafte and dyssymulation, by conveying of thaym into the daungier of the theves of Tyndale, soe that it may be said Scottisshe men kepe noone of thaym. I woll doe what I canne for remedying of this matier; but the veray trouth woll appere at the said daye of true, appointed at the Myddle Marches, if the same be kept accoording to the commynnycation had therof as is afore said.

The Armestrongges, and thother theves of Liddisdaill, lately taken by the said Erle of Anguisshe, ar here, but not in prison. Howe be it, thay ar in warde, and men attending daye and night upon thaym, having gret favourers;

soe

soe as it is thought, if noe peas shalbe concluded, thay, laying plegges to be of good rule and abering towardes Scotlande, shalbe at libertie; and, if a good peas shall conclude, thenne it is thought a sure waye shalbe taken with the said theves aswell for Einglande as for Scotlande. But this matier, with other, resteth myche upon suche tidingges, as prively ar looked for to come from oute of Fraunce; wherof as yet there is noe maner of woorde, knowelege, nor counforte.

The Quenes Grace contynueth still at Sterling, and seweth faste for the devorce betwene Her said Grace and the said Erle of Anguisshe; surmitting her cause to be that She was maried to the said Erle, the late King of Scottes her husbande being a live, and that the same King was living three yeres after the feilde of Floddon or Brankeston.

Here hath bene upon a suraunce thErle of Arren, to thentent, as it was thought, there shulde have bene made a good unitye and a concoorde betwene hym on the oone party, and thErles of Anguisshe and Lenneux on the other party; but the said Erle of Arren is departed, and goone ayeine withoute any maner of a grement, as in loving maner he shewed unto me hym self, and soe badde me fare well in right gentil maner.

Yf it shall content the Kingges Highnes and your Grace, the tokens to the yong King here wolde be had in remembraunce. And Almighty God have Youre said Grace in His mooste blessed tuition and governaunce. At Edinburgh, the 23th daye of June.

Your mooste humble preiste
and bedeman,
(*Signed*) T. MAGNUS.

(*Superscribed*)
Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CXXXV. THE COUNCIL OF THE DUKE OF RICHMOND *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace. The Wenesdaye the 26th day of July, my Lord of Richemound[2] departed from William Jekylles unto my Lady Parres, where His Grace was mervelouslye well intreated, and had good chere. And ther the Duke of Norffolke took his leyf of hym, demaundyng if His Grace wold any thing to the Kinges Highnes. And the Thursdaye after at Buntyngforde, the Fridaye at Shyngaye, and the Satterday folowyng at Huntyngdon, where His

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. VI. No. 142.

[2] The Duke of Richmond was in June 1525 appointed Lieutenant General of the Forces North of Trent, and Lord Warden of the Scottish Border.

Grace contynued Sondaye all daye. And from my Lady Parres unto Huntyngdon, no person of all the countre mett with my Lordes Grace, saving onely at Huntyngdon Doctour Hall mett His Grace without the town; and apon the bridge ther the Bayles, with the honest men of the town, presented unto His Grace 4 gret pykes and 4 tenches. And at Huntyngdon thAbbott of Ramseye[1] send unto His Grace certeyn swannes, cranes, and other wyldefowle, in a present; and Doctour Halle gave His Grace wyne, and also unto his Counsaill. Also the Monday last past His Grace departed from Huntyngdon unto George Kyrkhams house, and from thens the Tuysdaye unto Colleweston. And in the waye His Grace kylled a buk hym self, in the Kinges parke called Clyf Parke, where Davy Sicile maid His Grace and all his folkes right good chere, at the said Davies own cost and charge.[2] In all whiche journeye my Lordes Grace rode nott in his horse lytter but onely from William Jekylles house a 3 or 4 myles; whiche ryding in his said horse lytter, His Grace liked no thing: but ever sythens, His Grace hathe ryden apon his hobye, and hathe been verey well at ease, and is cumen right merely unto Colleweston, thanked be God, and in better case and more lusty of his boddy than His Grace was at his furst taking of his journeye. And at Colleweston thAbbottes of Petirboroughe[3] and of Crowland[4] hathe send unto His Grace certayn goodly presentes of swannes, cranes, and other wyldefowle.

Furthermore it may like your Grace to have in remembraunce to send a Phesician unto my Lordes Grace, for the preservation of his person.

And apon Mondaye next the 7th day of this moneth of August, my Lordes Grace shall take his journey towardes Yorke, God willing. And Jesu preserve Your Grace. From Colleweston, this second daye of August.

By your humble servauntes,

(*Signed*) Brian Higdon.
(*Signed*) Wyllm̃: Parre.
(*Signed*) W. Bulmer.[5]
(*Signed*) Godfrey Foliambe.
(*Signed*) Thomas Tempest.
(*Signed*) Thoms̃ Dalby.
(*Signed*) Wiliam Taite.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Cardinalles Grace.

[1] John Wardeboys alias Lawrence.

[2] David Cecil, the grandfather of the first Lord Burleigh, obtained, 8 H. VIII., the keepership of Clyff park, and, 15 H. VIII., the stewardship of the King's lordship of Colyweston.

[3] Robert Kirkton or Kirton.

[4] John Welles alias Bridges.

[5] Sir William Bulmer was appointed steward of the Duke's household, but soon afterwards wrote to Wolsey declaring his inability through age and infirmity to execute the office, and recommending the substitution of one of his sons. Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. I. leaf 143, 144.

CXXXVI. MAGNUS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

* * * *

The laste daye of the Parliament an Acte was openly purpoosed [*in the*] same, the Kingges Grace being present, that for somyche as the Quenes Grace had divers tymes bene sent fore, to have bene here at this Parliament, for ordouring and concluding of this peas betwenene Eingland and Scotlande, and for her sure and sauf commyng hider had reasonnable assuraunce made unto Her Grace, Her said Grace therfore shulde have bene deprived of her autorite, which is, to be the furste and principall of the Counsaill, and to have the gifte of all and singuler the benefices and spirituall promotions under the valour of a thousande poundes Scottishe money. To this the yong King did aunsuer, wherof he was gretely commended, shewing, His Grace trusted the Quene his moder had not soe highly offended, why that Her Grace shulde loose or be putte from her said autoryte, and therfore required that the matier mought be respited, or elles putte in some better trayn or ordour. Wherupon, as I am enfourmed, it was determynned, if the Quenes said Grace, withynne 20 dayes next ymmediately folowing, doe repare to the Kingges Grace, and doe folowe thadvice and counsaill of the Lordes, and for her parte conferme the said peas as have doon the other, that thenne the said Acte to be of noon effecte, and elles to stande in full strength and vertue.[2]

After my poore mynde, and as I here, Her Grace woll say She darre not come hider, for drede that Her said Grace hath in thErle of Anguisshe; whoome if it wolde pleas Her Grace to accept unto her favour, She mought withoute doubte better ordour for his gentilnes, thenne I canne rule any servaunte I have.

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[1] The first part of this letter, which is holograph, is wanting. That which remains is in the Museum, Caligula, B. III. leaf 169.

[2] It appears by the printed Statute book that the Parliament sat on the 6th, 10th, 11th, 17th, 27th, 30th, and 31st of July, and on the 3d of August. On the 11th of July Angus gave caution for the safety of the Queen in going to and from Edinburgh during the Parliament, and for three days thereafter. On the 17th, being the same day on which the Lords of the Secret Council reported to Parliament the quarterly rotation established for their attendance on the King's person, a resolution was passed as to the article touching the Queen, to provide therefore as should accord before the conclusion of the Parliament. And on the last day of the Session the Three Estates ratified all acts done by the Council in the King's name in the Queen's absence, notwithstanding the authority given to her by the last Parliament, and deprived her of that authority for the future; nevertheless, at the request of the King, it was ordered, that this Act should stand over for twenty days, so that if the Queen should come in the mean time and use the counsel of the Lords, She should have her authority with them, otherwise not.

Humbly I beseche your said Grace to pardon me of this my long writing, being for many causes right paynful unto me; and myche moore paynfull it shulde be unto me to pretermitte any thing that ought to come to the knowlege of the Kingges Highnes and youre said Grace: whoom Almighty God evermoor have in His mooste blessed tuition and governaunce. At Edinburgh, the 9th day of Auguste.

Post scripta. Lettres be arived here, whiche I have loked upon, directe to my Lorde Chaunceler, frome Roome, singnefying relation is made to the Poopes Holynes that his Lordeship is the veray and commen procurer and letter of peas to be enterteynned betwene Einglande and Scotlande; bruted specially by oone Lawther, lying in the Courte of Roome for the Quenes causes[1], and favoured by the Busshop of Bathe, to whoome at this tyme the said Chaunceler hath adressed his lettres for his declaration in that behalve: beseching your Grace that the said Busshop may knowe your gracious pleasure, howe my said Lorde Chaunceler ordoureth and useth him towardes the Kingges Highnes and your said Grace; wherby these senister reapoortes may be repressed, and his Lordeship accept accoording to his merites, and as he shall deserve by his procedingges. I sende unto your Grace his memoriall made unto me for this matier, with a copye of the same herunto annexed.[2] Mi said Lorde Chaunceler is hoolly geven to the Kingges high pleasure and youres, as apparauntly hath proved at this tyme; and therfore I doubte not but the Kingges said Highnes and your Grace woll have hym in your gracious remembraunces, to his counforte and for his assured perseveraunce herafter. Wherunto I geve grete truste and confidence, for by all liklihood Fraunce and he hath made a parting.

Your mooste humble preiste and bedeman,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) T. Magnus.

Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

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[1] See p. 271. The Archbishop wrote to Magnus specially on this head on the 9th of August, Caligula, B. III. leaf 169.

[2] Ibid, 170 and 171.

CXXXVII. MAGNUS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace to be advertissed that, sethenne my sending to your said Grace of my last letters, my Lorde Chaunceler here hath shewed unto me that the yong Priour of Saint Andrewes[2], being Secretary, is not soe sure a man as his Lordeship suppoosed he had bene, and that for mede, favour, and pleasure of his frendes, he woll at some tymes suffer the Singnet to passe withoute his knowlege, aswell into Fraunce, as to Roome, and other places, as he saith it hath doon of late; and therfore the said Chaunceler, nowe being departed from hennes for 10 or 12 dayes, is mynded that when any thing shall from hennes furth be sent or goe to Roome, the same shall passe by the bankers of London, suppoosed to be for the better and moore surety; and is right desirous of your gracious advertismentes and good counsaill to be geven unto hym in this matier. For, by this remisse dealing of the Secretary, my said Lorde Chaunceler conceiveth sondery thingges that be not well doone; beseching your Grace that if any letters be commen or shall come under the Kingges Singnet, that the same may be retayned and kept by the bankers for 20^{ti} dayes after that his paquet of letters directe to the Busshop of Bathe, sent up to Mr Tuke with myn other letters, with your gracious favour, may be sent forwarde by the mooste trusty banker towardes your Grace and in your said favour. For this matier my said Lorde Chaunceler hath mooste specially instaunced and required me; and, as I conceive, your doing for hym concernyng the premisses shall myche be to his counforte and pleasure.

Here is noe litle exclamation for the late taking of the Frenshe shippe mentionned in my last letters, as your Grace shall conceive by the copy of a letter herynne incloosed, lately retourned by me to Walter Jegoe upon his aunsuer made of my former letters sent unto hym. I beseche your Grace, as ye shall conceive by the said copy, that booth Walter Jegoe and I may knowe your gracious pleasure; for harde it is to content the commyn people of these partes with any reason, though it be the mooste plainly declared unto thaym. And thus Almighty God have Your said Grace in His mooste blessed governaunce. At Edinburgh, the 12 daye of Auguste.

Your mooste humble prieste and bedeman,

(*Signed*) T. MAGNUS.

(*Superscribed*)
Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

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[1] Holograph. From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. VIII. Part 1. No. 17. [2] Patrick Hepburn.

CXXXVIII. MAGNUS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace to be advertised that, at divers and sondery tymes, I have written and singnefied to your said Grace, howe that here were twoe speciall personnages, the oone called Patrik Synkeler and the other Mr John Cheshoolme, by whoom I have had right speciall assistence sethen my commyng hider, with knowelege and intelligence of many causes and matiers concernyng the Kingges affaires in these partes; the notice wherof wolde farre have bene from me, save oonly thair speciall favours were ever mooste lovingly and mooste assuredly shewed unto me in that behalve, not letting for manasingges made unto thaym, to be banisshed the Courte and the toune of Edinburgh, and also putting into straite warde and prison. Soe it is, the berer herof is the said Mr John Cheseholme, commyng into Einglande for sondery causes, and specially with the King his Soveraine Lorde and masters letters to the Kingges Highnes for a sauf conduyt to be opteynned for Robert Barton late Countroller[2], and hym self, by the space of oone yere, for thaym to sende, passe and repasse with marchaundise. I humble beseche your Grace to be good and gracious Lorde to the said Mr John. He was servaunte and Clerke of the Kechynne to the late King, whoom God pardon, and is in good and speciall favour with the yong King, and was oone of the principall labourers and procurers for putting of His Grace at large and liberty, and hath doone, canne, and woll doe, right good service to the purpoos and pleasure of the Kingges Highnes, and is as evill a Frensshe man for the King his maisters sake, and soe openly knowne and proved, as any oone is in all Scotlande; whiche hath putte hym from promotion, sethenne my commyng hider, that of right he ought to have had. Whenne I naither durste truste poste nor other, he hath doone my letters saufly and mooste surely to be conveyed towardes your Grace, with the help of his good aunte the Priores of Caldestreme. Wherfore I humbly beseche your Grace, that he may conceive your said Grace is content with his service soe lovingly and soe assuredly doone for the good trouth he bereth towardes the yong King his maister; and, in case he doe or shall repaire to the Kingges presence, that His Highnes may have advertisment of hym. For, after my poor mynde, I doubte not but the said Patrik Synkeler and this gentleman

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[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. VIII. Part 1. No. 8.

[2] Barton, on the 30th of July, made a report of the expences of the King's household, as Comptroller of Scotland. See Acts.

shall

shall and woll doe good service and pleasure to the Kingges Highnes and your Grace aboute the yong King thair Soveraine Lorde and Maister, soe that litle or noe thing shalbe doone here worthy of advertisment, but the same shall surely come to the knowelege and intelligence of your said Grace: whoom Our Lorde God have in His tuition and governaunce. At Edinburgh, the 27th daye of Auguste.

Your mooste humble preiste and bedeman,

(*Superscribed*)
Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

(*Signed*) T. MAGNUS.

CXXXIX. MAGNUS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace to be advertised, my Lorde Chaunceler, lying at this tyme at Domfarmeling, hath sent unto me twoe of his chapelains with oone of his kynnesmen, shewing that, notwithstaunding any laubours hertofore made in the Courte of Roome for the abbasy of Melroose, the same resteth as yet litle or noe thing doone unto. Wherfore my said Lorde, having afore, for the promotion of oone of his nigh kynnesmen to the said abbasy, the Duke of Albenys recommendation, taking litle effecte, hath nowe opteynned the Kingges gracious letters here in the favour, and for the promotion, of his said kynnesman to the same abbasy; and besecheth your Grace not oonly to write your favourable letters to my Lorde of Bath for the avauncement of this matier as the case standeth at this tyme, but also that your gracious commaundement may be geven to some good and sure banker in London for the mooste haisty and mooste spedy sending furth of your gracious lettres by poste with the other brought up by a servaunte of his oune, commyng purpoosely to your Grace for the spedy soliciting of this cause, and for making payment, as shall apperteine, for passing furth with diligence of the said poste; my said Lorde Chaunceler, having sure knowelege, as he saith, that the same abbasy resteth and remaynneth at Roome, litle sette forwarde for want of money of the other competitour, trusteth and douteth not (upon suche advertismentes as of late be commen to his Lordeship, if good spede canne and may be made by the said poste, the King his maisters letters being oons there in the favour of his kynnesman, and money for avauncement of every thing as in this case it shall apperteyn, your gracious

[1] Holograph. From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. VIII. Part 1. No. 14.

and

and favourable letters had also to the same effecte and purpoos) but that this matier shall have good spede and shall come to good conclusion. And after this maner his Lordeship hath instantely required me to write to your said Grace; whoom Almighty God evermoore have in His mooste blessed preservation. At Edinburgh, the 27th daye of Auguste.

Your mooste humble preiste and bedeman,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) T. MAGNUS.

Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CXL. THE DUKE OF RICHMOND'S COUNCIL *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace to understande, that yersturdaye my Lorde of Richemont and of Somerset departid from Yorke unto Shirefhutton, where His Grace nowe remaynethe (laudid bee God) in good helthe. And oute of Yorke, Sir Marmaduke Cunstable theldre, and the younger, Sir William Cunstable of Hatfeld, and Edward Gowre Esquier, with others, attendid on his Grace and brought hym on his weye towardes Shirefhutton.[2]

The same daye, at 11 of the clok before none, we being at Yorke, received from your Grace not oonly your right honourable letters by John Uvedale, Secretarie to my said Lorde, but alsoo all suche lettres patentes, commissions of oyer determiner, of the peas, and of enquerry for offices, to gidder with the booke of the diettes, the chek roll of my said Lorde, and instruccions signed with the gracious hande of the Kinges Highnes oure Soverain Lorde, like as they bee severally conteyned in a papir subscribed with youre signe manuell. And for the high and notable good devises conteyned in the same instructions for oure behaviour and ordre in the said comyssions and other the premyssis, we in our mooste humble wise thanke youre Grace, trusting verily that by the due observyng and practising of the same, great nombre of the Kinges subjectes of thies parties shall bee greatly eased, quyetid, and delyvered from the daunger of suche enormyties and unlaufull attemptates as heretofore they have bene molestid and disturbid with, many wayes. And for the due executing and putting of the same commissions,

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1 From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. VI. No. 141.

2 Sheriffhutton, which had been granted to the second Duke of Norfolk for life, and on his death in 1524 reverted to the Crown, was assigned to the Duke of Richmond as the place of his residence.

instruccions

instruccions, and others the premyssis, in experience, there shall no diligence bee omittid on oure behalffes, but that we shall endevour oureselffes the beste we can for the due observyng of the same at all tymes, when matier congruente shall chaunce and comme yn use before us.

And, as touching the commyssions of oyer determyner, proclamations be alredy made of theim, whiche shall begynne at Newcastell the Mundaye next before Michelmas daye next commyng, like as by oure laste letters we advertised your Grace. And for the better advauncemente, aswell of the said oyer determyner, as of other affayres in the said cuntrey, Sir William Bulmer, Sir Thomas Tempeste, Sir William Euers, Knightes, and Robert Bowes, bee departid from us, 8 dayes defore the writing of thies our letters, towardes the parties of Northumbrelande.

We understande alsoo by the said John Uvedale, that the Kinges Highnes shuld sende woorde unto your Grace that we shulde make meanes, and desire His Highnes, to have a chapell, because the Lorde Darcy and the Lord Latymer have chapelles; whiche thinge we ensure your Grace was never done by us, ner yet spoken of, ner thoughte to be convenyente as yet. Besechyng your Grace to bee meane unto the Kinges Highnes for oure escuse in this matier, and to deferre the same, untill suche tyme as we maye sett in ordre suche other thinges as His Highnes and youre Grace have commyttid unto us, by vertue of the foresayd commyssions and others the premyssis, for the good ordre, aswell of my said Lordes housholde, as of the northe parties of this realme, which we esteme to bee matiers of no smale ymportaunce; and the same to prove, aswell as any devises that ever were heretofore ordred for thies parties. As knowethe the Holie Trynytie, who evermore have Youre Grace in His holy tuycion and governaunce, our right singler good and gracious Lorde. Written at Shirefhutton, the 29th daye of Auguste.

Your mooste humble servauntes,

(*Signed*) Brian Higdon.
(*Signed*) Wyllm̃ : Parre.
(*Signed*) Godfrey Foliambe.
(*Signed*) T. Dalby.
(*Signed*) W. Frankeleyn.
(*Signed*) Rycharde Page.
(*Signed*) Jo : Palsgrave.
Jo : Uvedale.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Legates Grace.

CXLI. MAGNUS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace to be advertissed. The Kingges mooste honourable lettres and youres lately sent hider directe to the yong Kingges Grace, to the Thre Estates of this Realme, to the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes, to thErle of Anguysshe, and other[2], were right thankefully and in right good and pleasaunt maner accept and received, and by noon other moore specially thenne by the said yong Kingges Grace; and thay, all well content and pleased with the contynues of the said letters and credence by me shewed unto thaym, declared in effecte, that, if thay had presentely desired the perpetuall peas, hit shulde and mought have bene mooste to the weall proufite and benefite of this realme; yet, for the grete zeale that the Kingges Highnes, like a mooste vertuouse Prince, always hath had to thestablisshing of reste and tranquillitye in Cristendome, for the sincere love and cordiall affection that His Highnes bereth to the yong King his dereste neviewe, and for other consciderations expreste at large in your gracious letters and by me shewed accoordinglye, and upon truste that the saide Lordes woll soe vertuously and discretely trayn avise and counsaill the said yong King thaire Soveraine Lorde in this his tender age, that perpetuall peas withynne thre yeres may ensewe; the Kingges Highnes is right well contented to autorise his Commissioners to treate with the oder by the said yong King his Lordes and Thre Estates to be autorised for conclusion of the said peas for thre yeres, under suche fourme and maner, and with suche condicions as shalbe reasonnable and honourable for booth the partes. The further contynue of your said gracious letters I have conceived at large; and the parte to be discloosed I have oppenned and shewed, as the same doth apperteine; and the other parte to be kept cloose and secrete I have in good and perfite memory, and doe and shall ordour me accoordingly to the purpoorte of the same.

The speciall cause of my writing unto your said Grace at this tyme is to advertise youe that upon Saturday laste at night arived at Leith an Ambassadour sent hider from oute of Fraunce, being the President of Tolose[3]; and that the same night he sent to the yong Kinges Grace, by a Scottishe preiste commyng in his company, a letter directe to His saide Grace from the Duke

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[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 73.

[2] These must be the letters alluded to in Vol. I. p. 161.

[3] De Saignes.

of

of Albeny, with a litle dager for a token, having the hefte and shethe wrought with silver white; whiche dager, ymmediately upon the receipt therof, His Grace gave away to oone that was next unto hym at that tyme.

The morowe after, being Sondaye, I repared to His said Grace; and as soone as I was commen, His Grace shewed unto me the ariving of the said Ambassadour, and that he had received a letter from the Duke of Albeny thenne in the handes and keping of thArchebusshop of Glasco, whiche Archebusshop the yong King shewed unto me was hoolly geven to the favour and devotion of the said Duke. And after, by the help of thErle of Anguisshe, His Grace sent unto me the said letter to looke upon; the copy wherof booth in Frenshe and Scottisshe [1] I sende unto your Grace herynne incloosed.

It hath bene accustumed, that the Frenshe Ambassadours, whenne they have arived at Leith, have bene received solemnely by lordes and noble men, and soe conveyed and brought up in mooste goodly maner to thair logging, as was assingned at Edinburgh. This said Ambassadour contynued at Leith 3 or 4 dayes, afore his commyng hider, noe noble man gentilman nor other sent to viset, see, nor say welcome unto hym. And nowe he is commen hider, having

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[1] The Scottish translation is in the Museum, Caligula, B. III. leaf 100. The French copy is in the Chapter House, State Papers, Scotland, p. 646.

" Sire. Jay receu par ce present porteur voz lettres, et entendu la credance et affaire, pour " lequel lavez despesche et envoye. Et combien que il ne fusse pour le temps de la venue a la " court, et que par griefve malladie de collique jay este contraint en demeurer absent; ce neant- " moingtz, Sire, au moingtz mal quil ma este possible, suyvant vostre desir et intencion bien et " honneur de Vous et de vostre Royaulme, je lay adresse envers Madame la Regente Mere du Roy " Treschrestien mon Maistre tellement, quil a este tres gracieusement venu et despesche, respondant " a toutes choses de bonne sorte, et honnestement comme il me semble, par ce quil vous en pourra " faire entendre bien amplement. Et de ma part le continuel desir et affection, que jay de vous " faire service, agreable a laquelle chose me trouveray prest de y exposer vye et biens de tout mon " cueur, aydant Dieu, lequel supplye, apres me estre tant et sy treshumblement quil mest possible " recommande a Vostre bonne Grace, Vous donne tresbonne et treslongue vye. De Gondolle " ce &c.

" Syre, je vous supplie treshumblement davoir souvenance des choses, que a mon departir vous " remontre et fys entendre pour le bien et honneur de Vous, et de vostre Royaulme; car je croy " que les trouveres veritables, sy desja nen avez trouve la plus grant partye. Et me pardonnez, sy " ne Vous rescriptz de ma main, car je le scay pis fayre que jamays, et tellement que je fays doubte " que ne la sasies entendre ne lire.

" Syre, jay baille a ce porteur ung poignart pour Vous presenter; et pleust a Dieu, quil Vous " pleust commander et mander chose ou prinsies plaisir, car de tout mon povoir mettroye peine " Vous y satisfayre et obeir."

In the Scottish, " poignart" is rendered " ane quhynzar." In all other respects the translation follows the French copy, even in the hiatus at the end of the first paragraph, but it concludes with the compliment and the name, untranslated:

" Vostre treshumble et obeissant Serviteur,

" Jehan."

right scarcely any logging ordeynned or provided to his ease or pleasure. And as to presence, in myne oppynnyon he is like for a good season to tary, or that the King, if His Grace mought have his oune mynde, wolde geve any unto hym.

Here ar diverse oppynnyons touching the causes that he is commen fore. Some say his intent is to lette and disturbe the peas, intended to be concluded betwene these twoe realmes; but, assuredly, as I truste, I am advertissed from thArchebusshopp of Saint Andrewes that the said Ambassadour commeth to procure Scotlande to hoolde observe kepe and perfourme inviolable the bande and contracte, concluded and determynned betwene Fraunce and Scotlande at Rowan; which I thinke wolbe to litle effecte or purpoos.

I wroote unto your Grace, at sondery tymes, of the passing into Fraunce of oone Patrik Wemes, sent by the Lordes of this realme to the Counsaill of Fraunce, and of late mentionned his retourne and commyng hoome ayeine; whiche Patrik nowe is arived here also with the said Ambassadour. Howe be it, he landed afore in the contrey of Fyfe, and passed to the Chaunceler, or that he came to the yong Kingges Grace. As heretofore I have had knowlege, and nowe I understande the said Patrik had with hym from diverse the Lordes, whoos names all I knowe not, sondery letters and articles to Madame the Frenshe Kingges moder, the Duke of Albeny, and other of the Counsaill of Fraunce; conteyning that, for somyche as this realme of Scotlande had susteynned gret hurte and damage, not to thaire litle ympoverisshement, having noe relieff nor socour of Fraunce accoording as hath bene concluded by auncient treates betwene thayme, thay for thair remedy in that behalve were infoorced honestely to discharge thayme of thair bandes to Fraunce, and to conclude peas with Einglande, in avoiding the gret hostilitye not oonly, that elles by the same wolde have bene made unto thaym, but also the gret hurte and hynderaunce that mought have ensewed to the yong King thair Soveraine Lorde, conscidering the proximitye of bloode and possibilite of inheritaunce that he is of to the Kingges Highnes.

With this message the Counsaill of Fraunce was not content; allegging to the contrary, there was oone, called M[r] John Cantelay, autorised by commission under the Great Seall of Scotlande, subscribed by the yong King, the Quene his moder, and diverse other Lordes, sounding to a contrary effecte[1]; and that the Quenes Grace promysed, for certaine money in hande, an annuall pension, having thenne the hooll rule and governaunce of Scotlande, to conjoyne and make hit faste and sure to Fraunce, observing and keping every

[1] Several of these documents will be found Caligula, B. I. leaf 142. B. VI. leaves 408, 416—418.

bande

bande and article treated and concluded betwene thaym, withowte declynyng from the same to any other: and upon this brought booth the said Mr John Cantelay, yet lying in Fraunce for the Quene affares, and the said Patrik Wemes, afore the Counsaill of Fraunce to shewe thair autorities. Wherupon the said Counsaill, fynding thair allegginges articles sayinges and reapoortes discrepant oone from an other, hath therfore sent hider, as is reapoorted, the said Ambassadour to conduce and bring thaym here to hoolde faste and contynue to the treates bandes and conventions made and contracted afore betwene Fraunce and Scotlande.

As yet I have not harde any thing of the commyng towardes these parties of the Lorde Dacre, or of any other the Commissionaries; wherof I marveill. For all suche as ar here, bering thair good myndes favour and devotion to Einglande, wolde fayn the peas were fynally concluded and determyned betwene booth these twoe realmes.

Twoe causes there ar specially to be remembred to the Kingges Highnes and your Grace. The oone is, that sethenne my laste writing unto your Grace, there hath bene a trouble and a busynes betwene thErle of Angwisshe and the Lorde Hoome and other the Hoomes; and also, withynne these 4 dayes passed, the Hoomes of Wederbourne came hider of a prepensyd mynde and malice, and have slayne oone called the Lorde of Tullyalen[1], an honeste gentilman, and an other his kynnesman, and hurte diverse his servauntes; soe that for these twoe causes thErle of Anguisshe and his partes, as I am infourmed, canne not nor may come towardes the Bordours, but with a gret noumber of men, not able to be logged at Caldestreme, or nigh the Marshe, but to thair daungers, and to the daungiers also of other the Commissionaries booth of Einglande and Scotlande, if we shulde repaire for our metingges to the places afore appointed. Wherfore our assembly wolbe required to be had at this the toune of Edinburgh. And conceiving the same to be clerely denyed, I knowe noon other place for our meting, but at Barwik, oonles my Lorde Dacre canne any otherwise devise, provide, or ordeine. And therfore, if it shalbe thought good to my said Lord Dacre, by cause the breve tyme of our said meting and assemly is at hande, I thenke it shulde not be farre amysse to appointe our metingges at Barwik afore said; the Commissionaries of Scotlande[2] bringging with thaym suche noumber as shalbe assingned and appointed to come in thair company. This matier muste be remitted a gret parte to

[1] Blacater.

[2] The Archbishop of Glasgow, Angus, the Abbots of Holyrood house and Paisley, Scott of Balwery, and Otterburn were appointed by James V., on the 28th of September, his Commissioners for making peace with England. Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 92.

the

the wisdome of the said Lorde Dacre, by cause I have noon experience therynne.

The other cause is, that where at large it hath bene commynned accoorded and agreed betwene the Counsaill of Scotlande and me, that a peas temporall shulde be had and concluded betwene these twoe realmes for thre yeres, with the comprehension generall, as I doubte not your Grace hath in your good remembraunce; yf besides this, thair requestes petitions and demaundes shalbe, as afore I have written to your said Grace, that Spayn and Flaunders may be thair loving frendes by the favour of the Kingges Highnes, that thay may also aide and assiste Fraunce with men horse and harnes, if the same be required, and also have the sauf conduites to be anulled or qualefied. Remembring this Ambassadour of Fraunce is commen hider, and that if any straite article concernyng any the said causes shalbe incerted or conteynned in the instructions that your Grace dooth sende doune by the said Lorde Dacre, wherupon the Scottisshe Commissioners may alter or fynde any occasion to have further advice and advertismentes of the Counsaill of Scotlande, I thenke thenne, under the correction of your Grace, the matier shulde be doubtefull, and that better it were to passe over with Scotlande in a convenient maner for the tyme, as shall and may be thought good to the Kingges Highnes and your Grace, and advertismentes therof to be sent unto us with spede, if any suche doubte be in the said instruccions; wherupon, the said Ambassadour lying here, and seing peas to be concluded betwene these twoe realmes[1], notwithstanding his presence and the bande of Rowan making contrary therunto, shall not be well content nor pleased; but being thus lightly received, enterteynned in like maner, peas concluded as is afore said, the bande of Rowan apparantely broken, he being present, shall in my poor oppynnyon procure and moove Fraunce to abandon Scotlande, and utterly to exclude thaym from oute of thair accustumable favour; soe that therfore, after my poor mynde, Scotlande shalbe compelled perforce withynne breve tyme, being disdaynned by Fraunce and thay therfore disdaynnous to the same, the other matier lately mentionned unto me in ciphres taking good effecte, to sewe and labour after an other maner to the Kingges Highnes our Soveraine Lorde and Maister, for thair oune proufite commodite weall and surety. Humbly I beseche your Grace to

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[1] A treaty of peace between England and France was concluded at the Moore on the 30th of August. This treaty comprehended Scotland, but by a separate article this comprehension was annulled in cases of certain hostile acts done by Scotland. Rymer, Vol. XIV. pp. 48, 74. The comprehension of Scotland seems from Magnus's letter of the 1st of January 1526 to have been kept secret from the Scottish Council.

pardon

pardon me if I write further herynne thenne is my duety; the matier procedeth but oonly to geve advertismentes to your said Grace, in what case and maner the causes doe consiste here at this tyme.

I woll doe what I canne to gete copy of the articles, aswell brought hider by the said Ambassadour, as sent into Fraunce by the Quenes Grace; whiche was doon at the furste commyng hoome of thErle of Casselles, whenne he shulde and mought, if the Quenes Grace had bene of good mynde, have retourned a better aunsuer thenne at that tyme he brought up with hym. And yet the said aunsuer was made by the Chaunceler and other the Lordes after thair commyng to this toune and entering to the autorite; which yet thay use and exercise with the hooll rule and governaunce of the realme.

The said Ambassadour, as he came for-by Dombar, arived there, and went into the same, and, as is said, brought thider money for payment of waiges and for other charges there.

Here ar sondery oppynnyons of the Duke of Albeny. Some say he wolbe here in breve tyme[1], and some say he wanteth gooddes to avaunce and bring hym forwarde, and for mayntenaunce of his charges at his commyng hider. And as farre as I can conceive he woll not repare hyder in any wise. For though some wolde be with hym, many wolde be ayeinste hym, and specially the Kinges Grace, as yong as he is, wolde procure a party ayeinste hym; insomyche as His said Grace hath examyned thErle of Anguisshe and other, if thay woll take a faste and sure parte with His Grace ayeinste the said Duke.

ThArchebusshop of Saint Andrewes, lying at Domfarmeling, hath sent unto me, shewing he is not mynded nor woll come hider, till our matiers shalbe concluded; bycause, as he saith, till that tyme he woll have noon occasion to intromyt nor medle with the said Ambassadour, and that thenne he shall have presence, be harde, have reasonnable aunsuer, and soe be honestely retourned and sent hoome ayeine into Fraunce.

The Quenes Grace contynueth still in the farre north parties of this realme, in suche maner and fourme as Her said Grace did afore. As yet I here noe maner of alteration of her demeanour. ThAmbassadour of Fraunce hath some truste unto Her Grace. It is not thought to the Lordes here, if the Quenes said Grace wolde comme ynne, that she shulde amitte or loose any parte of her autorite. Lately I wroote to Her Grace, as your Grace shall

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[1] The treaty of the Moore had a secret article, that Albany should not enter Scotland during the minority of James V., which was possibly unknown to Magnus.

conceive

conceive by the copy of my letter, whiche I sende to your said Grace herynne incloosed. [1]

Albe

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[1] Caligula, B. III. leaf 89. Copy by Magnus:

" After mooste due and mooste humble recommendation unto Your Grace. Pleas it the same " to be advertised that of late a right good wise and a worshipfull woman, late maistres to your " dereste sonne the Kingges Grace, hath bene with me at diverse tymes; whoom I fynde your " bedewoman, and faste frende, and as desirous of your honour and counforte as any oone woman " in myne oppynnyon is in Scotlande. And, accoording to our devices thought best for your " pleasure, I have not oonly spoken with the good King, a mooste naturall sonne to his dereste " moder, but also with the Lordes of Counsaill, specially for your reparing hider, as mooste " mought have bene to your counforte and pleasure: whoos aunsuers were right good unto me, " sounding that your commyng hider shulde never have bene to your displeasure daungier nor " jopardy. Nevertheles it was otherwise in the mynde of the Kingges Grace, as I conceived by " his woordes and sayinges.

" Madame, it hath bene shewed unto me that upon synister reaporte Your Grace hath not had " your dereste broder the Kingges Highnes my Soveraine Lorde and Master, and me his mooste " humble servaunte, in any good truste concernyng your matiers and causes; wherof I canne not " a litle marveill. For assuredly Your Grace may truste, the Kingges said Highnes, naither by " writing, woordes, nor message, hath attempted procured or mooved any thing contrary to your " oune mynde, to any person in Scotlande, aither by meanes or otherwise, but as hath passed by " letters betwene your oune persons. And, as to my party, I truste there is noon honourable " person, nor of any good honesty, of trouth canne say or lay any thing to my charge, but that " I, as a true servaunte to my Master, have bene calling upon suche causes as have bene committed " unto me for the weall of the Bordours, and good peas firmely to be enterteynned betwene these " twoe realmes; wherynne your presence mought have bene right counfortable, withoute that that " in any maner wise I have counsailled or medled in any maner thing ayeinste Your Grace, but " the same well taken, as hath bene, is, and shalbe, for your honour weall and surety. And, if " otherwise I were mynded, I knowe not whoe in Scotlande couthe deserve my doingges or plea- " sure, shewed in suche a maner. And therfore, Madame, if any suche informations have bene " made unto Your Grace, I humble beseche Youe to avoide thaym, for thay ar not true. The " Kingges Grace except, he is not in Scotlande, that I shalbe moore glad to pleas thenne Your " Grace, as reason in sondery wises requireth. Howe be it, as afore I have doone, I woll ever " exhoorte Your Grace furste to remember and to applye Your Grace to the pleasure of God, " weall and counforte of the noble Prince your said dereste sonne, and to the contentation of your " good broder the Kingges Highnes my saide Soveraine Lorde and Master: and, thus doing, there " canne nor may any thing prevaill contrary to your honour and counfort; and failling in any oone " of thaym, right harde it wolbe but the same in some party woll appere, oone waye or other, not " the mooste pleasauntely. Wherfore, Madame, God furste pleased, what a counfort shulde it be " to have your presence here aboute this noble Prince, to the great rejoysing of your mooste " loving broder the Kingges Grace my said Soveraine Lorde, and to the gret contentation of all " and every the good noble men and subjectes of this the realme of Scotlande, the rather by your " good meanes and gret wisdome to be well inclyned to good reste tranquillytye unitye and con- " coorde; wherby all erthely Princes, soe assisted by thair good subjectes, be maynteynned socoured " and avaunced, to thair grete increas of fame and high renoumbe. And otherwise, a realme or " the nobles of the same, inclyned to discoorde debate devision or discention, procureth grete " comber trouble and myche adversitye, to the daungier of thair Soveraine. And therfore, " Madame, if Your Grace were resident here aboute the Kingges Grace, with the advice of good " counsaill,

Albe it the yong King shewed unto me, as is afore said, that thArchebusshop of Glasco is hoolly geven in favour to the Duke of Albeny, as I have written and thought never the contrary, remembring his commyng and promotion to the Archebusshopriche of Glasco; yet I conscider and see, that the Kingges said Grace favoureth myche moore the said Archebusshop thenne the Chaunceler. And therfore, after my poor mynde, there wolde be some conscideration taken by the Kingges Highnes and your Grace for the reasonnable contentation of thaym booth touching thexemption of Glasco: the oone being Chaunceler, and the other maister or preceptour to the Prince, contynually attending upon his person, specially to be remembred.

As hertofore I have written at sondery tymes unto your Grace, I truste your said Grace hath in remembraunce the gret thingges that I am charged with to the Kingges Highnes concernyng and touching the receipt of his wardes, landes, and other, litle or in maner noe thing looked upon by me, these thre or four yeres, but by my deputies, by occasion that I have bene sent aboute other gret causes; soe that therby, though I did some poore and symple service whenne I was present and resident aboute the same busynes, yet I am sure the said receiptes be not soe well looked upon, as thay were, naither for my discharge, nor specially for the Kingges proufite. Wherfore, having noone advertisment nor commaundement from your said Grace what I shall doe, aither for myn aboode here, or departing from hennes, if any good conclusion of peas shall take effecte at this tyme, I am mynded to come hoomewarde; and for that purpoos doe bring my poor stuff with me to the Bordours, having noe convenient cause that the same shulde reste or remayn here, after my from hennes departing. And in case for any conscideration your said Grace shall suppoos myne aboode to be necessary here, I assure your Grace, though I lye here, and spende the Kingges money and myne oune right largely, and owe to be content with the same; yet by my contynuall lying here, as noone other Einglisshe man in like maner hath doon afore, the Scottes have taken moore hawte and high mynde therat, thenne at any other thing; suppoosing us ever glad and desirous of thair favours, moor thenne thay ar of oures. And if this were not, whiche undoutedly is of trouth, if I shulde tary as I have doone, myne abode wolde be susspicious, if I used to repair to the yong Kingges Grace, having noe speciall matier nor cause to soliste nor labour.

" counsaill, ye shulde doe myche good in counforting and releving the sutes of poor people, and " pacefying of many causes, and therby wynne prayer, and have many frendes, with grete increas " of love and favour, and specially doe thing mooste to the pleasure of God, whoe evermoore have " Your said Grace in His blessed preservation. At Edinburgh, the 30th daye of Auguste."

This realme is devided in sondery partes, and the Counsaill goe not all oone waye; some oone parte disdaynning, and other brething, whoe shulde be the furtheste in favour with thaire Prince; soe that therfore, and to kepe me from oute of susspicion, I have had noe litle payn and busynes, and to contynue in the same it woll, as it hath doon, putte me in daunger. Howe be it, I have soe ordeynned that Patrik Synkeler, being in speciall favour with the said yong King, having many frendes and kynnesfolkes, and of as good experience as any Scottishe man is of his degre, being also wise, poletike, and secrete, the Kingges Highnes and your Grace soe content, shall from tyme to tyme geve playn advertismentes, howe every thing shall procede in these parties, soe that provision may be had howe his letters and writingges shalbe conveyed. Yf peas be concluded, after my poore mynde, the postes wolde be discharged, and thenne I truste the Kingges Highnes and your Grace woll not have my contynuance here. Nevertheles, the premisses conscidered, I muste and woll applye my poore will and mynde after the Kingges high pleasure and youres; mooste humbly beseching your Grace that I may have breve knowlege of the same. And thus Almighty God have Your said Grace in His mooste blessed tuition and governaunce. At Edinburgh, the 9th daye of September.

Your mooste humble
preiste and bedeman,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) T. Magnus.

Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CXLII. King James V. *to* the Pope.[1]

Beatissime Pater, humilimam prosternationem ad pedum oscula beatorum. Quum paulo antehac Robertus, nunc Rossensis Episcopus, legatione nostra ad avunculum nostrum Anglorum Regem fungeretur, bulle Sanctitatis Vestræ de ipsius ad Dunkeldensem sedem translatione huc illate fuerunt[2]; tumque fama increbuit, de qua et alteras ad Sanctitatem Vestram litteras dedimus,

[1] From the Vatican.

[2] This passage proves that Keith in his "Catalogue of Scottish Bishops" was right (p. 57.) in inserting Robert Cockburn as the Bishop of Dunkeld, who, with Lord Cassillis and the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, came as an Ambassador from Scotland to England in November 1524, (See Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 27.) but wrong in asserting (p. 112.) that Robert Cockburn, Bishop of Ross, died in 1521.

tandem

tandem de Dunkeldensis ecclesiæ fructibus pensiones aliquot disposuisse, unam cuidam Jacobo Creichtoun Predicatorum ordinem professo, cujus rei novitas adeo omnium animos detinet, ut vix credibile sit, quam indigne ferant Dunkeldensem sedem hominibus Nobis et Regno nostro parum commodis, et illi presertim quem religionis sue professio inhabilem reddit, vectigalem fieri. Verum Nos, qui nichil de Vestre Sanctitatis in re ecclesiastica potestate ambigimus, quin hec et multo majora facere possit, pensiones illas tolli non tam hortatur ipsius Roberti, de nobis semel atque iterum optime meriti, condicio facta deterior, quam imminens concernende religionis occasio, si hec ab Apostolico culmine claustrorum desertoribus impetrare liceat; quod malum si paulatim ex Sanctitatis Vestre indulgentia, hac tumultuantis rei Cristiane tempestate, in Regno nostro irrepserit, futurum esse timemus ne procliviores hominum animi in pejora deficiant, tum jam pro comperto habent religiosos viros, spretis majorum monitis, Romam convolare, atque istic studij et discipline speciem sibi pretexentes, cum beneficiorum aucupio nunc recenter ab hujusce ordinis hominibus adinvento, inter laicos versari. Tanta est enim apud nostros predicatorum servande religionis severitas, tanta strictioris vite austeritas, et ut cum beneficiorum crustulis alantur tam inaudita raritas, ut nusquam sibi persuasum habere possunt veros jurejurando paupertati astrictos contra regulare institutum, ubi aliud ipsorum merita non exigunt, posse beneficiorum proventibus locupletari. Etenim, nisi auspicatissima Vestre Sanctitatis providentia in divina vinea vepriculas istas jam tenero a radice scatentes resecuerit, brevi erit hanc omnem auctoritatem contemptui haberi; ideo hec Nos deprecari hortantur religionis amor et Cristo fides semper devotissima. Quamobrem Sanctitatem Vestram pro sue pietatis officio precamur Dunkeldensem sedem ab exolvendis quot alligata est pensionibus liberam reddat, et invalescentes in Regno nostro novitates tollat radicitus. Nosque, licet orbis situ inter Christianos Principes ultima tenentes, ad propulsandum tamen omnem catholice fidei prevaricationem inter primos Vestra spectabit Sanctitas, que cum summo bonorum omnium incremento valeat felicissima. Ex Regia Nostra Edenburgensi, decimo quinto die mensis Septembris, anno ab incarnato Christo quingentesimo vigesimo quinto supra millesimum.

Excellentissime Vestre Sanctitatis

Devotus filius, Scotorum Rex,

JACOBUS.

CXLIII. MAGNUS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace to be advertissed. Of late I received a letter from my Lorde Dacre, dated at Hontingdon the 3de daye of this moneth, wherby, amongges other thingges, I conceved his Lordeship desired to be advertissed of the noumber and names of suche personnages, as shulde be Commissioners for the party of Scotlande to mete with the King our Maisters Commissioners, and of the place where our assemble shulde be; requyring the same mooste effectually to be at Barwik, or elles our furste meting to be withynne the realme and grounde of Einglande. Soe it is, that the Chaunceler and other the Lordes here doe lye in sondery contreys, oone farre frome an other; and specially thErle of Anguisshe hath bene from the yong Kingges Grace here upon 14 dayes, aboute his oune affaires and busynes; soe that for ordouring of causes there hath bene noone other person present aboute the said yong King but oonly thArchebusshop of Glasco, with other mean personages. Howe be it, hit is appointed and determynned nowe, and also autorised by commission, that thErle of Anguisshe, thAbbot of Holy Roodhouse, or in his roome thAbbot of Arbrooth, and Mr Adam Otterbourne the Kingges Advocate, or in his place Sir William Scotte, by cause diverse of thaym be sekelewe, as the said Abbot of Holy Roodehouse and Mr Adam[2], shall geve meting to the King our said Maisters Commissioners to treate commyn and speke for the concluding of the peas, lately determynned here to be had, for thre yeres; as afore with the further circumstaunces hath bene declared and singnefied to your said Grace by my former letters.

And albe it, upon suche conscideratiōns as of late I mentionned to your said Grace by my laste letters, our reparing hider and meting at this the toune of Edinburgh hath specially bene required, and grete instaunce meanes and devices motionned for the same intent and purpoos; yet nevertheles it is determynned that the said Commissioners shall comme to Barwik, and remayne there during the tyme of our assemble and meting, assingned and appointed to be the sext daye of October next commyng, and the said Commissioners to repare thider under the noumber of an hundreth or 120 persons.

Theffecte of thaire articles, as farre as in any wise I canne conceive, not-

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[1] From the Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 70. In the catalogue a wrong date is given.

[2] The Commissioners ultimately appointed appear by the Treaty, which is printed by Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 115., to have been Angus, the Abbot of Holyrood House, and Otterburn.

withstanding

withstanding the matier afore mooved unto me openly in the Parliament, as hath bene mentionned unto your said Grace, shall oonly reste in effecte for a peas for thre yeres, with the generall comprehension, and that Scotlande may aide and assiste Fraunce with men horse and harnes in the meane tyme, if the same be required. And as is said, the same was agreede unto at the laste being and assembling of the Commissioners at Barwik. The poor effecte of my former letters conscidered with these premisses, it may therfore like your said Grace to directe unto me and to other the Commissioners the Kingges high pleasure and youres, if any thing be further to be doon and remembred.

Of late the Chaunceler wroote to the Archebusshop of Glasco, and shewed that, for somyche as th Ambassadour of Fraunce had contynued here upon 8 or 9 dayes, that therfore it was convenient the Kingges Grace shulde geve unto him presence, and receive his letters and writinges; shewing to the said Ambassadour, that at the convenyng and assembling of the Counsaill he shulde have further audience and aunsuer concernyng the cause of his message. Whiche presence was geven, and like aunsuer made, on Sonday the 10th daye of this moneth: at whiche tyme, thErle of Anguisshe not being present, there were sondery letters deliverde from Madame the Frenshe Kinges moder, and from the Duke of Albeny. The contynue of the said Dukes letter to the yong King purpoorted, amongges other thingges, that where as His Grace had written and sent to the said Duke, requiring hym to come hider for the better ordouring of this realme, he shewed and made aunsuer, that at this tyme he had grete affaires and busynes in hand concernyng the King his masters causes; nevertheles, if he mought knowe it were the Kingges expreste pleasure to have his commyng hider, he wolde prepare and orden hym to be at the said Kingges commaundement and pleasure.[1] Ymmediately upon the deliverey of the said letters, afore all suche presence as was at that tyme, the yong Kyng called me unto Hym, and shewed unto me the matiers were to litle effecte or purpoos. Howe be it, at that tyme His Grace had noe perfite intelligence of the Duke of Albenys letter; but as soone as His Grace was perfitely advertissed of the contynue therof, thenne, being paste into his Privea Chamber, His said Grace was not a litle mooved, and said, as I am credible infourmed, He never sent for the said Duke, nor never was agreable consenting mynded nor privea that he shulde be sent fore, and said, his frendes shulde faill Hym, if the said Duke attempted or approched to come into this his realme withoute his special licence, but His Grace wolde lay his swoorde upon his face. The next day after, being Monday, His said Grace, being somedeall

[1] See p. 395.

greved

greved and stirred at this matier, remooved sodainly from hennes to Dakehethe, 4 myles from this toune, purpoosely to avoide from his presence the said Frenshe Ambassadour, and came not ageine till 8 dayes after. And thus, as yet, there is noone other spede geven to the said Ambassadour.

The Archbusshop of Saint Andrewes contynueth at Domfarmeling, notwithstanding sondery messages made and sent unto his Lordeship for his reparing and commyng hider for ordouring of the Frenshe causes, as yet being dormaunt; and woll not comme hider till ayeinste our meting at Barwik.

Sethenne my last writing unto your said Grace, here hath bene right ragious wyndes with exceding rayn, wete weder, and grete waters, to the daungerous geting and ynnyng of thair cornes in these parties. Wherupon there is an open sclaunder and murmour raised upon me, not oonly in this the toune of Edinburgh, but thorowe a grete parte of the realme, surmitting that I shulde be the occasion therof; and that, as I have doon in Fraunce, Flaunders, and other contreys, where I never was, nor withoute the realme of Einglande but here in Scotlande, I woll not departe from hennes, till I shall procure all this realme to a distruccion booth in thair cornes frutes and otherwise, as is saide chaunced, by my meanes, oone yere of the vynes in Fraunce. Insomyche that I, nor my servauntes, couthe nor mought passe of late in the stretes, naither to nor from the Courte, but openly many women banned, cursed, waried, and gave me and myne the mooste grevous maledictions that couth be, to our faces. Wherupon there ar nigh aboute halve a scoore persons, all wemen, taken and putte in prison, and as yet doe remayn there for condingne punytion, and to be example to other like offenders. And also the Freeres Observauntes have preched soore ayeinste thaym that furste procured and contynueth this false untrue and detestable saying and oppynnyon. This ungracious demeanour hathe bene putte in execution here, for the mooste parte, all by women. The begynners therof canne not be knowne, but it is suppoosed to be by Frenshe men, or by some other favouring thair causes, not being content with this peas and the maner therof to be concluded; nor that Einglisshe men doe come at all tymes, at thair pleasures, and whenne thay luste, to the yong Kingges presence, and seing the Frenshe men not enterteynned as thay have bene of late. To long it is to fatigate and wery your Grace with the ungracious sondery oppynnyons that have bene had here of late ayeinste me; wherof there is noe grete marveill, for here is noe drede of justice, nor correction to be doone aither by oone parson or by other; whiche appereth by sondery haynous murdours lately committed openly withynne this the toune of Edinburgh. Theffecte of my laste letter with these premisses remembred, I truste the Kingges Highnes and your said Grace, after the peas concluded,

concluded, woll not have myne aboode to be contynued in this cumberous contrey; where ever is susspicion without truste; disdayn, sclaunder, malice, and cruelty, withoute vertue, drede of God, or man. And yet I canne not conjecture that any noble parson here shulde be fawty or culpable touching any parte of the said sclaunder; whiche is thing to all sad wise and discrete personnages incredible. Notwithstanding, here is myche devision debate and discention, and charite ofte putte aparte and excluded. Here ar many stoppes made by suche as ar named to be Commissioners, touching thair going forwarde, oonles provision be made here for thair costes and charges. As I conceive, at thaire laste being at Barwik, good rewardes were geven to sondery persons, specially to suche as were the principall for autorite wisdom and polecy, and as had the wayes for conveying of causes. I putte this matier in your gracious remembraunce, to thentent the Kingges high pleasure and youres may be had and knowne in that behalve; whiche, for somyche as shalbe in my poore parte and power, shalbe accomplisshed. As knoweth God, who ever moore have your Grace in His mooste blessed governaunce. At Edinburgh, the 25th daye of September.

Your mooste humble
preiste and bedeman,
(*Signed*) T. MAGNUS.

(*Superscribed*)
Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CXLIV. FRANKELEYN *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace. The 7th day of this present monethe, at our being at Hexham, we determyned and concludid to ley the pledgies for Tyndale, at Shrevehotton, of whom thre, of sondrye sirnames, cam thider this mornyng, and the residew wilbe here this nyght or to morow. Every of the said pledgies be of the grettest offenders, so as, in case that any of the sirname and frenship for whom they stande bownde, do offende and withdrawe hym self from justice, the pledge forthewith may be executyd, and an other to be taken in his place, of the same sirname or frendshipe.

All the saide offenders be very sorye, and gretly repentant for theire offensis and rebellyous demeynour agaynst Allmytigh God and the Kinges

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. V. No. 77.

Highnes.

Highnes. Bifore they wer absolvid and restoryd to Sacramentes of the Churche, they and every of theym, in right humble maner knelyng uppon their kneis, with wepyng tears, were well contentid to be sworne uppon the Holy Evangelist to observe all and every article contayned in the bill herinclosed, and also to ley pledgies in forme and maner as hertofore we have signified unto your Grace. Considering the lowly, meke, and absolute submission now made by theis pour men, I, with all my fellowes, do humblie and most effectually besuche your Grace to be a meanys and to make intercession to the Kinges Highnes for saving their lyves. For asmoche as by my perswasion (as it is supposed) they wer sumwhat the better contentid to submytt theym self acordingly to their duties, (thow the same perswasion at no tyme digressid from theffect of our instruccions) sory wold I be for my parte without they shuld obtayne mercye and pardon for their lyvis, or, at lest, respect uppon their good abering, and so longe as they do use theym self as true and obedient subjectes to Goddes lawis and the Kinges.

I assure your Grace my Lord of Richemond is a chylde of excellent wisdome and towardnes; and, for his good and quyk capacitie, retentyve memorie, vertuous inclinasion to all honor humanitie and goodnes, I thynk hard it wolbe to fyende any creature lyving, of twise his age, hable or worthy to be compared to hym. How his Grace used hym self in dispechieng Mr Almoner[1] (my self being present) and with what gravitie and good maner he desyred to be recommendid unto the Kinges Highnes, the Quene, and your Grace, I doubt not but the said Mr Almoner woll advertise your Grace at his commyng.

My chargeis here now perusid over, and set in estaye, to morow, God willyng, I intende to be at Pownfret at the Oyer Determyner; and immediatly after we have fynyshed the same, I will begynne to survaye my Lord of Richemondes landes appertayning to Shrevehotton, wherin and in all other his causis I shall applie my self to be as diligent, as in your Gracis own causes. And thow in causes of your Bishopriche I wright very sildom unto your Grace, for molestyng the same, yet I trust your said causes and contrie be so established, that your Grace from tyme to tyme shalbe honorablie wele and truly servid, by the helpe of God, who evermore preserve Your Grace. Wrytyn at Shrevehotton, the tenthe daye of Octobre.

Your Gracis most humble servaunt,

(*Signed*) W. FRANKELEYN.

(*Superscribed*)
To the most honorable and my most singuler good Lord, my Lord Legates Grace.

[1] Edward Lee, afterwards Archbishop of York.

CXLV. MAGNUS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace to be advertissed, that at my retourne from Barwik into Scotlande, the yong King was paste towardes Glasco and Dombreton, and to other places in the weste parties of this his realme, the Chaunceler thenne being at Saint Andrewes, and all other the Counsaill in sondery other contreys. Wherupon at my reparing hider I wroote my mynde at large, and sent the same to the said Chaunceler, as shall appere by the copy of my letter, whiche nowe I sende unto youre said Grace.[2]

It

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[1] From the Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 66.

[2] Caligula, B. I. leaf 300. Copy by Magnus himself:

" After mooste due recommendation unto Your good Lordeship. Pleas it the same to wete, as " I truste ye be advertissed, the Commissioners of Einglande and Scottelande have assembled and " mette at Barwik as was appointed; and after salutation had on booth parties as apperteynned, " and theffecte of our Commissions shewed, we commynned upon suche articles as were to be " purpoosed on booth the partes for concluding of the peas.

" And, where it was determynned here, aswell by Acte of Parliament, as by your Lordeship and " other the Kingges moost honourable Counseill, a peas to be had betwene Einglande and Scotte- " lande for thre yeres, and all frendes allies and confederates to be comprehended in the same " generally, accoording to an article in Latyn by me deliverd to your said Lordeship; the Com- " missioners for Scottelande accoorded to the same, though not at the furste. Howe be it, furthwith " upon the declaration of the said comprehension generall, thay induced the Frenshe King in a " speciall comprehension, that is to wete, it shulde be levefull to Scottelande to aide and assiste " Fraunce with men money hors and harnes, namyng the said Frenshe King your confederate; " whiche speciall article is thought repungnant to the former, and maketh the said generall com- " prehension voide or of litle effecte, being mooste specially required on our party for many " consciderations, shewed at sondery tymes aswell concernyng the weall in tyme commyng of the " yong Kingges Grace here, as of the King my Soveraine Lorde and maister. Wherof to me, " that ofte and many tymes have had intromytting in this matier with your Lordeship, it was noe " litle marveill; remembring that the said yong King shulde not tynte, amytte, nor loose, any his " confederates by the said generall comprehension in this his mynorite, but be at his liberty to aide " and assiste thaym at his pleasure.

" Your Lordeship, in the Parliament house, required thre thingges to be putte in your articles, " besides the peas for thre yeres, and the generall comprehension: which was, the said assistence " to be geven to Fraunce; sauf conduytes to be voide; Spayn, Flaunders, and other the King my " maisters confederates, to be frendes to the realme of Scottelande. Whiche thingges I singnefyed " to His Highnes and my Lorde Legates Grace, for thayre directe pleasures to be had and knowne " in the same, addressed after to me and other the King my Maisters Commissioners by instruction. " To which assistence to be geven to Fraunce by the assent and consent of His Grace, His " Highnes canne not agree, for sondery consciderations to be shewed to your Lordeship. Howe be " it His said Highnes woll not restrayn Scottelande to doe as ye shall seme beste therynne at your " oune handes, though it were moore naturall, moore beneficiall, and moore reasonnable for the " said yong King rather to aide his uncle and the realme of Einglande, in case any warre shulde

It was thenne appointed, that I shulde mete with his Lordeship at Domfarmling; as I did in dede. And at oure reparing to gaidre we had commynnycacion and conference all at large of our causes and matiers; and, amongges other thingges, the said Chaunceler allegged he was right sory that our assemblye at Barwik did take noe better effecte.

To that I said, if I had bene advertised of the contynue of thaire articles committe to thaire Commissioners, specially concerning thaire assistence to be geven to Fraunce, there shulde noon of us for that tyme have mette other at

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" insurge betwene the same and Fraunce, thenne to assiste Fraunce in the contrary of the Kingges " Highnes his said uncle.

" Over this, my Lorde, I doute not your Lordeshipp haith in remembraunce, I shewed unto " you, if there shulde passe youe any article touching the assistence afore said, hit was the thing " that couth not nor wolde be accept. Wherupon your said Lordeship axed me if we couth not " say nay, what thing soe ever was written or demaunded; and soe bad me be content, for the " same fewe woordes were sufficient betwene your said Lordeship and me. And soe I did take " and accept the same accordingly.

" At our said assemly and meting the said assistence was soe soore and straittely penned and " couched, that naither we for the party of Einglande couth consent therunto, nor your Commis- " sioners for Scottelande couth remytte or abate the same: soe that therfore our meting came to " litle effecte or purpoos. On our party were shewed divers and sondery reasonnable articles, " thought indifferent aswell for Scottelande as for Einglande. And, for somych as we couth not " accorde, seing the Bordours redy to breke and to invade the oder, specially the Bordours of " Einglande, provoked therunto by grete murdours, brennyng, spoiling, thefte, and robbery lately " doone and commytted unto thaym by the subjectes of Scottelande withoute making of any " redresse; we were inforced, for pacefying of booth the sides, to proclayme peas for thre yeres, " albe it there is but a prorogation of peas taken for forty dayes, and appointement taken that we " the said Commissioners shall assemble and mete ayeine at Barwik upon Martynmas day next " commyng, for the further ordouring and fynall concluding of the said peas.

" And for the same intent and purpoos, at the speciall request and desire made to me and other " the Commissioners of Einglande by the Commissioners of Scottelande, I am retourned hider " ayeine for knowelege to be had of the Kingges pleasure, and youres, and of other the Lordes " of His mooste honourable Counseill. Wherfore, my Lorde, insomyche as your Lordeship haith " taken myche besynes for this matier, and haith bene the principall begynner for a good peas to " take effecte betwene booth the realmes, I truste ye woll see for the fynall concluding of the " same; the rather by cause the matier is brought to a right nigh pointe, soe that our booth myndes " may come to effecte and purpoos withoute any restraint to the contrary, the said matier well " remembred and thoroughly conscidered.

" I beseche youe, my Lord, that I may be advertissed of your mynde, whenne and where I may " repayre to your said Lordeship for knowelege of your mynde in these premisses, mooste neces- " sary with spede and diligence to be looked upon, in avoiding grete inconveniences, that elles may " ensewe, to the noe litle trouble hurte and damage of booth the realmes.

" What reasonnable offers have bene made by the officers of the Bordours of Einglande for due " and intier redresse of all attemptates and good rule to be kept, soe that the semlable may be had " for the Bordours of Scottelande, I remitte to the reapoorte of thAbbot of Holy Roode Hous " and Mr Adam Otterbourne, thErle of Angwisshe being present and hering every thing allegged " in that behalve. And thus Almighty God have Youe, my veray good Lorde, in His blessed " keping. At Edinburgh, the 16th day of October."

Barwik,

Barwik, for the purpoos that we repared theder; declaring I was well assured it was and wolde be noe litle marveill to the Kingges Highness my Soveraine Lorde and Maister, and to your Grace, whenne ye shulde conceive thaire oppynnyons touching the said assistence, remembring it was ever all my sute that for the peas to be concluded betwen the Kingges said Highnes and the yong King his neviewe, there shulde never any speciall mention be made therynne of the realme of Fraunce, but oonly as was comprised in the generall comprehension, and soe the peas to passe absolutely to be had betwene thaym selfes thaire Realmes and dominions for three yeres. And in case that for a maner thay wolde have demaunded any speciall mention for Fraunce to have bene comprised and incerted in the said peas, yet theffecte of thaire woordes spoken and declared unto me in thaire Parliament, with the contynue of thaire letters, in sondery soortes sent and adressed to the Kingges said Highnes and your Grace, well remembred; it was thought for our party, if the same had not bene accept taken and admitted by us, that thenne thaire Commissioners shulde have had autoryte to have paste and pretermitted that matier: specially for good apparaunce to be had that thay were of good will mynde and inclination that a perpetuall peas shulde succede after in breve tyme, accoording to the purpoorte of the yong Kinges letters and thaires, adressed as is afore saide.

I declared also to the said Chaunceler, Mr Adam Otterbourne being present, what cause of susspicion and diffidence mought arise by the party of Einglande to see and conceive the yong King here, or his Counsaill for hym, to intende or purpoos any suche assistence, by occasion wherof some newe breche percase mought chaunce betwene these twoe realmes, if at any tyme the said assistance shulde be putte in execution; oonles the King my Maisters Realmes and domynions shulde be totally except in that behalve. I shewed also, albe it at this present tyme there is a good and a perfite peas betwene Einglande and Fraunce, likly to contynue for a long season, yet if any breche herafter shulde fortune or chaunce, hit couth not be for any thing soe likly, as for the denying or deteynnyng of the King my Maisters rightes, or of some parte of thaym, in Fraunce; in whiche case I said it was not nor wolde be thought naturall nor reasonnable, that the nephewe shulde assiste or maynteyne ayeinste his uncle, and mooste specially by cause of his oune possibilitye of inheritaunce had to the said rightes and good titles; but that it shulde be myche moore consonaunte to good reason that the yong King, with all his might and power, shulde be aiding and assisting to the Kingges Highnes his uncle in the said causes. I shewed also, as ofte and many tymes it had bene declared, the Kingges said Highnes never mynded that the yong King, during his mynoritye, shulde tynt amytte or loose any his frendes or confederates; but, as he was

astringed, aither for assistence or otherwise, he mought conferre his causes with thaym, as shulde be thought good and convenient accoording to wisdome, withoute that that the Kingges Highnes my Maister wolde restraine him to the contrary, noe matier being repungnaunt to the peas nowe in treating at this tyme; as by the article of the generall comprehension at large at dooth appere.

These reasons with sondery other declared, as apperteynned to our commynnycation, the Chaunceler said, he had bene of as good mynde as was possible to his power for conducing and bringging these causes and matiers for peas to suche effecte and purpoos, as shulde and mought beste be to the pleasure of the Kingges Highnes, and for the weall and surety of the yong King his maister, and of this his realme of Scotlande, and subjectes of the same; saying he couth not denye, but the reasons afore said were right vehement and not lightely with reason to be denyed. Howe be it he said the Counsaill of Scotlande had in thair oppynnyons, that if the Kingges Highnes and your Grace had not permitted and sufferde Fraunce to comprehende Scotlande, thay wolde not thenne in any wise have spoken oone worde of Fraunce, but wolde have made the same thaire quarell and cause, whye that Fraunce by thaym shulde not be comprehended.

I sende nowe unto your Grace copy of the articles committe to the Commissioners of Scotlande that mette us at Barwik[1], wherby your Grace shall conceive thay require to aide and assiste Fraunce withynne the same realme, and

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[1] Caligula, B. VII. leaf 55.

" Copia.

" Thairfor yat pece betaking betuix yer twa Realmes be sey and be land for ye space of thre " zeris, with certane conditionis as salbe thocht expedient for gud of baith ye Realmis, and send " in articulis with ye Commissionaris yerapoun, with comprehension in speciale of France, gif it " can be gottin, or as fallowis; Item conventum est quod in presenti tractatu comprehendantur " amici et confederati ambarum partium, vel utriusque partis, nisi eorum aliquis regna, dominia, " terras, ducatus, possessiones, hereditamenta, aut census, pensiones sive annuitates, vel debita, sive " bona mobilia aut immobilia ad alterum dictorum Principum quoquomodo spectantia aut pertinencia " detinuerit aut subtraxerit, in quo casu pro non comprehenso habeatur.

" And gif it can nocht be gottin, to tak it with generall comprehensioun of our frendis and " confederatis, all wais yis articule being adjunyt, that it salbe lefull to ws to help fortefy and suple " our confederat ye King of France, his realme and liegis, with men schippis vittalis and all uyer " necessairis out with yis realme within ye realme of France.

" Item ye King of Ingland sall procure sollist and cause ye King of Spanze, Emperour, to enter " with siclike amite and kindnes with ws for ye realmis of Spanze and Flanderis, as yai ware " of before.

" Item that ane articule bemaid, yat it salbe lefull to ye Kingis liegis, of baitht ye Realmis, to " trawell throuch uyeris without conduct.

" The

and noone otherwise; whiche the Chaunceller alleggeth he caused to be refourmed and amended by the said Mr Adam Otterbourne, bycause the Counsaill here, fynding as yet noe grete doubte howe thay be comprehended by Fraunce, but rather admitting the same, wolde that ayde and assistence shulde have bene geven by Scotlande to Fraunce ayeinste all and everye thaire enemyes, noon except.

The said Chaunceler saith, he doubteth not but, and he were with the Kingges Highnes and your Grace, having information howe this realme is devided oone from an other, and that thay ar not hable to assiste Fraunce, nor woll doe in dede, but for thaire honours make mencion and countenaunce towardes that purpoos, the Kingges said Highnes and your Grace wolde be content, that the said woordes touching assistence to be geven to Fraunce, in maner as thay be couched, shulde be accepted. Remembring that Scotlande hath oonly paste and broken the bande of Roone, otherwayes called here Rowayn, but alsoe as is said thay paste and broken the oolde lege betwene thaym and Fraunce; copy of an article wherof I sende also unto your said Grace.

He saith also it is not possible for hym to refourme the Counsaill here frome the said assistence to Fraunce, oonles it were by Acte of Parliament, and that yet he woll make noe promyse therof; knowyng, as he dooth, the inclination and myndes of Scotlande to the same. And this the said Chaunceler hath geven unto me for a resolute aunswer; saying, as doe all other of the Counsaill here, if totally thay shulde aither oone waye or other leve Fraunce, thaire olde and auncient conferate frendes being naither sure of the mariage, nor of the possibilitye of Einglande, naither howe the Kingges Highnes shulde or wolde procede with thaym whenne the three yeres shall expire, but oonly upon his high plesure; thay shulde thenne be lefte all aloon, withoute refuge or assistence to be geven thaym by any other thaire confederate.

" The Lordis commandis yat albeid thir twa last articulis be nocht grantit, yat yai conclude ye " pece eftir ye forme of ye first twa articulis.

" JA. SANCTANDR̃:
" G. GLASGWEÑ:
" JA. DŪBLANEÑ:
" DAVID DE ABIRBROTHK̃: " ERL OF ANGUS.
" ERL OF ARAN.
" ERLE OF LENOX.
" ERLE OF MORTON
" M JOHN CAMPBEL THẼ: ALEX^R^ CĀBUSKŸNETH.
" GEORGE SE: CRUCꝰ" JOHNE LORD ERSKIN.

All

All this notwithstanding, as farre as I in anywise canne conjecture or conceive, the saide Chaunceler wolde fayne have every thing to our purpoos; but he hath many medling and countering in his contrary. Notwithstanding, I truste he woll doe the uttermooste he canne for bringging these matiers to good effecte and purpoos.

I knowe nowe of surety, whenne the said Chaunceler couth not induce the Counsaill here, at the setting forwarde of the Commissioners, to acoorde oonly to the comprehension generall, but thay wolde have the said assistence specially to be comprised, he advised and counsailled Mr Adam Otterbourne, if it mought be by any meanys, to passe the said assistence with the Commissioners of Einglande. But, insomyche as the said Chaunceler durste not geve a warrant for that purpoos, the said Mr Adam Otterbourne wolde not take the matier upon hym. And yet there is not oone of the Counsaill in Scotlande, that favoureth the causes of Einglande better thenne he dooth.

I canne not commende thErle of Anguishe, naither for his wisdome nor conveying in Counsaill, not for taking upon hym at his oune hande, but if he be ledde by some other thenne hym self, whiche never appered so myche as it hath doon in hym at this tyme, being nowe at variaunce and debate in sondery partes of this realme, not likly withoute daungier, specially for not doing of justice aswell to Einglande as to Scotlande, by favouring of theves without redresse or punysshement.

ThErle of Arren, at this laste assemblye, albe it he gave me faire woordes, was mooste principally ayeinste our purpoos, as I am credebly informed. And thErle of Leneux, having his broder slayne of late with the Frenshe King, being nowe putte in comforte to be heyre to his uncle Monsr Dobeny in Fraunce, leneth myche to the said assistence to be geven, specially to Fraunce; frome whoos oppynnyon the said Erle of Anguisshe wolbe right doubtefull to decline.

The said Erle of Anguishe hath broken many promyses to me, that shulde have bene for keping dayes of true, and making redresse upon the Bordours. And even nowe ayeine hath broken his appointement made by writing, which was he shulde have bene on Tuesdaye laste upon the Bordours, to have seen redresse made there in sondery wises; where he was not: but doubting to be putte from the King, he kepeth contynually aboute his person. I see litle activenes in hym, withoute he have better assistence of counsaill thenne is aboute hym; and yet, after my poore mynde, the Kingges Highnes and your Grace, being noe moor sure of Scotlande thenne yet ye ar, shall doe well in convenient maner to enterteine hym.

The Chaunceler and he did breke in maner, mooste specially by cause

noone

noone execution was doon upon the Armestrongges, that by hym were taken, and afore dyd the haynouse attemptates in Tyndayll. And where the said Erle did take plegges of the same theves for good rule and redresse to be made, it was oonly for Scotlande, and not for Einglande. And soe the said Erle is in suche daungier, that naither he darre displeas the theves nor the Bordourers in the Marches of Scotlande; to noe litle hurte to Einglande, if remedy be not otherwise provided.

The said Erle said to me, as did Danne Carre of Cesforth, and Marke Carre his uncle, that if the Lorde Dacre were commen or mought comme to the Bordours, good redresse shulde not fayll to be made; but as yet there is noon suche, but promyses, made afore the said Lorde Dacre, the Dean of Yorke, and me, not perfourmed.

All ar here in parties, soe that the commyn weall is poste poned, and particuler causes oonly preferred.

ThErle of Anguisshe and thAbbot of Holy Roode House, twoe of the Commissioners for Scotlande, have doone noe thing for our causes, sethen thair commyng frome Barwik; but good Mr Adam Otterbourne hath taken payne in my company, booth riding and going at sondery tymes. The said Chaunceler accepteth in his oppynnyon all and every the articles required by the Kingges Highnes, except twayne, whiche is, touching to resiste the commyng ynne of the Duke of Albeny, and the Quenes Grace to be duly and intierly aunsuerde for her conjouncte feoffament.

As to the commynge ynne of the said Duke, the Chaunceler saith, as doe all other, yf he comme, he shall never have autorite as a ruler and governour of this realme; but commyng as a subjecte, redy to be obedient at the Kingges commaundement, and to doe service to His Grace, thay canne not nor may nor darre denye hym, conscidering he is heyre apparaunt to the said King thaire Soveraine Lorde: and mooste commynly all men be in this oppynnyon.

And as to the Quenes Grace peasably to enjoye her conjouncte feoffament, the Chaunceler and other here woll not intromytte in that matier, saying Her Grace, being covert with an husbande, must be ordoured therynne, aswell by the lawes of holy churche as by the lawes of the realme, oonly by her saide husbande. To this I shewed, as I suppoosed that the covenauntes of her mariage purpoorted that Her said Grace, where soever She shulde be contynue or remayne, enteirly shulde be aunsuerde of her saide conjouncte feoffament withoute contradiction. This is not myche denyed; but as the case standeth, the Counsaill here saith, that matier is to be ordoured by her husbande. Nevertheles, thay say, if it shall chaunce a devorce to be betwene Her Grace and her said husbande, or otherwise, thay wooll doe thaire lawly duetes with all the

the honour service and pleasure, that thay may, in every behalve to Her said Grace; but thay woll not accept the article to be comprised in the treaty of peas.

Fynally, as touching the mooste effectuall parte of this my letter, under the correccion of your Grace, if noon other remedy nor ordour, thenne as yet is taken for the concluding of peas, be devised, considering the grete contrarietes and sondery alterations, that ar in these parties, I suppoos it shulde doe well, that a peas were taken betwene these twoe realmes to Candilmas, or aither shorter or longger, as shall seme beste to the Kingges Highnes and your Grace; soe that, in the mean tyme, Fraunce may intymate and declare, howe and in what maner thay have comprehended Scotlande, and that if Scotlande be content and pleased with the same, thay may therwith pawse reste and sattell for a season; or elles, if the said comprehension be not acceptable to thaire pleasures, whenne the same shalbe well and perfitely degested in thaire remembraunces, thay shalbe inforced to make lawly sute and labour to the Kingges Highnes for a better peas; or elles, as wise men suppoos here, the devisions debates discoordes and discentions conscidered that ar in this realme, oone parte or other shall and wolbe infoorced withynne breve tyme to sewe for the Kingges gracious favour and assistence. Yf any suche peas shalbe had, it may be taken by the Lorde Dacre and me, not putting the Dean of Yorke therfore to somyche payne as to come to the Bordours, conscidering, as I remember, our commission is to 4, 3, or 2, of us. Humbly I beseche your Grace to pardon me, if I wade to farre in this matier, for fayn wolde I, that thing shulde take effecte, that beste shulde be to the Kingges high pleasure and youres. I doe not see nor conceive, but myne aboode here procureth the Scottes to myche presumption, soe as thay suppoos my long remaynnyng is contynuall sute and labour made unto thaym.

The Kingges high pleasure and youres I shall folowe, as it shall or may lye in my litle power; advertissing your Grace I sende unto youe also the copy of a terrible cursing, whiche, by the autorite of your gracious writing adressed to the Archebusshop of Glasco, I have procured to be executed in every notable place upon the Bordours of Scotlande.[1]

The

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[1] Caligula, B. II. leaf 289.

" Gawinus, Miseratione Divina Glasguensis Archiepiscopus, universis et singulis ad quorum " noticias presentes litere nostre pervenerint, cum omni rerum copia honoris ac ecclesiastice " libertatis incremento, Salutem in Christo Jesu coeternam. Cum in diverti gregis particularem " solicitudinem Christo propicio dilecti sumus, salutique ejusdem, de cujus vita racionem continuo " reddere obligamur, summa ope totisque lacertis studere nitimur, potissimum ea salubriter pro-

" videre

The yong King is retournyng towardes these parties, and is commen to Starling. I see noe towardnes that the Commissioners here purpoos to kepe thaire

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" videre, quibus peccatorum precipue publicorum facinorum mole deposita salus ipsa succedat, et " ab hostis humani generis servitute ereptas animas lucrifaciamus Altissimo, qui nobis eas sua " ingenita clementia commisit; id tamen propensiori studio precavendum esse censemus, ne " notoria maleficia, veluti innocentum oppressiones, que haud dubie divinam ulcionem sacro testanti " eloquio interpellant et provocant, surda aure pretereamus, ne etiam nostra ignavia punibilis " nutriatur impunitas et dampnanda voluntas, veluti hostis interior nostra signicie roboretur. " Dudum nobis, quod plurimum dolenter referimus, miserabili querela intimatum est, quod sunt " nonnulli malefactores, utriusque regni pacem et unitatem violantes, famosi latrones, publicarum " viarum insidiatores, agrorum etiam ecclesiasticorum et rerum depopulatores, innocentum op- " pressores, quamplurimos preciosissimo sanguine Jhesu Christi redemptos insauciabiliter exhau- " rientes, qui continuo morantur in partibus Tevedalie, Esdalie, Liddisdalie, Eusdalie, Nedis- " dalie, et Vallis Anandie, nostre jurisdictioni in spiritualibus inmediate subjectis, dies noctesque " ducentes insompnes, infinita perniciosa media machinantes, quibus suam tirannidem in pauperes " crucifixi ebulire faciant, et licet sepe sepius per recolende memorie nostros predecessores caritative " requisiti et moniti fuerint, attemptata emendare ac imposterum penitus sub maledictionis eterne " periculo desistere, necnon per nos in sacra nostra sinodo jam paucis elapsis diebus celebrata, ac " per nostros Christianitatis Decanos de nostro speciali mandato in predictis terminis commorantes, " ad hujusmodi effectum requisiti interpellati et moniti fuerint; ipsi tamen, quasi nichil sceleris " perpetrati fuissent, mala audacter et perniciose augendo malis a premissis hactenus desistere " postponuntur, in animarum suarum eminentissimum periculum, christifidelium cladem et pauperiem, " ac ortodoxe religionis ludubrium lamentandum. Ne igitur horum spursissimus sanguis nostram " inficiat animam, et nostro neglectu malivoli (quibus licencia peccandi tribuit incensitivum) pro- " cliviores ad illicita continuanda reddantur, vobis igitur et vestrum cuilibet, in virtute sancte " obediencie, et sub pena suspensionis a divinis quam in hijs scriptis ferimus, stricte precipiendo " mandamus. Contractus, &c. prout in communi stilo literarum.

" Sequitur processus in vulgari sermone fulminandus, ut laici et illaterati melius intelligant, et " majori concuciantur terrore, &c.

" Gude folkis, heir at my Lord Archibischop of Glasgwis letters under his round sele, direct " to me or ony uyer chapellane, makand mensioun with greit regrait how hevy he beris the " pieteous lamentabill and dolorous complaint, that pase our all realme, and cummis to his eris, " be oppin voce and fame, how our Soverane Lordis trew liegis, men wiffis and barnys, bocht and " redemit be the precious blude of our Salviour Jhesu Crist, and levand in his lawis, ar saikleslie " part murdrist, part slane, brynt, heryit, spulzeit, and reft, oppinly on day licht and under silens " of the nicht, and thair takkis and landis laid waist, and yair self banyst yerfra, als wele kirk- " landis as uyeris, be commoun tratouris, revaris, theiffis, duelland in the south part of this " realme, sic as Tevidale, Esdale, Liddisdale, Ewisdale, Nedisdale, and Annanderdaill; quhilkis " hes bene diverse ways persewit and punist be the temperale swerd and our Soverane Lordis " auctorite, and dredis nocht the samyn. And thairfoir my said Lord Archibischop of Glasgw " hes thocht expedient to strike thame with the terribill swerd of Halykirk, quhilk yai may nocht " lang endur and resist; and hes chargeit me or ony uther chapellane to denunce, declair, and " proclame yaim oppinly and generalie cursit, at yis market croce, and all utheris public places. " Heirfor throw the auctorite of Almichty God the Fader of Hevin, his Son our Salviour Jhesu " Crist, and of the Halygaist; throw the auctorite of the Blissit Virgin Sanct Mary, Sanct Michael, " Sanct Gabriell, and all ye Angellis; Sanct Johne the Baptist, and all the Haly Patriarkis and " Prophetis; Sanct Peter, Sanct Paull, Sanct Andro, and all Haly Appostillis; Sanct Stephin, " Sanct Laurence, and all Haly Mertheris; Sanct Gile, Sanct Martyn, and all Haly Confessouris;

thaire meting appointed at Barwik upon Martynmas daye next, oonles thay may be in surety that we shall accoorde at our assemblye; whiche resteth in this,

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" Sanct Anne, Sanct Katherin, and all Haly Virginis and Matronis; and of all the Sanctis and " haly cumpany of Hevin; be the auctorite of our Haly Fader the Paip, and his Cardinalis, and of " my said Lord Archibischop of Glasgw, be the avise and assistance of my Lordis Archibischop " Bischopis Abbotis Priouris and utheris Prelatis and Ministeris of Halykirk, I denunce proclamis " and declaris all and sindry the committaris of the said saikles murthuris, slauchteris, birnyng, " heirschippis, reiffis, thiftis, and spulezeis, oppinly apon day licht and under silence of the nicht, " alswele within temperale landis as kirklandis; togither with yair part takaris, assistaris, supplearis, " wittandlie resettaris of yair personis, the gudes reft and stollen be thaim, art or part yerof, and " yair counsalouris and defendouris of yair evill dedis; generalie cursit, waryit, aggregeite, and " reaggregeite, with the greit cursing. I curse yair heid and all ye haris of yair heid; I curse yair " face, yair ene, yair mouth, yair neise, yair toung, yair teith, yair crag, yair schulderis, yair breist, " yair hert, yair stomok, yair bak, yair wame, yair armes, yair leggis, yair handis, yair feit, and " everilk part of thair body fra the top of thair heid to the soill of thair feit, befoir and behind, " within and without. I curse yaim gangand, I curse yame rydand; I curse yaim standand, I curse " yaim sittand; I curse yaim etand, I curse yaim drinkand; I curse yaim walkand, I curse yaim " slepand; I curse yaim rysand, I curse yaim lyand; I curse yaim at hame, I curse yaim fra hame; " I curse yaim within the house, I curse yaim without the house; I curse yair wiffis, yair barnis, and " yair servandis participant with yaim in yair deides. I wary yair cornys, yair catales, thair woll, " yair scheip, yair horse, yair swyne, yair geise, yair hennys, and all yair quyk gude. I wary thair " hallis, yair chalmeris, yair kechingis, yair stabillis, yair barnys, yair biris, thair bernzardis, thair " cailzardis, thair plewis, thair harrowis, and the gudis and housis yat is necessair for yair susten- " tacioun and weilfair. All the malesouns and waresouns, that ever gat warldlie creatur sen the " begynnyng of the warlde to this hour, mot licht apon yaim. The maledictioun of God, yat lichtit " apon Lucifer and all his fallowis, that strak yaim fra the hie Hevin to the deip Hell, mot licht " apon yaim. The fire and the swerd, that stoppit Adam fra the zettis of Paradise, mot stop yaim " fra ye gloir of Hevin, quhill yai forbere and mak amendis. The malesoun yat lichtit on cursit " Cayein, quhen he slew his bruyer just Abell saiklesly, mot licht on yaim for the saikles slauchter " that yai commit dailie. The maledictioun, that lichtit apon all the warlde, man and beist, and all " yat ever tuke life, quhen all wes drownit be the flude of Noye, except Noye and his ark, mot " licht apon thame and droune thame, man and beist, and mak yis realme cummirles of yame, for " yair wekit synnys. The thunnour and fireflauchtis, yat zet doun as rane apon the cieties of " Zodoma and Gomora, with all the landis about, and brynt thame for yair vile synnys, mot rane " apon thame and birne yaim for oppin synnys. The malesoun and confusioun, that lichtit on the " Gigantis for yair oppressioun and pride, biggand the tour of Babiloun, mot confound yaim and all " yair werkis, for thair oppin reiffis and oppressioun. All the plagis, that fell apon Pharao and his " pepill of Egipt, thair landis corne and cataill, mot fall apon yaim, thair takkis, rowmys, and " stedinges, cornys and beistis. The watter of Tweid, and uyeris watteris, quhair yai ride, mot " droun thaim as the Reid Sey drownit King Pharao and the pepill of Egipt, persewing Godis " pepill of Israell. The Erd mot oppin, riffe, and cleiff, and swelly thaim quyk to Hell, as it " swellyit cursit Dathan and Abiron, that ganestude Moeses and the command of God. The wyld " fire, that brynt Thore and his fallowis to the nowmer of twa hundreth and fyfty, and utheris 14000 " and 700 at anys, usurpand aganis Moyses and Araon servandis of God, mot suddanely birne and " consume yaim, dailie ganestandand the commandis of God and Halykirk. The maledictioun, that " lichtit suddanely apon fair Absolon, rydand contrair his fader King David servand of God, throw " the wod, quhen the branchis of ane tre fred him of his horse and hangit him be the hair, mot " licht apon yaim, rydand agane trewe Scottis men, and hang yaim siclike that all the warld may se.

" The

this, that aither thay muste abate the speciall assistence and holde oonly to the generall comprehension, whiche woll not be doone one waye nor other, till the assemblye of the Lordes at the Kingges commyng hider, suppoosed to be withynne 8 dayes; or elles we muste applye and agre to thaire oppynnyon in that partye, if soe we shall have advertisment frome the Kingges Highnes and your Grace, with knowlege also howe we shall ordour us touching the twoe articles for the Quene and the Duke of Albeny.

Contynually I looke for knowlege of the Kingges said pleasure and youres, beseching your Grace, if the same be not paste afore the commyng unto your

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" The maledictioun, yat lichtit apon Olifernus, lieutenent to Nabogodonosor, makand weir and " heirschippis apon trew cristin men; the maledictioun, that lichtit apon Judas, Pylot, Herod, and " the Jowis that crucifyit Our Lord, and all the plagis and trublis that lichtit on the citte of Jheru- " salem thairfoir, and apon Symon Magus for his symony, bludy Nero, cursit Ditius, Makcensius, " Olibrius, Julianus Apostita, and the laiff of the cruell tirrannis that slew and murthirit Cristis " haly servandis, mot licht apon yame for yair cruell tiranny and murthirdome of cristin pepill. " And all the vengeance, that ever wes takin sen the warlde began for oppin synnys, and all the " plagis and pestilence that ever fell on man or beist, mot fall on thame for thair oppin reiff, " saiklese slauchter, and schedding of innocent blude. I dissever and partis yame fra the Kirk of " God, and deliveris yaim quyk to the Devill of Hell, as the Appostill Sanct Paull deliverit Corinthion. " I interdite the places thay cum in, fra divine service, ministracioun of the Sacramentis of Haly- " kirk, except the Sacrament of Baptissing allanerlie; and forbiddis all kirkmen to schriffe or " absolve yaim of thaire synnys, quhill yai be first absolzeit of this cursing. I forbid all cristin " man or woman till have ony cumpany with thame, etand, drynkand, spekand, prayand, lyand, " gangand, standand, or in any uyer deid doand, under the paine of deidly syn. I discharge all " bandis, actis, contractis, aithis, and obligatiounis, maid to yame be ony persounis, ouyer of lawte " kyndenes or manrent, salang as yai susteine this cursing; sua yat na man be bundin to yaim " and yat yai be bundin till all men. I tak fra yame, and cryis doune, all the gude dedis yat ever " yai did or sall do, quhill yai ryse fra this cursing. I declair yame partles of all matynys, messis, " evinsangis, dirigeis, or utheris prayeris, on buke or beid; of all pilgrimagis and almouse dedis done " or to be done, in Halykirk, or be cristin pepill, enduring this cursing. And finaly I condempn " yaim perpetualie to the deip pit of Hell to remane with Lucifeir and all his fallowis, and thair " bodeis to the gallowis of the Burrow Mure, first to be hangit, syne revin and ruggit with doggis, " swyne, and utheris wyld beistis, abhominable to all the warld. And, as thir candillis gangis fra " zour sicht, sa mot yair saulis gang fra the visage of God, and yair gude fame fra the warld, " quhill yai forbeir yair oppin synnys foirsaidis, and ryse fra this terribill cursing, and mak satisfac- ' tioun and pennance.

" Hec est vera copia originalis processus lati et continuo ferendi contra supradictos male- " factores semper et quousque redeant ad gremium Sancte Matris Ecclesie abstinendo et " debite satisfaciendo. Teste manu honorabilis et egregij viri Magistri Richardi Bothvile, " utriusque Juris Doctoris, qui principalem processum ex mandato Reverendissimi Domini " Gawini Ecclesie Metropolis Glasguensis Archiepiscopi fecit, in lucem produxit, et " fulminavit.

(*Signed*) Ita significat̃ RICHARDUS BOTTHVELLE
it̃ Legū Doctores nu͡m⁹ P̄tho⁹ Apl̄icus."

It is indorsed, "Processus censurarum, fulminatus et fulminandus contra malefactores infringentes " unitatem pacis utriusque regni, offendendo innocentes in limitibus Regni Scotie &c."

 said

said Grace of this my letter, that thenne with spede the same may be adressed forwarde for the fynall concluding of these causes, if the same be possible. And thus Almighty God evermoor have Your said Grace in His mooste blessed tuition and governaunce. At Edinburgh, the 28th daye of October.

Your mooste humble
preiste and bedeman,
(*Signed*) T. MAGNUS.

(*Superscribed*)
Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CXLVI. EARL OF CUMBERLAND *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEASYTH Your Grace to call unto remembraunce my late wryttyng, direct unto your Grace dated the 8th day of October, wherin I ded inform your Grace how that apon such commandement as I hade from the Duke of Rychemondes Councell, and by auctoritie of the said Dukes letters of plakerd, my brother, immediatly after the receyt of the same, rode unto Berwik, to the intent to be privey to suche order as was taken there by the Kinges Commissyoners, my Lorde Dacre (latly departyd[2]) and other: and over that in my said rude letter advertysed your good Grace, how that the said late Lord Dacre wrotte unto the said Councell, that he wold not delyver the towne and castell of Carlisle withoute a sufficient letter of discharge, ayther fro the Kynges Highnes, or fro your Grace. And syth that tyme unto the date of this present letter, my seid brother, with 24 soldyors at the lest, hathe lyen at burdwages in Carlell towne, as a stranger, to his great costes and charges; and hath no warde nor jayle at his commandment within the hole countie of Cumberland, for prisoners, yf any be taken. Wherfore pleasyth your Grace not only to gyf commandement unto the Lord Dacre that now is, (who, as I am informyd, is rydden up towerdes your Grace) to delyver the said town and castell in as convenyent haste as may be, but also to assigne aither my Lorde of Carlislyle, or who elles yt shall lyke you, by commyssion, to vew the implementes and artillery remaynyng in the said castell, at the delyvere therof, wych as I am informyd shalbe of a symple value. And now that yt hath pleasyd Almyghti God to call the said late Lorde Dacre to his mercy, after whos departure furst of any other I dyd manyfest unto the Dukes Councell, dowtyng not but that

[1] From the Museum, Caligula, B. VII. leaf 59.

[2] Thomas Lord Dacre died 24th October 1525, and was succeeded by his son William.

upon

upon the same they with all convenyent hast advertised your Grace therof, I most intierly besuch your said Grace that I may not oonly have owt myne indenture of lese and dimission of Penryth with the Quenys hamys, in suche forme as the said Lorde Dacre had, wyche were graunted me with the Wardenry, but also now, with the same, the office of Stewardship of Penryth, wyche then in lyke maner bothe the Kinges Highnes and your Grace were contentyd that I shuld have after his desces. Wherin I am bold to wryte unto your Grace, for that by the havyng therof I could be myche more able to do the King acceptable servyce. For of trewth, as yt is well knowen, I have nother lande nor men of myne own, of any reputation, ner the Borders, then within 16 myle at the next; so that, without the rewll and ledyng of the Kinges tenauntes, yt shalbe paynefull and also doubtous to deserve any thankes for me on these Marches. And yus I am, and shalbe, as redy at your commandment, as any he that servyth your Grace. As knoweth Our Lord, who ever preserve Your Grace in honour with contynuance. Wryttyn at my castell of Skypton, the 14 day of November.

Yoweres wyth hys servys,

(*Signed*) HENRY COMBERLAND.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Cardynalles Grace.

CXLVII. MAGNUS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace to be advertissed that, for somyche as diverse and sondery dayes of true have bene appointed by thErle of Anguisshe to have bene kept upon the Bordours, for due redresse to have bene made to the Kingges subjectes by the partie of Scotlande, whiche have bene overshotte, and not kept, as was promysed and appointed; the Counsaile of Scotlande therfore, as in my late letters sent unto your said Grace was mentionned, wroote to the Lorde Warden of the Marches of Einglande, and in his absence to the Levetenauntes or thaire deputes, that a daye of true shulde be kept as yersterday the 4th of this moneth at Ridonbourne; whiche, as other have bene afore, is also overpaste and not kept; as woll appere to your said Grace by a letter sent unto me from yong Sir William Boolmer, capitaine of your castle of Norham; whiche letter[2] I sende unto your Grace herynne incloosed,

[1] Holograph. From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. VIII. Part I. No. 4.
[2] In the Chapter House, State Papers, Scotland, p. 512.

with

with the copy of an other letter that I have written to my Lorde of Westemerlande. I doe not a litle marveill why the said day of true is overshotte, conscidering the promyse therof made by the said Counsaill of Scotlande, as appereth by thaire writing, copy wherof I sent also afore to your said Grace.

Upon Saturday next I purpoos to be at Barwik, and there to tary for knowlege of the Kingges Highnes pleasure and youres; and, if I here noe thing to the contrary, in the mean tyme woll sende to the said Counsaill of Scotlande to wete the cause why the said day of true did not hoolde, and woll advertise thaym of the contynuall haynous attemptates commytte by the party of Scotlande to the Kingges subjectes, thaire commaundementes and proclamations made in Edinburgh and other places to the contrary notwithstanding. And thus Almighty God evermoore have Your said Grace in His mooste blessed tuition and governaunce. At Morpath, the 5th day of December.

Your mooste humble preiste and bedeman,

(*Signed*) T. MAGNUS.

(*Superscribed*)
Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CXLVIII. MAGNUS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace to be advertised, the Kingges mooste gracious letters and youres, dated at Wynnessoor and Richemount the 6th and 8te daye of this instant moneth, were deliverde me here the 13th daye of the said moneth, the contynues wherof I doe conceive at large, and after my poore discretion shall applye me to thaccomplisshing of the same. Howe be it, where as the Kingges Highnes mentionneth in his mooste honourable letters, that theffecte of the causes, committe to my charge at this tyme, may be doone and perfited before the trieux shalbe expired, which of trouth wolbe withynne thre dayes; hit is a thing not possible. And therfore, to avoide all doubtes as farre as I couth, on Sonday laste I wroote to the Chaunceler of Scotlande[2], and in his absence to other of the Kingges Counsaill there, for the further prorogation of the said trieux for 28 dayes; wherof I have noone aunsuer, and therfore eftesoons I wroote to the said Chaunceler yersterdaye[3] upon the receipt of the

[1] Holograph. From the Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 120.
[2] Caligula, B. II. leaf 121. Dec. 11. [3] Ibid. Dec. 13.

Kingges

Kingges said mooste honourable letters and youres, as woll appere by copy of booth my letters, whiche nowe I sende unto your said Grace herynne incloosed; and purpoos, God willing to be at Edinburgh on Saturdaye next commyng.

And where right lately I advertised your Grace, amongges other thingges, by my letter adressed frome Morpath the 5te day of this said instant moneth, that the daye of true, agreed by the Counsaill of Scotlande and me, as appereth by thair oune handes writing, to have bene at Rydonbourne, was not kept, but over shotte and paste, thErle of Anguisshe sent unto me yersterday his broder the Priour of Cooldingham, desiring me not to be haisty in making reapoorte of the same, shewing that as yet the contrey and inhabitauntes of Tevidaill couth not be reduced by the Counsaill of Scotlande to make due redresse; and therfore it is allegged that the said Erle wolde not kepe the day and place appointed, but if every thing mought have bene accomplisshed, or some thing like therunto, as was promysed. At my commyng to Edinburgh, I shall speke and doe therynne aswell as I canne.

ThErle of Westemerlande at my commyng hider had sent for the gentilmen upon the Bordours to have repared to his Lordeship at Raby castell in the Busshopriche, for knowlege of his and thair myndes togader, for the better ordouring of this contrey. But conceiving howe the theves of Tevidaill contynually doe incomber this contrey, and that therfore it shulde not be good the gentilmen were farre from hennes, I therfore wroote to my said Lorde, that his Lordeship shulde not oonly doe well to come to suche a place, whider the said gentilmen couth and mought repare unto hym in oone daye, and be at hoome ayeine on the other: but also that his presence mought for a season be had and seen in Northumberlande. His Lordeship right gentilly hath folowed my poor advice, and offerth hym selff to doe any thing that beste may be thought for the ayding assisting counforting and releving of the Kingges subjectes upon the Bordours; and hath bene at Morpath, Hexham, and other places, devising wayes by counsaill for mayntaynnyng of the contrey, whiche dooth and I truste woll doe myche good. For his being in these parties I have doone to be bruted at large upon the Bordours of Scotlande, I doubte not to thaire drede and terrour.

Your said Grace writeth unto me, touching the payment and discharge of the gonners. Surely thaire remaynnyng here, albe it the same hath bene by chaunce for non payment of thaire waiges, hath doon good; and wolde doe moore, if thair aboode shulde be till that we were oons thoroughly accoorded with the Scottes. Hit was thought of late by right wise men, that the said gonners shulde have bene devided, some at Norham, some at Warke, and some to other small hooldes in the contrey. And, where your said Grace is infourmed

by

by the young Lorde Dacre that Sir Cristofer Dacre sent unto me the some of 400£, trouth it is, that at my going into Scotlande I lefte, of the Kingges money and myne oune, in the custody and keping of the late Lorde Dacre, whoom God pardon, 460£, wherof I have paid and assingned to be payd by suche my servauntes as lately were with me here in these parties the some of 500 markes, received by me, aswell for the Kingges affares as for myne oune causes, of diverse marchauntes and other spirituall persons in Edinburgh, for thexpedition of sondery causes that have paste and bene spedde thorough Einglande. Soe that therfore, as I woll aunsuer to the Kingges Highnes and your Grace, there remaynneth not of the Kingges money in my handes litle above 4 score £, and in all and every parte that I have here of myne oune and other, hit passeth not 200 markes; to small a somme for payment of the said gonners, and but a convenient somme to be taken with me into Scotlande, not knowing howe soone I shall retourne ayeine, nor howe long I shall make myne aboode and tarying there, besides that I muste make payment for 6 postes waiges, lying frome Morpath to Edinburgh, with other pety sommes of money, that muste be payd, though the same shulde passe from oute of myne oune purse; wherunto I truste the Kingges said Highnes and your Grace woll not charge me, conscidering that, as farre as my poor witte and discretion woll extende unto, I doe study, and ever have doone, rather for saving of the Kingges money, thenne for the waisting or mysspending therof.

I have sent your gracious letter to the Abbot of Saint Mary Abbay[1] with a letter of myne oune, requiring hym to make payment of the somme of 450£ to the handes of George Lawson, for the waiges of the gonners lying at Barwik, taking of the said George sufficient writing, confessing the receipt of the said somme of 450£, shewing that your gracious letter, with the other, shalbe unto hym sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalve: advertising your Grace that the waiges due to the said gonners this day amounteth to the somme of 409£ 19^{s}. Yf any money reste, I shall charge me with the same. And Almighty God have Your said Grace in His mooste blessed preservation. At Barwik, the 15th day of December.

Your mooste humble preiste and bedeman,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) T. MAGNUS.

Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

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[1] Edmund Whalley or Walley.

CXLIX. ANGUS *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

MAIST Excellent, Maist Hie, and Mychty Prince, my humyll service being laulie recommendit to Zoure Grace. Pleise the samyn to knaw, that the Lordis of my Soverane Lordis and Maisteris Counsale chosin in Parliament, of quham I am ane, has resavit zour richt honorable and lovabill letters deliverit be zoure traist servitoure and counsaloure Maister Thomas Magnus, Archdene of Est Ryden, datit at Wyndissore the 6 day of December instant; quhareby yai weill persavis Zoure Hienes havand freyndfull and hartlye respect to the honoure of zoure derrest nevo, oure said Soverane and Maister, and kyndely lufe Ze bere to Him, postponyng all uther avantage and proffittis; persaving clerely als baith be zoure letters the honorable credence and gude reporte made to the saidis Lordis be zour said familiare and counsaloure, yat Zoure Hienes intendis always the honour and suretye of zoure said derrest nevo, and to have perfite lufe amyte and kyndenes betuix Zow, zoure Realmez and subgettis, as at mare large is expressit in zoure saidis letteris. As for my parte, twiching ye peax, I have done exact diligence, be my solicitacioun at al my Lordis to bring ye samyn to gude and fynale conclusioun to Zoure Hienes pleser and desire, at my power. How beit yat yare is sindry unfreyndis and evill willaris in this cuntre, discontentit thareof, and of the hartlie aggreans betuix Zoure Hienes and zoure said nevo oure Maister, yat ay procuris and solistis yare poweris to mak divisioun and brek ye cuntre. And mareoure the saidis Lordis and I, with consent of zour said familiare and counsalour, has devisit and ordanit dais of convention and meting with zour Wardanis on yat side, for making of dew redres for my said Soveranys parte, quhilk has nocht bene sa wele performyt, throw eminent besynes and impedimentis yat occurrit for the tyme, as resoun requyris; bot, with help of God, at the next dais of treux I salbe in proper persoun, and sall mak sic redres as lyis in the utermaist of my power, yat apoun resoun falt sall nocht be fundyn in me in yat behalf. And gif ony my unfreyndis has or wald mak ony sinister reporte or informacioun of me to Zoure Hienes, that it will like the samyn to gif na faith nor credence yareto, quhill Ze knaw my part, and understand the verite; for my mynde sal never be to faill to Zoure gracius Hienes, nor is nocht my parte to be bot to kepe Zow lawtye and service, before all utheris under God, my said Soverane except:

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[1] From the Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 104.

 considering

considering the grete gentrice and humanite done to me be Zoure Excellence sindry wais, quhilk I sall bere in recent memor to my lyvis end. Maist Excellent, Maist Hie, and Mychty Prince, the Blissit Trinite mot have Zoure Hienes in His gracius keping and governance. Writtin at Edinburgh, ye last day of ye said instant December [1],

Be zour humyl servand,

(*Signed*) Archbald Erl of Angus.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Maist Excellent, Maist Hie, and Mychty Prince, the Kingis Hienes of Ingland, &ca.

CL. Magnus *to* Wolsey.[2]

Pleas it Your Grace to be advertised, that at my late commyng hider frome Barwik, the Lordes of the Counsaill some deall thenne being advertised therof, wherupon knowelege of the same came to the inhabitauntes of this toune, being afore in some doubte and dispare of peax, and thenne, by occasion of my retourne, in good hoope and truste that I brought peax unto thaym, all the people in mooste joyous maner said many tymes welcome unto me, with pleasaunt countenaunces, the Chaunceler and Counsaill at the same tyme being right desirous to wete whenne I wolde repare and come unto thaym.

The next day after in the mornyng I came to the Chaunceler; and, after deliverey of your gracious letter unto hym, and intelligence had by his Lordeship of good tidingges, he did not oonly the Privea Counsaill to be assembled, but also many other noble men, marchauntes, and other, to convene, in noe private place, but in thair great house called the Tooll booth; where I deliverde to the Lordes of the Privea Counsaill the Kingges mooste honourable letters. And, after sight of the same, and shewing of my credence committe unto me conteynned in 4 partes, all the Lordes and every other of that assemblye gretely joyed of the Kingges mooste blessed mynde, inclyned in suche gracious maner to thair requestes and petitions afore made unto His said Highnes, and specially that it pleased His said Highnes to ponder the honour of thair Soverain Lorde, the weall and honour of his realme, and thair all honours.

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[1] On the same day Angus wrote to Wolsey, apologizing for not having kept the meetings for redress on the Borders, and promising to keep his engagement with Magnus. Caligula, B. VI. leaf 115.

[2] Holograph. From the Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 173.

Wherfore,

Wherfore, the Chaunceler having the woordes, thay all knowleged thaym selves gretely bounden to the Kingges Highnes, saying that for the same His Grace shulde have thair hartes, good myndes, and services. As we proceded further in commynnycation, I shewed unto thaym, the Kingges said Highnes marveilled not a litle that thay wolde or shulde require any further autentique documentes touching that good and firme peax, was stablissed concluded and clerely determynned betwene Einglande and Fraunce, with the unfrutefull comprehension of Scotlande, otherwise thenne on the behalve of the Kingges Highnes I had declared afore unto thaym. Nevertheles, I shewed that, for the moore clere contentation of thaire myndes and oppynnyons in that party, I had a letter frome the Ambassadours of Fraunce lying in Einglande, declaring the full and effectuall concluding of the said peax, with the said comprehension; whiche letter I deliverde[1], wherof thay were veray glad. And with good will I wolde have kept cloose the attestation sent unto me from your said Grace, but the said letter sent frome the said Ambassadours mentionned soe farre at large the same, that it couth not nor wolde be kept secrete; but, after hit was oons seen puplisshed and declared afore that presence, fyrme faith and credence was geven therunto, and all doubtes in that behalve putte aparte.

At other oure assembles and metingges after, we commynned at large of all our causes; wherupon it is concluded that thAbbot of Holy Roode House and Mr Adam Otterbourne shall mete with the Dean of York and me at Barwik the 13th day of this instant moneth of January, for the fynall and clere concluding up of the peax. And for somyche as thErle of Anguisshe canne not, nor may be ther the same tyme, it is ordeynned and devised by the Counsaill here, that the said Erle shall sende thider his seall, by twoe persons sufficiently autorised, to approve and conferme the said peax as a Commissioner. And in like maner it is required that, as an other Commissioner, thErle of Westemerlande shall doe for his party. Wherof and of sondery other thingges I have geven advertismentes to his Lordeship, as shall appere unto your Grace by the copy of my letter whiche I sende unto your said Grace herynne incloosed.[2]

Hit is accoorded also that thErle of Anguisshe in his oune person shall mete the 16th and 17th days of this present moneth, booth at thEste and Myddle Marches for putting good ordour to the same, and to see due redresse

[1] This is probably the letter from Brinon (who was the chief of the French Negotiators in England) to De Saignes, which remains in the Museum. Caligula, D. IX. leaf 79. It is dated in September, but the day is burnt. The other French Ambassador was John Joachim. See Vol. I. p. 158.

[2] Caligula, B. II. leaf 176.

to be made to the subjectes on aither party. And by cause there is variaunce and displeasure betwene the said Erle and the Lorde Hoome, being in the Marshe, which hath doone hurte to the redresse, and occasion that he cometh not to Barwik, and betwene hym also and Dan Carre of Farnehurste in Tivedaill, the said Erle by the advice of the Counsaill here, woll come strong and well furnisshed with his frendes; to thentent that, if any denyall or resistence shalbe made contrary making of redresse, he may compell the same to be doone by force, mawgre thaire myndes that woll speke or moove the contrary. At whiche tyme I purpoos, God willing, to be there present.

Sethenne my commyng from the Bordours, I have not harde that any grete hurte hath bene doone in thoos partes by the Scottes, whiche I am sure is bycause our contrey men ar moore redy to rise, and doe kepe better watche and esspialles thenne thay did afore. Howe be it, grete complaintes ar made here that our Bordours have doone grete hurte of late in Scotlande, by occasion that thay ride nowe in good noumber, and soe escape, and afore thay roode ofte with pety and small noumbres of men, and soe chaunced for the mooste parte to be taken, troubled, and putte to the worse.

For keping good rule upon the Bordours, and to cause thinhabitantes of the same to surseace for committing of robres heryingges and other depredations, till our meting at Barwik for the fynall concluding of peax, the Counsaill here and I have ordeynned and devised proclamations to be made on aither side of the said Bordours, conteynnyng suche effecte as your Grace shall conceive by a copy of the same, whiche also I sende unto your said Grace herynne incloosed.[1]

Your Graces severall letters addressed to thErle of Anguisshe hath soe counforted and quikkenned hym towardes redresse, that I truste at this tyme he woll doe his parte; the rather also by cause the Counsaill here ar veray well mynded therunto, and not content that the diet at Ridonbourne, to have bene for redresse, was not better looked upon; whiche, as farre as I canne conceive was not doone of any wilfulnes, but by cause the said Erle failled of suche folkes as he wolde have had for his assistence at that tyme.

The sauf conduyt, that shulde have served for the Scottes, at our meting that shuld have bene at Barwik at Martynmas laste, remaynneth there; and I doubte the date therof be clerely expired, soe that it woll not serve at this our next meting. Wherfore I humbly beseche your Grace that with all spede and diligence an other sauf conduyt, with voyd spaces for names, may be sent unto

[1] Caligula, B. II. leaf 175.

me,

me, soe that I may have it at the furthest afore the 12th day of this present moneth; at whiche tyme, I have written to the Dean of Yorke, that he and I may mete at Barwik to treate and commyn oure causes togader, afore the reparing thider of the Commissioners of Scotlande. Howe be it, I truste there shalbe but a litle to doe at our meting.

The prorogation of the peax was not pretermitted, but remembred, and the said peax proroged further for forty days, ending the 25th daye of January; soe that the same is not likly to expire afore our next meting at Barwik, appointed, as is afore said, the 13th day of this moneth.

Accoording to your gracious commaundement I made the Kingges mooste hartie recommendation and youres to the yong King here, whoos Grace at this tyme hath written to the Kingges Highnes loving thankes, and hath required me to recommaunde His said Grace unto youe, desiring your Grace to contynue his good frende to the Kingges Highnes his uncle. The Lordes of the Counsaill here have also written to the Kingges said Highnes, and soe hath doon the Chaunceler to your said Grace; wherby your Grace shall further conceive howe well thay ar inclined to peax, and howe thankefully thay have accepted the Kingges laste mooste honourable letters adressed unto thaym.

I doubte not but your Grace hath in remembraunce that the yong King here wroote in the favour of his maister thArchebusshop of Glasco to the Kingges Highnes, touching the matier of exemption from thArchebusshop of Saint Andrewes; in whiche matier also I mooved your said Grace by my writing, declaring that the said yong King favoured moore the said Archebusshop of Glasco thenne thArchebusshop of Saint Andrewes, and that therfore, after my poore oppynnyon, under correction, I thought it shulde have bene good in that matier to have used thaym booth indifferently. Soe it is, that letters ar commen frome Roome, purpoorting that the Kingges Oratours there contynually doe labour and solicit in contrary the said Archebusshop of Glasco. This matier is shewed unto me by the yong King, and therfore I reduce hit to your gracious remembraunce, that suche further ordour may be taken in that behalve, as beste may stande with the pleasure of the Kingges said Highnes, and your Grace. The saide Archebusshop of Glasco is contynually attending upon the yong King, and may moove His Grace, nowe oone way, and nowe an other, at his liberty: this I remitte to your gracious pleasure. And Almighty God have Your said Grace in His mooste blessed tuition and governaunce. At Edinburgh, the furste daye of January.

Your mooste humble preiste and bedeman,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) T. Magnus.

Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CLI. MAGNUS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace to be advertised that, where in my laste letters of the furste daye of this instant moneth of January, I wroote unto your saide Grace that the Commissioners for booth the realmes shulde assemble and mete at Barwik the 13th day of this said moneth, being on Saturday next commyng, and that dayes of true were appointed the 16th and 17th day of this the said moneth, for due redresse to be made on aither partye; soe it is, that I truste, God willing, our assemblye and meting at Barwik woll take effecte, but the dayes appointed for redresse muste be deferred for a litle season, for suche occasion and urgent causes as herafter doe ensewe.

I doubte not it is in your gracious remembraunce the effecte of the proclamation, copy wherof I sent unto your said Grace with my laste letters, whiche is made thorowe the Bordours, booth of Einglande and Scotlande, and specially at thEste and Myddle Marches, where mooste nede is for redresse to be made. The Lorde Hoome, Dan Carre of Cesforth, and Dan Carre of Farnehirste, with other thaire adherentes, booth of the Marshe and Tivedaill, hering theffecte of the said proclamation, and that they shulde be compelled to make redresse, and specially that it is commen to thair knowelege, as it was of veray trouth, that the yong Kingges Grace here was fully mynded and purpoosed, for the intier good love and favour he bereth to the Kingges Highnes his uncle, and for the weall of booth thair Realmes, aswell to see justice duly mynistred, as to maynteyn and fortifye thErle of Anguisshe, Warden there, for executing of the same, ayeinste suche evill disspoosed parsons as made contradiction therunto, to passe from hennes on Saturday next commyng towardes Gedworth in Tivedaill, or at the leiste to the Abbay of Melroos, have assembled thaym selves to gader, and ar passed to thErle of Arren, lying at Linlithco, 12 myles from hennes, where he hath assembled also diverse and sondery his adherentes, tarying thErle of Murray, which is commyng with the Quenes Grace from oute of the north partes, accompanied with five or six hundreth men, as is said, to thentent to lette and disturbe the concluding of the peax, and specially that noe redresseshal be made. And, to commove the commynaltye to rise and stirre with thaym, thay brute and shewe that thErle of Anguisshe, thErle of Argile, and thErle of Lenneux, ar aboute to transpoorte and convey the yong Kingges Grace thair maister into Einglande; soe that by

[1] Holograph. From the Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 145.

occasion

occasion of this grete matier, the Kingges Grace nor the said thre Erles canne not, nor may, at this tyme applie thaym to thair intended mynde and purpoos for redresse, but with all spede woll indevour thaym to represse and subdue the said Erle of Arren and other his adherentes afore said, oonles some better way may be devised; for which purpoos the Chaunceler and the Busshop of Aburdyne doe labour. Wherunto, not oonly for the pacefying of this matier, but to have good unitye and concoorde to be in this realme, for the weall and moore surety of the yong Kingges person, I have procured thaym and other, booth spirituall and temporall, at sondery tymes, in the name of the Kingges Highnes my Soveraine Lorde and Maister, to be diligent and laborious: shewing that the Kingges said Highnes is not glad nor desirous to here of any discention, discoorde, debate, or devision to be amongges the noble men and subjectes of this realme, but rather desireth good peax love favour and amyte to be amongges thaym; wherby the King thair Soveraine Lorde shalbe the bette served, and in moore surety, and his realme, to the grete wealth of the same, in myche better cas quietenes and tranquillite.

As this comberous cause and matier shall further procede, I shall advertisè your said Grace, and truste that, as soone as the same shall somedeall be better apesed and pacefied, thErle of Anguisshe, with other of the Counsaill, woll repare and come to the Bordours, to see redresse duly to be made as it apperteynneth: and for that intent and purpoos I intende to tary at Barwik for a season.

I sende unto your Grace, herynne incloosed, copy of a letter sent from the said thre Erles to thErle of Westmerlande[1]; wherby it shall and may appere unto your Grace, what good mynde and inclination thay bere towardes the Kingges Highnes, for good peax favour and perfite amyte firmely to be enterteynned betwene His said Highnes and thaire Soveraine Lorde the yong Kingges Grace, with due redresse to be made accoordingly. Fynally, the said thre Erles have faithfully promised unto me, if by way treaty hostilitye or otherwise at this tyme thay shall prosper in thaire oppynnyons, wherof thay make noe doubtè, naither I canne not thenke the contrary, that furthwith thay shall advertise thErle of Westmerlande and me of thair good spede. And soe, if it chaunce and fortone, thay shall with all diligence repare to the Bordours for making of due redresse, this matier canne not nor may be long in traynnyng; for upon Saturday next thay woll have with thaym here, all suche thair retynues as thay have sent fore.

Over this, as soon as peas shalbe concluded at Barwik, I intende to sende

[1] Copy in the Chapter House, State Papers Scotland, p. 25., dated January 10.

to

to the Quenes Grace copy of the article, that the Kingges Highnes and your Grace have provided for her honourable enterteynment, and to be duly aunsuerde of her conjoncte feoffament. And, in case the Erle of Anguisshe woll canne or may make any demaunde laufully to the Quenes gooddes or landes, or to any parte of thaym, if Her Grace canne fynde any laufull cause of devorce to be betwene thaym, though it be soore ayeinste the said Erles mynde, he woll applye hym therunto. And, in case noe suche cause of devorce canne be founde, if thenne the Quenes said Grace canne not nor woll accept the said Erle with his mooste humble service into her gracious favour, but to contynue after her oune mynde and pleasure, he shall thenne be content to be ordoured touching the Quenes said gooddes and landes, and howe the same shalbe used betwene Her said Grace and hym, at the pleasure and commaundement of the yong King his maister and the Kingges Highnes our Soveraine Lorde. In like maner the Chaunceler and other the Lordes, booth spirituall and temporall, have shewed unto me that the said Erle woll and shalbe ordoured; and, as farre as I understande, the said Chaunceler and the Busshop of Aburdyne doe labour and procure the same accoordingly. Hit mooveth me to putte your Grace in remembraunce of this matier, by cause of late the Quenes said Grace sent a letter to the Kingges Highnes, and sondery tymes hath sent unto me to have an aunsuer of the same.

As yet the sauff conduyt that I wroote fore to your Grace, to be with me afore the 12th day of this moneth for the Commissioners of Scotlande, nowe at thair reparing to Barwik, is not commen unto me; wherof I am in doubte, by cause the tyme of our meting approcheth nigh at hande. And Almighty God have Your said Grace in His mooste blessed preservation. At Edinburgh, the 11th day of January.

Post scripta. Worde is commen unto me frome thErles of Anguisshe Argile and Lenneux, that by meanes of thair contrary parte, it is bruted and subtily shewed amongges suche thair companyes as repare unto thaym at this tyme, that the Kingges mooste gracious Highnes, whoom Almighty God for His passion preserve, shulde be dede. It is suppoosed this ungracious rumour is craftely conveyd for discoraging of the said Erles and suche other as take thair parte. Nowe it woll appere, whoe be contrary mynded, that good peax shulde be betwene these twoe grete Princes, the uncle and the nevewe, thaire realmes and subjectes. I truste God shall geve thaym litle power and small spede in thair purpoos.

Your mooste humble preiste and bedeman,

(*Signed*) T. Magnus.

(*Superscribed*)
Unto my Lord Legates good Grace.

CLII. Heire followis the ansueiris maid be the LORDIS OF YE COUNSALE OF SCOTLAND to certane articulis and qualificaciouns, schewin to yame be ane richt honorable Clerk Maister THOMAS MAGNUS, Archidene of Est Ryding, Counsaloure and servand to ye Richt Hie, Richt Excellent, and Michti Prince, ye King of Ingland.[1]

IN the first, ye saidis Lordis of the Counsale of Scotland, beseikis humelie the Kingis Hienes of Ingland to accept yir ansueiris, as maid be thame that seikis, with all yaire cure and besynes, perfite lufe, steidfast kindnes, and amite to be knytt and treitit betuix thir twa Princes and yaire Realmis, without any dissimulacioun coloure or dissaite.

Secundlie, anent ye article of sailf conductis, the Lordis forsaidis aggreis weile and ar contentit, that all sailf conductis pas apoun ye suplicatioune of ye Prince, according to ye article schawin be ye said Maister Thomas thareupoune; providing yat ye letters of suplicacioune of athir Prince be sailf conduct, and of valour and strenth to bring ye personne or personnis of quhatsumevir degre or estate yai be of, saiflie agane within yaire awin Realme; in caise ye Prince interpellit and requestit for ye said sailfconductis refusis to obtempre and graunt to the samin: and maireattour yat ye sailf conductis ellis grauntit stand in strenth and vigoure onto ye out rynnyng of the samin.

Item, anent ye article of ye debatable ground, the Lordis forsaidis thinkis ye samin ane novelte, and prejudiciale, and may geve occasioun of ye approprying yaireof owthir to yat ane Realme or to that uyir. Thairefor ye saidis Lordis, for amoving of all questioune, ar contentit and aggreis that ye said debatable ground be usit and occupijt as it was wont in tymis bigane, and ye liegis of athir realme occupiaris yaireof be jugit punyst and demanit eftir ye lawis of ye Bordouris, observit and kepit in all tymis bipast.

Item, anent ye article tuiching ye Duke of Albanie, the Lordis forsaidis ansueiris thaireto, that yaire is certane actis decretis and statutis maid in Parliament, gevand ye keping of thaire Soverane Lordis maist noble Personne, gyding and governyng of his Realme, to uyiris personis yan ye said Duke; quhilkis actis ye saidis Lordis intendis to observe and keipe, and na wayis to cum in contraire thaireof. Praying ye Kingis Hienes of Ingland richt humelie, that, considering the said Duke of Albanie is secund persoune of yis Realme, and

[1] Caligula, B. VIII. leaf 3.

in neire possibilite of successioune to the samin, and als that ye Princes and Estatis of yis Realme has evir bene fre to governe the samin, be thaire awin liberale arbitrie; that thairefor His Hienes will pretermitt all sic articulis quhare throw indignacioune or thirlage may rise, without ony necessite or avantage to ensew thareupoune.

Item, quhare it is desirit forthir that ye saidis Lordis suld be oblist to treite honorablie the Kingis Hienes thaire Soverane; the Lordis undirstandis thame seilfis bundin thaireto be law of God and man, and to be trew and obedient to him nixt God; and thinkis that the Kingis Grace of Ingland dois as ane kynde and loving eme, desiring the weile of his derest nepho. Howbeit, it is nocht according to the saidis Lordis honoure, bot greite suspicioune to thaire lawte and faith, to make bandis and obligaciouns to uyir Princes apoun sic thingis as concernis thaire honoure faith and allegeance.

Item, as anent the pece; the saidis Lordis ar contentit and desiris the samin for the space of thre zeiris, with generale comprehensioune of thaire confideratis and alliances, with yat condicioun maid in Latyne and schawin be the said Maistir Thomas Magnus. And, quhare on yat ane part the Lordis desiris ane article to be adjonit, yat it micht be lefull to ye Kingis Hienes thaire Soverane to help the King of Fraunce his confiderate, within Fraunce; and on that uyir part, the said Maister Thomas has schawin qualificacioun, desiring yat it micht be lefull to athir of thir twa Princes to help yaire confideratis, sa yat sic help be nocht gevin aganis ony of yame selfis: the saidis Lordis ansueiris, that the article desirit be thame was maid conforme to ane article tretit in the perpetuale pece, contractit betuix ye Kingis of gude memorie James the Ferde and Hary the Sevint; traisting alsua be credible reherss maid to yame, that the Kingis Hienes and his Counsaile, at all tymis, quhill now, war contentit yat ye said auld band betuix Scotland and Fraunce war kepit in yat behalf, yat ye tane micht geve help and suport to that uyir within ye realme of Fraunce in thaire defence. And, gif it suld be accordit apoun ye said qualificatioun producit be the said Maistir Thomas, than suld yis realme utirlie leif yaire confideratis, and breike all maniere of contractis and conditiounis maid and tretit of before: quhilk was nocht desirit, quhen baith perpetuale pece and mariage was contractit; and mekle lese it suld now be desirit in ane temperale pece for ane schort tyme.

Item, geve this ansueire be nocht acceptable to the Kingis Hienes of Ingland, the saidis Lordis ar contentit, yai beand surelie advertist be auctentik documentis that, as is reherst be the said Maistir Thomas Magnus and be umquhile the Lord Dacre, that yaire is ane pece contractit betuix Ingland and Fraunce, and Scotland comprisit with sic unfrutefull conditiouns as is contenit

in

in ane article schawin thareupoune, to contract ye said pece for thre zeiris eftir the tenoure of the article maid, with generale comprehensioune of yaire confideratis, and with ye counditioune forsaide maid in Latyne, and brocht fra ye Counsale of Ingland, berand in effect: "Item conventum est quod in presenti "tractatu comprehendantur amici et confiderati ambarum partium vel utrius- "que partis, nisi eorum aliquis regna, dominia, terras, ducatus, possessiones, "hereditamenta, aut census, pensiones sive annuitates, vel debita, sive bona "mobilia aut immobilia, ad alterum dictorum Principum quoquomodo spec- "tancia aut pertinencia, detinuerit aut subtraxerit, in quo casu pro non com- "prehenso habeatur": and to leif utirlie yat article maid be Scotland, yat it salbe lefull to yame to help France within ye realme of Fraunce, and siclik to leif out all qualificacioune concernyng that article.

Item, anent ye article desirand conservatouris to be maid aboune the Wardanis; the Lordis ansueiris, yat yai have nocht bene in use of making of conservatouris, bot sall yame selfis continualie vaike, and causs the Lievetenentis and Wardanis to do justice according to the lawis of the Bordouris.

Item, anent ye article desiring the Quenis Grace of this Realme to enjoy hir dowrie; the Lordis aggreis to ye article maid yerupoune, and is contentit yat Hir Grace bruke hir dowrie, eftir the tenoure of the contract of mariage and actis maid thareupoune in Parliament; and inlikwise yai ar contentit with all ye remanent of the articlis contenit in ane buke, and schawin to yame be the said Maistir Thomas Magnus, subscrivit be the Kingis Hienes of Ingland; of ye quhilk the copy, subscrivit be his said servitoure, remanis with the saidis Lordis, to yat effect yat na alteracioun be maid thareintill. Beseikand the said maist noble Prince to stand contentit with yaire resonable ansueiris; quhilkis ye saidis Lordis has maid, as yai beleif, for the weile and honoure of yaire Soverane, and ye eise and tranquillite of baith ye Realmis.

(*Signed*) JACOBUS Primaꝰ et Cancellariꝰ SCOTIE.
(*Signed*) GAWINꝰ Archiepꝰ GLASGꝰ:
(*Signed*) GAWINUS ABꝺDONENꝰ:
(*Signed*) AR. ERL OF ANGUS
(*Signed*) ERL OF ERGYLE.
(*Signed*) ERL OF LENOX.

CLIII. HIGDON AND MAGNUS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace to be advertised. We twayn repared hider, and mette here the 12th daye of this instant moneth, to thentent to counsaill and commyn our causes togader, afore the commyng hider of the Commissioners of Scotlande; whiche, being the Abbot of Holy Roode House and Mr Adam Otterbourne, kept the appointement of thair said commyng hider the 13th daye of this the said moneth, thenne beinge Saturdaye, and contynued here till Monday after.

In this mean tyme the said Commissioners and we being assembled togader, and our causes putte in a reasonnable good redynes, treated and commynned of suche thingges as were thought unto us necessary; and finally determynned the clere concluding of peax betwene these twoe realmes: and therupon, after thexamynation of our commissions, and collation duly made of our indentures, and other writingges apperteynnyng to the perfiting of the said peax, we did conclude the same; and caused hit openly to be proclamed in the toune of Barwik the said Monday, and in the presence of myche people enterchaungeably deliverde all our writingges and seales, as in that cace it apperteyned, to the grete counfort and rejoycing of all good and well dispoosed people on booth the Bordours, and mooste specially to all the good people withynne the said realmes.[2] As, with all and singuler the circumstaunces shalbe shewed and declared to your Grace by me, your mooste humble preiste and bedeman Thomas Magnus, at my reparing to your presence after thaccomplisshement of the Kingges mooste gracious commaundement and youres concernyng theffecte of redresse, wherin we booth have doone the beste we canne, after our poor wisdoms, to induce the said Commissioners of Scotlande to solicit and labour for the same; whoom we fynde as conformably accoorded and agreed therunto, as reasonnably we canne require or desire.

And, as we be credibly infourmed, the said redresse wolbe made right brevely, or in right good trayn therunto, or elles there is noe litle busynes likly to insewe therupon, nowe being at the veray pointe of wynnyng or losing; as in right breve tyme advertisment therof shalbe geven to your said

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[1] From the Museum, Caligula, B. III. leaf 303.

[2] The peace was concluded for three years from the 15th of January. See the Treaty, Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 115.

Grace,

Grace, whoom Almighty God have in His mooste blessed tuition and governaunce. At Barwik, the 16th day of January.

Your mooste humble servaunte and beedeman,

(*Signed*) BRIAN HIGDON.

Your mooste humble preiste and bedeman,

(*Signed*) T. MAGNUS.

(*Superscribed*)
Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CLIV. BISHOP KITE AND SIR WILLIAM EURE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEASE hit Your good Grace to understande, that, wher we, by the auctoryte of the Kyng our moste Soveraigne Lordys comyssion, have delyverd unto the Right Honerable Henry Erle of Cumberland the castell of Karlysle with ordynaunce and abyllimentes for war in the same; the wiche ordynaunce is verry smale for the defence of hit, and the wallys of the utter warde in dyvers places be decayed, and soo narow for defawte of flayke stone, that twoo men kanne not goo in arme about the wall, for defence of the same: and also diverse prisoners, part takyn at our most dred Soveraignes commaundement, and the Lordys of his most honerable Counsell, and part for offences donne in Hexhamshire and Northumberland; the wiche the sayd Erle thought he shuld not be charged withall, but they to be delyverd unto the officers of those countreys, and ther execucion to be donne accordyng to the law. Moreover we have delyverd unto the sayd Erle the keyes of the utter gattys of the cytie of Karlisle; of the wiche gattes one ys not suffycient, nor canne not be shett, and the Meyer of the cytie and the Aldermen hathe the keyes of the iner gattes, and retaynes theym. And we axed theym of my Lord of Dacres counsell, but we kould not have theym. Wherin the sayd Erle thinkys that he shuld not be charged with the cytie, except he might have the hole keyes delyverd unto hym. Neverthelesse he is contented to stand to your Graces pleasure, and hathe soolysited us to certefy your Grace of the premysses, and humbely to beseche your Grace to signifye your pleasure unto hym. And thus Jhesus preserve Your Grace. From Karlisle the 16th day of January, by the handys of your most bounden servauntes and preiste,

(*Signed*) Jo: KARLN:

(*Signed*) WYLLM: EURE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legattes Grace.

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[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. VII. No. 48.

CLV. MAGNUS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace to be advertised. Of late being desirous to here from the Counsaill of Scotlande, aswell for the tyme whenne redresse shulde be made accoording to the contynue of a letter late sent from thErles of Angwisshe Argile and Lenneux to thErle of Westmerlande, copy wherof I sent unto your said Grace, as to have knowlege of the proceding of all thair comberous and troubulous busynesses, I wroote thre letters, wherof oone to the Chaunceler[2], an other to the Busshop of Aburdyne[3], and the thirde to thErles of Anguisshe Argile and Lenneux. In the meane tyme, afore that my said letters arived and came to the said Lordes, I received thre other letters, oone from the Counsaill of Scotlande[4], an other from thErle of Anguisshe[5], and the thirde from

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[1] Holograph. From the Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 142.

[2] Ibid. 295. Jan. 20. [3] Ibid. 294.

[4] Ibid. 297. Jan. 19., signed by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, Chancellor, the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishop of Aberdeen, the Earls of Angus, Argyll, and Lennox. Magnus's answer is dated Jan. 22. Ibid. 300. It appears by the Scottish Acts that the Parliament met on the 15th of January, but passed no Act, except one confirming the Lords of the Secret Council in their authority; after which it was prorogued to the 12th of June.

[5] Ibid. 298. Jan. 20. Angus, after asking Magnus and Westmorland to have patience for fifteen days for redress on the Borders, proceeds thus:

" As for tithingis here sen zour departing, the Kingis Hienes my Maister, my Lordis of Ergile " Levenax and I being with Him, departit of Edinburgh this last Wednisday with mony noble men, " to the noumer of 7000 men on fute and horse, or thareby, on 12 houris warnyng, towart the toune " of Lithgw, for the resisting of my Soveranis conspiratouris aganis his autorite, yare being in the " said toune; yat is to say, the Erles of Arane, Eglingtoun, and Cass[*illis*], the Lord Rose, the " Lord Sympill, the Lord Avandale, the Lord Hume, the Abbot of Jedworth, the Maister , " the Lard of Farnyhirst, and diverse utheris; quhilkes, or the King and we come to Lithgw, be " some war warnyt of oure cummyng, and incontinent yereftir dislugit yare self, fled " and left the to[*une*], quhare we lugit yat nycht. And sone eftir thare departing, the Quene and " with her the Erle of [*Murray*], the Bischop of Rose, and sindry utheris northland men, war " cummand fra Striveling to Lithgw, nocht kna[*wing*] of the King my Maister and oure cummyng, " traisting to have fundyn before Hir the Erle of Arane and the saidis utheris persounis his com- " plicis, met yame be the way, eftir yai fled and exponit to Hir and hir cump[*any*] the maner, and " causit Hir and yame to returne agane and pas to Hammyltoun, as yai did. And the said E[*rle*] " of Murray and the northland men being with him, seing yat yai mycht nocht mak yare party " [*gud*], and the Erle of Arane had made wrang informacioun to ye Quene and him, left yame, " and come to the King to Lithgw yat nycht; and was resavit be me a myle outwith the toune; " and the lardis and gentilmen with him come all to me, and offerit yare service. And now the " said Erle and yai ar here in Edinburgh with the Kingis Grace, and will nocht leif him. As for " the Quenis Grace, there salbe na falt fundin in me, bot we sall aggre schortly as salbe understandin " to the Kingis Hienes her son, all my Lordis here, and to zow, yat kennys hir parte and myne, " als wele as oure self."

Mr Adam

Mr Adam Otterbourne[1] the King of Scottes Advocate; whiche thre letters, being effectuall aunsuer in maner to my said letters sent into Scotlande, the aunsuer wherof as yet not being retourned, I sende nowe with this unto your said Grace: wherby it shall appere unto you the good will and mynde the said Counsaill bereth to the redresse, and also suche spede as the yong King, his Counsaill and Lordes, had in thair journay towardes the Erle of Arraine and other his confederates and parte takers; whiche fled, and wolde not tary the trying of thair causes, as it was avaunted they wolde have doone.

Hit woll appere also unto your said Grace, that the said Counsaill require instauntely to have the peax confirmed by the Kingges Highnes, and semlably that thay woll sende the confirmation of thair Prince and Soveraine; whiche confirmation is concluded in the treaty of peax to be sent and deliverde to aither of the Kingges withynne twoe monethes after the date of the said treaty, being the 15th day of this present moneth.

The Kingges Highnes and your Grace have commaunded me to call for redresse, and to see the same aither doone or in good towardenes, and thErle of Westmerlande to be brought in acquaintaunce with the Warden and officers of the Bordours of Scotlande, afore my departing from hennes. Also I doe not see howe the treaty of peax, with sondery other seales and writingges, shulde be conveyd up to the Kingges Highnes and your Grace, but oonly by myself, by cause of making aunsuer to every parte of the same, as shalbe required by the Kingges said Highnes or your Grace. Wherfore mooste humbly I beseche your said Grace, that I may knowe the Kingges mooste gracious pleasure and youres, whether I shall tary the tyme of the said redresse, or that I shall come up with the said treaty of peax, or elles howe otherwise I shalbe ordoured.

The furste night of my commyng hider nowe from oute of Scotlande, I had woorde from oute of the Marshe and Tevidaill, that there was grete gaderingges and assembling of men, to passe to the Lorde Hoome and Dan Carre of Farnehirste, thenne being with the Erle of Arraine. Wherfore, and by cause I promysed to thErles of Anguisshe Argile and Lenneux, that if any of the Marshe or Tivedaill fortuned to flee into Einglande, that thay shulde be received not all to thair pleasures; I called unto me thofficers of this toune, my Lorde of Westmerlande not being here, and advised with thaym, and furthwith sent thorowe the Bordours booth of thEste and Myddle Marches, and in suche a maner commaunded all men to be in a redynes upon an houres warnyng, that knowlege therof mought come into Scotlande. And being advertised that

[1] Caligula, B. II. leaf 299. Jan. 19. Otterburn gives similar intelligence as to the affair at Linlithgow.

Dan

Dan Carre of Cesforth was gadering and setting forwarde, I sent unto hym suche a parsonne as had passed afore betwene hym and me at sondery tymes with secrete messages, and advised hym not to stirre, and shewed unto hym the daungier and perell, that wolde folowe, if he attempted any thing to the contrary. I sent also an other into Tivedaill and oone to myne acquaintaunce in the Marshe, and did putte the contreys, not of my self but by privea brutes, in suche doubte, that there passed not forwarde twoe hondreth men. The reste of booth the contreys tarying at hoome, kept the contreys being in drede, upon suche rumours as ranne amongges thaym, that Einglisshe men wolde come ynne upon thaym: soe that there passed forwarde but fewe in noumber; whiche retourned shortely ayeine afore thay mette with thair maisters, and brought sure woorde that the said Erle of Araine and thair maisters were fled and goone. Dan Carre of Cesforde sent unto me the certaintye of the matier with the circumstaunces, afore I had any woorde from the Lordes; and sent me woorde also that he wolde be content for hym and all his, at the sight of the Lord Warden and me, to make redresse; and, as I here, the other ar of the same oppynnyon, but thay wolde not doe hit at the commaundement of thErle of Anguisshe; whiche thay ar like to doe, or elles thay woll doe wors.

I doe not see but redresse wolbe made, and, as I conceive, there is noe grete difference of attemptates doone betwene the Bordours; for, sethenne the tyme that wacches were layd, there is litle hurte doone in Einglande; but it is noe litle hurte that of late is doone in Scotlande to the proudeste and gretteste theves of Tivedaill. Wherof the Counsaill of Scotlande is noe thing sory.

I have wrytten from tyme to tyme to thErle of Comberlande, and geven hym advertisment of all our procedingges in Scotlande. The peax is proclaymed upon the Weste Marches, and in all other speciall plaices upon all the Bordours. The said Weste Bordours is reasonnably well ruled. Howe be it the said Erle of Comberlande of late sent unto me into Scotlande, shewing that the Lorde Maxwell wolde not, as Warden, kepe any days of meting with hym; whiche matier I shewed to the King and the Counsaill. Wherupon the Kingges Grace, by the advice of his Counsaill, wroote to the said Lord Maxwell, and commaunded hym upon the sight of his letter to appointe a day of meting with the said Erle of Comberlande, and to see for good rule to be kept upon the party of the Bordours; and elles, withynne 4 days after, to appere afore His Grace, and to shewe cause whye he owe not soe to doe. Yf the said Lorde Maxwell take any contrary oppynnyon, I doe not see but he is likly to loose Loughmaben, and other grete roomes upon the Weste Bordours. Howe be it, I here noe further of the matier.

In case for any busynes in thoos parties thErle of Comberlande shall nede

to

to sende to the Courte of Scotlande, the Chaunceler woll that the said Erle shall write and sende unto hym at all tymes; and the Counsaill there ar not oonly well mynded to doe unto hym the pleasure they canne, but also thay ar mynded to doe the same to thErle of Westmerlande for any causes that shall concerne thEste or Myddle Marches; and soe have required me to acertaine the said Erles, as I have doone in veray dede.

I have lefte the yong King aswell inclined with his truste loove and favour towardes the Kingges Highnes his uncle, as is possible, and his Counsaill confermed to the same accoordingly; as I truste the experience shall shewe, if it chaunce some other to doe noe hurte therunto, whiche oweth above all other to doe the mooste good. Howe be it, I shall some thing provide for that matier, afor my departing from thees partes, after knowlege had oons ayeine from the Counsaill of Scotlande, whiche I looke fore tomorowe or the next daye.

Of late I received a letter from Sir Christofer Dacre, conteynnyng that it was the pleasure and commaundement of your Grace, that, afore my passing southwardes, the said Sir Christofer and I shuld mete to gaider in some parte of Northumberlande to commen and speke of diverse matiers; and that, by a token of mouth whiche I knowe, sent unto me from your said Grace, I shulde, in the Kingges name, advertise by my letters thErles of Westmerlande and Comberlande, the Lorde Ogle, Sir William Heron, Sir William Eures, Sir Thomas Tempeste, and the said Sir Christofer Dacre, to be before your Grace at suche a daye as I shulde be sure I mought be at London, after my from hennes departing. I have written to the said Sir Christofer Dacre to repare to Morpath, to thentent that at his being there we may appointe our meting, and commyn upon suche causes as thenne he shall purpoos unto me.

And albe it there is at this tyme good rule in all places upon the Bordours, as farre as I canne wete or understande, yet nevertheles, under the correction of your Grace, I thenke it shulde not doe well that soe many noble men at oon tyme shulde be from oute of the north partes, specially till the peax were some deall moore firmely satilled. Howe be it, as your Grace shall commaunde, I shall applye me therunto, humbly beseching your Grace that if the said noble men shall have any suche advertisment geven unto thaym as is afore said, that thay may have your gracious letters, or elles that I may knowe in what maner I shall write and speke unto thaym, for my discharge.

Touching this matier, and specially for my bringging up or not bringging of the treaty of peax, and to remember the confirmation of the same, I truste your Grace woll doe me to be advertised; wherof eftesoons mooste humbly I beseche your said Grace, to whoom I sende with the other copyes of parte of

suche letters as I have written of late from hennes, to sondery the Lordes and Counsaill of Scotlande. And thus Our Lorde God evermoor have Your said Grace in His mooste blessed governaunce. At Barwik, the 24ti day of January.

Your mooste humble preiste and bedeman,

(*Superscribed*)
Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

(*Signed*) T. MAGNUS.

CLVI. MAGNUS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace to be advertised that as yet I am not surely acertaynned from the Counsaill of Scottelande, naither whenne the next day of true shall be kept, nor what ordour shall be taken for making of due redresse by the party of Scottelande. Howe be it the said Counsaill hath not oonly right well and honourably aunsuerde me by thair generall letter, but also by thair speciall letters concernyng theffecte of my long letter lately adressed unto thaym for that purpoos; copy wherof I sent with my laste letters[2] to your said Grace.

Thay were in truste that the hedesmen booth of the Marshe and Tevidaill shuld have bene at Edinburgh the laste wooke, as appereth by thaire said letters; but naither paste thider the Lorde Hoome, nor the Carres, but oonly Marke Carre, with other thair deputes. Wherupon newe preceptes and sommons ar sent furth unto thaym, wherby thay ar straitely commaunded, upon payn of treason, to be at Edinburgh upon Friday next commyng to take suche ordour, as thenne shalbe devised, for making of the said redresse; and if thay faill soe to doe, it is declared to thaym, that thenne thay shalbe putte to the Kingges horne, and taken as his rebelles.

[1] Holograph. From the Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 114.

[2] An intermediate despatch from Magnus seems to be lost. Magnus's long letter is Caligula, B. VII. leaf 48. It bears the date of 11th January, and remonstrates against the delay of redress on the Borders, which it ascribes to Angus. The answer from the Council is in the same Volume, leaf 30. It is dated the 16th of January, (evidently by mistake for February) and is signed "Gude, de mandato Dominorum Secreti Consilij, &c."

The same Volume contains also the following documents on the same subject, which must have been transmitted by Magnus; viz.

Feb. 11. Magnus to Queen Margaret, leaf 38.
Magnus to Archbishop Betoun, ibid. 46.
Magnus to Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen, ibid.
Magnus to Argyll, ibid.
Magnus to Lennox, ibid.
Feb. 11. Magnus to Otterburn, leaf 46, 47.
15. Argyll and Lennox to Magnus, ibid. 36.
16. Archbishop Betoun to Magnus, ibid. 32.
Otterburn to Magnus, ibid. 34.
17. Bishop Dunbar to Magnus, ibid. 33.

I have

I have eftesoons sent to the said Counsaill, procuring the same to be diligent for some good ordour to be taken for the said redresse, and also that dayes of true contynually may be kept for the weall of booth the Bordours, as thay have bene used afore tyme; wherunto I doubte not but the said Counsaill woll inclyne and applye, as may right well appere by thair said letters, whiche nowe I sende unto your said Grace.

Hit woll also appere by the same, howe well mynded thay be to every thing that may be for the sure observing of the peax concluded, and of every other thing to the same apperteynnyng, specially touching mutuell amyte love and frendeship firmely to be enterteynned betwene these twoe realmes, whiche matier appereth right specially in oone article comprised in the Busshop of Aburdynes letter; and in the same it is also mentionned that the said peax is all redy confermed under the Grete Seall of Scottelande[1], remaynnyng for the confirmation of Einglande. In my said laste letters I wroote unto your Grace and remembred the same of the Chaunceler of Scottelande, whoe in all our causes is the mooste speciall frende within that realme, and is geven at all tymes above all other to the pleasure of the Kingges Highnes and of your Grace. And, as I have written at sondery tymes there is noon that may nor woll doe somyche for our party, as woll and may the said Chaunceler; for soe I have prooved hym from the begynnyng hider towarde; and am sure that, next to the King his oune Soveraine Lorde, he taketh the Kingges Highnes for his maister, and your Grace for his mooste speciall good Lorde. Letters of late arived in Scottelande from oute of Fraunce, wherby it is openly knowne that the said Chaunceler hath utterly loste and amitted favour of Fraunce, and specially of the Duke of Albeny, as I am acertaynned from sondery myn acquaintaunces in Scottelande, and some parte therof appereth in Mr Adam Otterbournes letter late sent unto me, as your said Grace may conceive by the same.

Your said Grace also shall apperceive by the Chauncelers letter sent unto me, that he complaynneth, as he may to me a poore man, that his causes ar cooldely looked upon in Einglande, and not soe lovingly sette forwarde, as he trusted thay shulde have bene; reapoorting further unto me what hath bene his cure labour and diligence in adressing of all matiers: which I muste nedes confesse, as I have doone afore.

Hit is commen to my knowlege from oute of Scottelande that the said Chaunceler, by meanes of the Lombardes, knoweth what shalbe his charges booth to be Cardinall and Legate; and therupon, with some difficultye, hath opteynned the favour of the King his maister with the consent of the Lordes.

[1] The treaty was ratified by James V. on the 12th of February. Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 122.

Wherfore it is advised unto me from oute of Scottelande, that it shulde not be good the same promotion to take effecte, oonles it were by the meanes of Einglande, as ever it hath bene suppoosed bruted and spoken in Scottelande. I remitte unto your Grace, what hath bene written to the said Chaunceler. And sethenne by his riches and practise of frendes he hath avaunced his oune cause soe farre as is reapoorted unto me, and kept and yet kepeth good appointement to Einglande; under the correction of your Grace, I thenke he shulde want noe furtheraunce, naither of the Kingges Highnes nor your Grace, but that it shulde be nooted in Scottelande, the Kingges Highnes and your Grace doe avaunce and sette forwarde to the higheste autorite all suche as be in your favours and inclyne to your gracious pleasure and purpoos.

I am well assured your Grace wolde be glad to come to knowlege, howe this contrey, specially the Bordours, Tyndaill and Riddesdaill, mought be reduced and brought to good ordour, withoute suche contynuall charges, as for the same hath bene putte to the Kingges Highnes; and that the said contreys mought be ordoured, ruled, and defended with the oonly ordinary charges belongging to sondery partes of the said contreys, except right high and grete invasion shulde chaunce or fortune to the same. Hit is openly spoken in these partes that the Lorde Dacre shalbe Stewarde of Hexham and Capitaine of Norham, and that his uncle Sir Christofer Dacre shalbe his Deputy; whiche maketh well towardes the said purpoos, being a thing as yet but emagined and thought likly without further determynation, till your said Grace shall conceive the matier, and therupon determyne after your grete wisdome with further consciderations: fooreseing that naither the Baronry of Warke, nor any other like thing in these partes, doe passe from the Kingges Highnes, till my commyng unto your said Grace; and thenne, as nigh as I canne, I shall shewe unto your Grace what I have conceived after my poore mynde and discretion, sethenne my reparing and commyng to this contrey; where as many men be desirous to putte the Kingges said Highnes to grete charge, and to thexpence of his money, withoute any cure or study had to the contrary.

There hath bene noe better rule upon the Bordours many yeres, thenne is at this present tyme. What woll folowe of the redresse it is doubtefull; for many wise men, booth Einglisshe and Scottishe, suppoos and say that, albe it the Counsaill of Scottelande wolde that due redresse shulde be made, Tivedaill is not able to make aunsuer for thaire offences and grete attemptates doon to Einglande. Insomyche, that I have harde diverse and sondery parsons, booth riche and poore, that have susteynned grete hurtes and damages, say, thay wolde be content with the same, rather thenne any further busynes shulde folowe for the said redresse. As in my laste letters I wroote to your said Grace,

Grace, this is not a directe way after justice; but in suche a doubtefull matier some mean way, after my poore mynde, shulde be good to be taken, rather thenne to putte the same to an extremytye. Nevertheles I truste the Counsaill of Scottelande woll at the leiste, that thoffenders be deliverde; wherwith all men owe to be, and wolbe, contented, soe that the Bordours may contynue and reste in good peax as thay doe at this tyme.

As soone as I shall have any further woorde or knowlege from oute of Scottelande, I shall advertise your Grace of the same. And Almighty God have Your said Grace in His mooste blessed tuition and governaunce. At Barwik, the furste day of Marche.

Your mooste humble preiste and bedeman,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) T. MAGNUS.

Unto my Lord Legates good Grace.

CLVII. MAGNUS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace to be advertissed, your gracious letters of the 26^{ti} daye of February arived here the 3de day of this instaunte moneth, with the confirmation of the late peax concluded for the party of Einglande, with a commission directe unto me for deliveray of the said confirmation, and receiving the other for the party of Scottelande.

Immediately upon the receipt of your said gracious letters, theffecte wherof at large I well conceive, and shall folowe the same as nigh as I canne, I advertised the Counsaill of Scottelande, that the said confirmation was sent unto me. And albe it sondery provocations have bene made for meting aither at Caldestreme, Cornehill, or Norham, for deliverey and enterchaunging of the ratifications and confirmations of the said peax[2]; yet, remembring that all actes concernyng the same have bene paste and treated upon in this the toune of Barwik, I wolde not accoorde nor agre that thenterchaunging of the said confirmations shulde be in any other place but oonly here. Wherupon my poore oppynnyon was folowed, and the confirmation of the party of Scottelande brought hider by thAbbot of Kelsoe[3], the hedesman of the Carres of Tevidaill, well accompanyed with honeste men to the noumbre of 40 persons: to whoome I made suche chere, as I couth, that day at dyner; and furthwith after, we

[1] Holograph. From the Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 112.

[2] The Council of Scotland to Magnus, March 7, Caligula, B. III. leaf 294. Otterburn to Magnus, March 10, Calig. B. I. leaf 74.

[3] Thomas Ker.

examyned

examyned our commissions, and made collation of other our grete writingges, and soe ayeinste night we departed and kept our lodgingges. And by cause the companyons commyng with the said Abbot were Bordourers, I did thaym to be well accompanyed, and good chere to be made unto thaym.

The next day after, being Saturday[1], and the market day here, aboute tenne of the clokke afoore noon, the said confirmations, after a convenient proclamation made, were enterchaungeably deliverde in the sight of myche people; whiche joyed not a litle therof, but had grete counforte and gladness of the same. And soone after the said Abbot and his company, being right well pleased with thaire receiving, enterteynnyng, and conveying, departed.

The said Abbot, being a right sadde and wise man, broder to Danne Carre of Farnehirste, shewed unto me, the requestes, that were made unto me to have mette in other places thenne in this toune, was purpoosely and for noone other cause that his said broder, Dan Carre of Cesforde, and Marke Carre, mought have spoken with me. The said Carres diverse and sondery tymes have made meanes unto me to have spoken with me; but, for somyche as I have bene sekelewe and diseased upon 40 dayes, and yet soe contynue, as Mr Tuke canne shewe unto your said Grace, I caused Lyell Gray, Porter of Barwik, to mete with thaym at the Bordours of thEste Marches, and Robert Colingwoode at the felles of the Myddle Marches, to knowe thair myndes aswell for making of redresse as for all other causes. At whiche tymes and places, as I was acertaynned by the reapoorte of the said Porter, and by the writing of the said Robert Colingwoode, whiche nowe I sende unto your Grace, the said Carres shewed thaym well mynded and inclined to the peax concluded, and accoordingly to see due redresse to be made for thaym and all thaires, and offerde to lay ynne sufficient plegges for the same.

The said Abbot hath promysed largely as farre unto me by the desire of the saide Carres in the presence of the Deputy Marshall, Porter, and other officers of this said toune of Barwik; shewing further, that rather thenne thefte shulde be maynteynned on thaire parties contrary the peax concluded, he will enter hym self as pledge within this said toune for redresse and good rule to be kept for all the name of Carres; soe that of surety here is noone other lette for making of the said redresse, but oonly the particuler displeasure had betwene thErle of Anguisshe, and the Hoomes for the Marshe, and the Carres for Tevidaill. For thay all as thay ar and shalbe commaunded by the Counsaill of Scottelande touching redresse, though it be to thair paynes, or content therunto, specially if they mought doe the same by autorite of any other com-

[1] March 17.

mission,

mission, thenne at the pleasure and commaundement of the said Erle of Anguisshe.

The said Counsaill of Scottelande declared of late not oonly to me, but also to thErle of Westemoorelande, by thaire letters, that the saide Erle of Anguisshe had promised unto thaym to kepe a day of true the 20th day of this instaunte moneth, and not oonly to see due redresse to be made for the 6 billes of Liddersdaill, but also for all other causes, aither touching the Marshe or Tevidaill, and for the same to deliver the fawters, after the lawes of the Bordours, or sufficient plegges. And, notwithstanding the said Erle confermed every thing accoordingly unto me by his writing, yet the said day is overshotte, and disappointed, for sondery causes, in myne oppynnyon feyned for a grete parte, as woll appere aswell by a letter sent unto me from the said Erle, as by copy of an aunsuer that I made hym to the same; which letter[1] and

[1] Caligula, B. I. leaf 105 (catalogued as of the year 1527, at which time Magnus was not Ambassador):

" My Lord Ambassiatour, in my maste hartlie maner I commend me to zour Lordschip. Quhilk " pleise wit I ressavit zour writingis last send to me the 14 day of yis instant Marche, makand " mencioun yat ye Lordis of my Mastir ye Kingis Counsale wrait to zou, yat I suld haif writtin and " advertist my Lord ye Erle of Westmerland of ye day and place to have bene kepit for meting at " ye day trew.

" My Lord, verraly yer is sindry causis ressonable occurring heir, sen I wrait to zow befor with " ye messinger, yat I micht nocht kepe ye day appoyntit yerfor, nor advertist my said Lord of " Westmerland of ye place. First, ze sall understand yer is novellis and wrytingis, laitly cumin " furth of France fra ye Duk of Albany to certane Lordis of yis cuntre, as I beleif, his wele " willaris; quharthrow sen syne yai grow ye mair hie and wantoun. Secoundlie, certane Bor- " doraris, yat suld haif enterit plegis for making of dew redres, hering yir said novellis and departit " without licence, and enterit na plegis in purpose to stop redres; quhilk, God willing, it sall nocht " ly in yer power. Thridly, as ye caise standis, I dar nocht aventure to depart fra ye keping of ye " Kingis person, for danger yat may appeir, for all ye Lordis ar departit of toune, and nane uyer " Lordis remanyng with His Grace as now, bot my Lordis of Glasgw, Levynnox, and I. And, as I " beleif, ye Kingis Grace of Ingland, nor ze, suld be contentit yat I depart fra ye keping of my said " Soveranis persoun in yis tyme of necessite, sik perell appering and brekis throw yir lait novellis. " Herefor I beseik zour Lordschip effectuously to have consideracioun and pacience of me at yis " tyme, yat wrytis to zow ye verite, and to haif me excusit to my said Lord of Westmerland for ye " causses forsaid, yat I micht nocht kepe ye day trew afoir appoyntit, nor advertist him of ye place " of meting, quhill efterwartis yat yir materis may be better adressit and put to ordour. For I " assure zow heirefter, with the help of God, I shall do my diligence at ye uttermaist of my power, " yat redres and gud reull sall be kepit on ye Bordouris for yis side, and yat ye falt sall nocht be " fund in me, as sall be knawin to ye Kingis Grace of Ingland, and to all his realme. I neid " nocht to writ at yis tyme to my said Lord of Westmerland, for I wait ze will advertist him of yis " my mynde in every behalf, to quhom I pray zow commend me. And ye Blissit Lord haif Zour " Lordschip in His gracious keping. Off Edinburgh, ye 15 day of Marche, and subscrivit with my " hand.

" Zour luffyng frend,

(*Signed*) " Erl of Angus."

(*Superscribed*)

To my Lord Ambassiatour to ye Kingis Grace of Ingland &ca.

copy

copy [1] I sende nowe unto your Grace, with the copy of a letter that I wroote yersterday to the Chaunceler and Counsaill of Scottelande [2], nowe preparing, as I here, every man to passe into his oune contrey ayeinste this holy tyme of Eister.

The inhabitauntes booth of the Marshe and Tevidaill require, by way of goode neighbourhoode, till dayes of true may be kept, that the good rule, that nowe is, may be contynued and kept upon the Bordours. Wherfore, conscidering thay be well inclyned therunto, and that the motion commeth and procedeth on thaire party, I purpoos furthwith to have commynnycation with diverse gentilmen, bordourers of thEste and Myddle Marches, for an ordour to be taken in that matier, soe that good rule may be kept on booth the partes, till thofficers booth of Einglande and Scottelande shall mete, and further provide, as it apperteynneth to thair roomes and offices.

I sende nowe unto your Grace a letter lately sent unto me frome thErle of Comberlande [3] with myn aunsuer to the same [4]; wherby it shall appere unto your Grace that good rule is upon the Weste Marches. And where there was some doubte touching the contreys of Eskedaill Ewesdaill and Liddersdaill in Scottelande, I have also sent his Lordeship aunsuer therynne, as I have bene advertised therof from the said Counsaill of Scottelande.

And for somyche as in maner here is noe further thing to be doone otherwise thenne is afore said, and that I am likly to be in perell by occasion of an humour fallen into my right legge, yf in breve tyme I have noe remedy therfore; I intende, if I may labour in anywise, to be commyng southwardes withynne thre dayes; and woll speke with my Lorde of Westemoorelande and Sir William Eures, as I shall passe thorowe the Busshopriche, and woll shewe thaym what is doone for the good rule of the Bordours, what is promysed booth for the Marshe and Tevidaill, and what shalbe myn advice in the same; and specially I shall declare unto thaym your gracious pleasure for ordouring of the redresse, and shall geve thaym copy of your letter adressed unto me for that purpoos, soe that therby thay may ordour thaym the moore circumspectely for the said redresse.

I truste thay shall have cause to procure noone abolicion for any parte of the said redresse, conscidering the Weste Bordours ar in a reasonnable good trayn, and that the Counsaill of Scottelande have putte an ordour for Liddersdaill, as shall appere by suche other letters as I sende also unto your said Grace; conscidering in like maner howe the hedesmen of Tevidaill doe offer

[1] Caligula, B. III. leaf 106.
[2] Calig. B. III. leaf 295. March 18.
[3] Ibid. leaf 114. March 1.
[4] Ibid. leaf 115. March 2.

for

for thaire party. And as for the Marshe, there is moore redresse to be made unto thaym on our party, thenne thay canne require of us on thaire party.

Pleas it your Grace to wete that Mr Wiat, of his goodnes, sent unto me for a token certaine cramp ringges[1], which I distributed and gave to sondery myne acquaintaunces at Edinburgh; amongges other, to Mr Adam Otterbourne, whoe with oone of thaym releved a man lying in the falling sekenes, in the sight of myche people. Sethenne whiche tyme many requestes have bene made unto me for crampe ringges, specially at my departing there, and also sethenne my commyng frome thennes. May it pleas your Grace therfore to shewe your gracious pleasure to the said Mr Wiat, that some ringges may be kept and reserved, to be sent into Scotland; whiche, after my poore oppynnyon, shulde be a good dede, remembring the vertue and operation of thaym is knowne and proved in Edinburgh, and that thay be gretely required for the same cause, booth by grete personnages and other. And thus Almighty God have Youe, my good and gracious Lorde, in His mooste blessed preservation and governaunce. At Barwik, the 20ti daye of Marche.

Your mooste humble preiste and bedeman,

(*Signed*) T. Magnus.

(*Superscribed*)
Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CLVIII. The instructions, geven by our Souverain Lord to his familiar servitour, Patrik Saintklare, to be shewed to his derest broder and uncle the King of England, and to my Lord Cardinall.[2]

In the first, after most tendre and harty commendation, the said Patrik shal shewe to our derest brother the King of England, howe We have takin the direction and giding of our Realme in our owne handes, by the advise and counsail of our Parliament. And hitherthrowe, above al other cares, We regard most the misrule of our Borders, and of slaughteris committed amonges our lieges; and for reformation therof We ar passed in Person towardes our Borders, and

Towching this article, there is provision alredy taken, aswel by the Duke of Richemondes Counsail, as by the Lieutenauntes of the Est, West, and Mydel Marches, in such wise as not oonly noo rebellious or misruled subject of Scotland shalbe suffred to entre in to this your Realme, or be favored within the same; but also, if nede shuld require, your Lieutenauntes from tyme to tyme be

[1] See Burnet's Reformation, Vol. II. pp. 12. 321., and Collections, pp. 294–297.

[2] This appears to be the copy of Syngclar's instructions, with Wolsey's opinion totted in the margin, which accompanied his letter to Henry VIII., published in Vol. I. p. 150, where the letter is erroneously placed under the year 1524. The instructions are printed from Caligula, B. VII. leaf 81.

The only signature of this ambassador, which can be found, is in Caligula, B. I. leaf 34, where he writes himself "Syngclar," and this spelling is therefore adopted, in accordance with the rule stated in the general preface, p. xxii.

ordered to geve assistence to the King of Scottes Wardens and Lieutenauntes for the persecution of the said rebelles and misruled persons within the realme of Scotland, if they shalbe at any tyme by the King of Scottes required soo to doo.

are nowe presently in Melroise, desiring that our derest brother of England wil geve charges to al his Lieutenauntes, Wardens, Capitaynes, and other Officers upon his Borders foranempst our Realme, like as We shaldoo semblably for our part, to resist and expelle al the brokin men of our Borders, and other our traitours and rebelles, howesone and as oft as they shal happen to reasort within the realme of Englande; and if they may be apprehended, to take and send them to Us or our Wardeynes, and that no company nor felowship be had with any of them in fayres markettes or other wayes within the realme of England; soo that We may with lesse difficultie refourme and pacifie our Bordour, and punish trespassours for the weale of both the Realmes.

It shall not a litel conferre to Your Graces purpose, if by your wise counsail and persuasions the King of Scottes, considering that as yet he is but of tendre age, might be induced to forbere and put over the sending of Ambassadours for treating of his mariage, any where. For by these wordes, "in diverse realmes," there is colorably ment Fraunce, for the mariage of the doughter wherof the Duke of Albany hath and dayly doth setforth diverse practises, wherby the olde intelligence bitwen Scotland and Fraunce shuld not oonly be continued, but also corroborat.

It is to be taken in very good and thankeful part that the said King of Scottes doth desire Your Graces advise and counsail in this weighty mater; and soo continuing, it is not to be dowted but that Your Highnes wil have no lesse respecte to his honnour and suertie, thenne in maner to your owne. And to trayne and continue the said King of Scottes in this good purpose, al good persuasions, politique and dulce handeling, loving and kinde meanes, be to be setforth.

Secondly, the said Patrik shal shewe how it is divised by our Thre Astates in our last Parlament, that Ambassadours be sent by Us, in diverse realmes, for the contracting of our mariage. And, bicause that matier concernith our weale so hye, We desire principally the counsail of our said derest brother and uncle, as most tendre to Us in the said matier. Wherunto the said Patrike shal require our said derest uncles ripe and sad advisement at lenght &c.

Thirdely, the said Patrike shal expone to our said derest uncle, howe the cumming of the Duke of Albany in this our Realme may geve gret counfort and occasion to diverse our lieges inclined to insolence, to trespasse and usurpe against our auctorite and officers; and how that the said Duke, by his subtel workinges and policie, continually sollicites our lieges to sedition and discorde; promising them supple by his comming. And therfor the said Patrike shal desire right instantly, that our said uncle sollicite the King of

There is provision made in the treatie concluded with the French King, which is, synnes his retourne in to his realme, by hym sworn and confermed [1], that the Duke of Albany shal not entre in to the realme of Scotlande nor to any dominion belonging unto the said King of Scottes. And if by colour of ambassade, or contrary to the said promise, it shuld fortune him to cumme in to the said realme, allected or induced by such as doth favor him there; it is not to be dowted, but that Your Grace wold not oonly take the same displeasauntly, but also geve assistence to the said King of Scottes to the withstanding therof.

[1] Francis I. ratified the treaty of the Moore, at Bourdeaux, on the 15th of April 1526.

Fraunce,

Fraunce, throwe the gret amitie nowe standing betwixt them, that the said Duke of Albany be not suffred by him to cumme furth of his realme, towardes Us, under colour of ambassade or otherways; in such wayes as al hope of his il support be taken away from our said lieges, having beleve therunto; soo that We may the more easly put our Realme to tranquillite and peace.

Fourthly, the said Patrik shal shewe, howe, the said Duke of Albany, by support and furnishing of the King of Fraunce, withholdith from Us our castel of Dunbar, with artyllary and munitions therof, spoyled by the said Duke of Albany furth of our other castelles in our lesse age; which may oon lesting occasion and supple to any them, which wold attempte in contrary our Person or auctorite; and howe that We have, by our diverse letters and messangers, desired at the King of Fraunce and Duke of Albany, our said castel and munitions to be delyvered to Us, and there is nothing aunswerd therof: desiring therfor at our derest uncle, to labour effectuously to the King of Fraunce for the delyvering to Us of the said castel and munitions; and fayling therof, to geve to Us his good counsail direction supple and helpe to the recovering of our said castel, and when We shal require the same.

There is noo reason why the Duke of Albany by favour or assistence of the French King, contrary to the King of Scottes mynde, shuld deteyne or kepe with garryson the castel of Dunbarre; and mervayle it is that the Lordes of Scotlande have soo long suffred the same. My Lord of Bath may be instructed of your pleasour, to move the French King to commaunde the Duke of Albany for the delyvery therof; which refused, it shalbe the King of Scottes honnour to enterprise the recoverey of the same by force and vyolence. The doing whereof shal not a litel diminish the intelligence bitwen them and Fraunce.

Fiftely, the said Patrike shal shewe our derest uncle towching the writing sent by Us to him in favour of Master Andrewe Dury, which writinges procedid not of our mynde, wherin We were circumvented by the Archebishop of Saynt Andrews, our Chauncelour for the tyme[1]; which, if they had proceded of our mynde and knowlege, had been to our dishonour, considering our other letters geven by Us bifore to Dene John Maxwel, in favour of whom We nowe, having auctorite in our hand, have wryten letters to the Popes Holynes conforme to our first mynde. And to this effecte the Popes Holynes hath wryten to Us, desiring Us to determyne our mynde in the matier, and whom We wol be provided to the said abbay of Melrose; like as We have doon, and writen for the saide Dene John Maxwel. Praying herfor our said uncle to sende his writinges to the Popes Holynes conforme to our letters geven in favour of the said Dene John, for his promotion to our said abbey.

Your Highnes, by your oratours and writinges, hath taken such ordre with the Pope, that from hensforth noo person shalbe admitted to any promotion spiritual within the realme of Scotlande, oonles he be by your Highnes and the King of Scottes special letters, conteyning a secrete marke within the same, recommended therunto.

[1] The Great Seal was in July 1526 taken from Archbishop Betoun. It does not distinctly appear in whose hands it was until Angus became Chancellor on the 8th of August 1527, but probably it remained during the whole period in the custody of Angus. Andrew Durie became Abbot of Melrose in 1527, and afterwards Bishop of Galloway.

Finally,

Finally, the said Patrike shal shewe to our said derest uncle, howe umquhill Alexander Lord Hume, being pursued by the said Duke then our Governour, sende his yong dowghter and heyre[1] within the realme of Englond to be suerly kept with the Lord Dacre, and by his deth is in the handes of Sir Christofer Dacres, and howe she is a great enheritour within our Realme, and therthrowe her mariage apperteyneth to Us. And therfor he shal require our derest uncle to cause the said lady to be sent home to Us, as wel for the confort of our cousin her moder, spouse to our familiar and Treasourer the Master of Glencorne, as for our owne right and proufit of her mariage; like as the said Patrik is more amply instruct in this mater.

It shalbe wel doon Sir Christofer Dacres be wryten unto, to knowe in what maner the Lord Homes doughter and heyre was delyvered to the custody of the late Lord Dacres; which knowen, reasonable answer may be made to the King of Scottes in that partie.

CLIX. Queen Margaret *to* Wolsey.[2]

My Lorde Cardinale, in oure maist effectuus and hertlie maner We commend Ws unto zou. Forsamekill as oure derrest son ye Kingis Grace hes bene yis lang quhile bipast eftir ye tyme of his perfit age, and ordinance maid in Parliament be his Thre Estatis[3] yat his autorite suld be usit be Him self, and zit presently is withaldin incontrare his will, and in thraldome, be ye Erle of Angus and his part takaris; quharthroucht His Grace, be feire and compulsioun of ye said Erle of Angus, and aganis all equite and justice, hes grantit and subscrivit mony diverse letters inconsonant to ressoun, alsuele unto oure Haly Fader ye Pape, as within yis his Realme, and siclyke unto ye Kingis Grace oure derrest bruder zoure maister, and zoure self; and in special contrare my Lorde of Sanctiandros, makand mencioune yat he suld have usurpit oure derrest sonnis autorite riall, and conspirit agane His Grace, quhilk wes of na verite, bot procedit all be malice of yame yat persuadit ye samyn; and nochtyeles, my said Lorde of Sanctiandros, becaus of yat wrang relacioun maid one him to His Grace, is layth to mell or concurr in ye materis quharin his counsale and help ar necessaire to be haid for ye wele of our said derrest son, quhill he get letters of request yerfore fra ye Kingis Grace zoure maister and zoure self; quharupone sindry gret enormiteis and inconvenientis hes ensewit and followit, and nocht onelie His Gracis autorite is alnterly abusit in sic wyse yat nane

[1] Alison, or Janet, afterwards married to Sir John Hamilton, natural son of Arran. Her mother was Agnes Stewart, who is not mentioned in Douglas's Peerage as having taken for her second husband William the Master of Glencairn or Kilmaurs (for he was known by both titles), who afterwards became the fourth Earl of Glencairn.

[2] From the Museum, Caligula, B. VIII. leaf 160.

[3] See Scottish Acts, p. 301.

maner

maner of justice is execut within yis his said Realme, be parciale wais of ye said Erle of Angus, quhilk under coloure of justice causis exerce rigoure and cruelty upoun His Gracis liegis and subdettis, quham at ye said Erle and his part takaris hes displeser or indignatioune be ony way; bot elykwise His Gracis maist nobill Persoun is misgydit in all thingis effering unto ye estate riall of His Majeste; quhilkis war to long and prolixt to be writtin unto zow: and yarfore yis present berar Maister Petre Howstoun sall declare zow ye samyn; to quhom in yai behalfis ze plese gif ferme credence. And all yare maist oure derrest son forsaid, standing daly under gret feyre and dredour of ye said Erle of Angus and his part takaris, quhilkis ar continualy about His Grace, and will suffre nane uyeris of his barounis nor liegis to resort amangis yame, to yat end and intent that quhatsumevir thing he or yai will have or devise to be done, His Grace, for danger of his lyf, dar nocht deny ye samyn, howbeit it war never sa unressonable, or mycht tend to ye gret hurt of His Grace, and distruccioun of ye commoune wele of yis his Realme: and yarof His Grace beris oftymmes gret displessouris in his mynde, quhilkis may nocht lang indure with tendrenes of his maist noble complexioune. And herupoun His Grace hes mevit hevely be his wrytingis unto Ws his derrest moder, and to my said Lorde of Sanctiandros, and my Lorde of Levnax; quharin We and my saidis Lordis, with help of God, and uyeris treu liegis of yis Realme, sall do oure dewite for putting of remeide; as at mare large We have writtin unto oure saide bruder the Kingis Grace zoure maister, presentlie, be ye said berar. And yarfore, my Lord Cardinale, We pray zow rycht effectuuslie, as in quhom We have rycht singuler beleve and traist, that ze have gude and sad consideracioun herof with His Grace, and ayde and assist with ye samyne to ye deliveraunce of our said derrest son his nevoy furtht of subjectioune and to kinglie fredome; sua yat ye laif of his trew barouns and liegis may sauflie and surlie resort unto His Grace, baith for impetratioun of justice, and preserving of his maist noble Persoun fra sic evident dangeris and perellis as ye samyn standis now daly in. For, and sua hapnit, as Gode forbeid, yat His Grace war distroit or put till confusioun be ony way, it is nocht to presume bot ye Kingis Grace, his derrest uncle zour maister, suld have maist hie displesure yarfore, of ony levand man, as ye case now standis. And for putting of haistye and dew remeide hereintill, it will plese zou, my Lorde Cardinale, to cause and sollist His Grace write his gude affectuus letters unto my saidis Lordis of Sanctiandros and Levnax, and to uyeris Lordis and Barouns within yis Realme, as His Grace and ze thinkis maist expedient in yat behalve; and yat zour self, my Lorde, wryte to my said Lorde of Sanctiandros tendrely in yat samyne effect.

And elykwise, my Lorde Cardinale, We pray zow hertly persuade, and sollist oure said derrest bruder the Kingis Grace, to direct his supplicatiounis unto

unto ye Papis Halynes, in favouris of Ws his luffing sister and my said Lorde of Sanctiandros, for help and furthering of oures materis in ye Court of Rome; and rycht sua yat We may have zoure awin supplicaciouns direct for Ws unto His Halynes in sembleable manere: and all to be deliverit togidder to ye said berar, quhom plesit zow, my Lorde, cause have gude further and expedicioune of his erandis and effaris, fra ye Kingis Grace oure derrest bruder and zoure self. Prayand Eternal Gode have Zow, my Lorde Cardinale, in His blissit tuicioun ande gouvernament. Writtin at Dunfermling, ye 21 day of August.[1]

(*Superscribed*) To my Lorde Cardinale of Ingland.

(*Signed*) Your MARGARET R.

CLX. MAGNUS *to* WOLSEY.[2]

PLEAS it Your Grace to be advertissed, that this day I received a letter from Sir Christopher Dacre, dated at Morpath the 28ti daye of this instant moneth, which letter, with sondery other copies and letters paste betwene hym, thErle of Angwisshe, and other, I sende unto your Grace, to the entent it may appere to the same, what good rule and redresse is upon thEste Marches, and what good devour and diligence is doone for contynuaunce therof by the said Sir Christopher.

By the said letter your Grace shall conceive, howe the affaires causes and matiers of Scotlande doe procede, wherynne is noe litle alteration, with myche discention discoorde and debate, soe that by the contynue as well of sondery letters and messages sent unto me from the Bordours, as by the saide letter sent unto me frome the said Sir Christofer Dacre, I doe not see but that the

[1] In the same Volume, leaf 159, is a letter of the same date from Margaret to Henry VIII. nearly verbatim with this to Wolsey; except that in the passage, where she requests the Cardinal to advise with the King upon the subject, she writes thus to His Majesty: "Bot becaus Zour Grace is "and suld be, nixt undir Almichty God, most tendre and dere frende unto our said derrest son zour "nevoy, for gret nerenese and proximite of blude betuix Zour Grace and Him, and yarfore suld "fortifie help and mainteine His Grace in using of his autorite and gyding of his Realme unto ye "tym yat His Grace be asuele of rypare age and wisdome, as of manly strynth and pouere to "gyde and use ye samyn be him self; sua yat" &c. And again, after dreading the destruction of the King her son, She adds in her letter to her brother, "And howbeit His Grace, be preservacioun "of Eternall God, may eschew uter distructioun; neveryeles, and ye said Erle of Angus with his "part takaris withald his maist noble Person any tym in subjectioun as yai haf done heretofore, "yai sall abuse ye samyn on sic wyse, yat grace and vertu salbe fer yerfra. And of yer tua incon-"venientis, ane sall nocht falze bot gif Zour Grace help to put remeide."

[2] From the Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 118.

said

said Erle of Angwisshe is aither likly to be putt in parell or daungier, or elles to be infoorced to geve up the keping of the yong King of Scottes; albe it that he and thErle of Arren be well accoorded and agreed, and that thay booth doe nowe take oone parte. In which Erle of Arren there is noone assuraunce.

This day paste from hennes a chapelaine of the Busshops of Saint Andrewes, with a letter adressed from the yong King of Scottes to the Kingges Highnes, copy wherof I sawe, mencionnyng amongges other thingges that the said yong King, contrary his will and mynde, is kept in thraldom and captivitye with Archebalde Erle of Angwisshe.

The Quenes Grace there is in hoope and truste, by the assistence meanes and counsaile of the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes, to have the rule and governaunce of the yong King her sonne; and the saide Archebusshop in lyke truste to be Chaunceler, as he was afore. These twoe thingges conscidered, I doubte not but your Grace woll pondre, what liklihoode is therby to ensewe, if this cause come to suche effecte and purpoos, and howe the said pa[*rtie*], the matier resting in doubte, as it dooth at this tyme, shalbe used.

It mooveth me thus to write unto your Grace, by cause that Patrik Singcler is nowe aither with the Kingges Highnes, or your Grace, and also there ar twoe chapelains of the Busshop of Saint Andrewes labouring and sewing, every of thaym accoording to theffecte of thair messages committe unto thaym.

I sende also with this unto youre Grace a breve declaration of thexpenses in my Lorde of Richemountes householde for an hooll yere forty and nyne daies ended at my repaire and commyng hider; wherby it shall appere what money is expended, of whoom the [*same*] hath bene received, and for what causes the same hath bene issued and paid furth.[1] For this matier the Clerke of the Grene Cloth and I have taken some busynes, and take some moore payne to reduce the charges of householde here, moore nigh to the revenues of my Lorde of Richemountes landes, by the grace of God, whoe evermoore have Your saide Grace in His moost blessed tuition and governaunce. At Shereiff Hooton, the 30th daye of Auguste.

Your mooste humble
preiste and bedeman,
(*Signed*) T. MAGNUS.

(*Superscribed*)
Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

[1] This account is that of George Lawson, Cofferer to the Duke of Richmond, from the 12th of June 1525 to the end of July 1526. It remains in the Chapter House, State Papers Scotland, p. 344.

CLXI. Sir Christopher Dacre *to* Wm. Lord Dacre.[1]

My Lorde, I recommende me unto Your goode Lordship. Signefieng unto the same that, upon thErle of Anguses letters to me delivered, I wrote unto hym, appointing to mete hym upon the Est Marche on Sanct Bertillamews evin; whiche day I kept, and mett the Lorde Home at Janehalghe, where as 6 billes were gevin in by aither partie, wherof thre of aither syde were fyled, and deliveraunce made unto the parties plaintyf; and the rest of the billis were put in suspence for lacke of followers.

Upon the Saturday the 25 day I mett Davd Kerr at Ridanburne, for the est ende of Tevidale and a parte of Glendale, where as in likewise 6 billes were gevin in, wherof 3 of aither syde were fyled and deliveraunce made to the parties plaintyf; and the rest of the billis were respited, bireason the defendauntes then appered not. And for redresse of them with all others billes, we aggreed appointing my broder Philip to mete at Ridingburne on Weddinsday the 5th day of this moneth; and also to mete for the Marse and est ende of Glendale the Lorde Home at Caldstreme upon the morowe, being the 6th daye; and like metinges to be at Rydanburn and Caldstreme by our deputies on Thurisday the 27 day of September, and Monday the first day of Octobre.

And also it is appointed that we, in our owne personnes as Vice Wardains, shall mete the 14 day of October for fulfilling of redres upon the Est Marche soo as good reull shal ensue upon our often metinges; like as I advertised Maister Magnus be my letters sent fro Morpeth with Thomas Whyte, messenger.

There is no grement bitwene the Quene and thErle of Anguse, ne also betwene the said Erle and thErle of Levennax. Aither, with all there parte takers, ar gathring against others. The Quene, the said Erle of Levennax, the Busshop of Sanct Andrewes, and all their partie, entendes to haif the King fro thErle of Anguse. The Quenes partie encreaseth, and thErle of Anguse partie mynysseth.

ThErle of Levennax com to the Borowmore without Edinburghe, airly in a mornyng with two hundreth tried men, and sent 8 men upon 8 barrom geldinges, and led other 8 tried geldinges purposely for conveyance of the

[1] From the Chapter House, State Papers Scotland, p. 230.

King

King by his owne assent, and by the counsale of the Maister Kylmawres being Theasourer; wherof thErle of Anguse gat knowlege. And the King conveyed the said Maister thoroughe the coignyng hous, and so he made eskape at the Holirude house; whiche caused the saide Erle convey the King to the Busshop of Sanctandrews loging in Edinburghe, where as his broder George Douglas, orels the Prior of Coldingham, to githers with 40 of the said town, watches the King nightly, for steling awey.

I have appointed cessions of peax and inquere with gaole delivere to be holden in Hexham, upon Thurysday the 20 day of this moneth, for the wele of my Lorde Legate Graces regalite there; where as I entend, God willing, Sir John Radclif, Sir John Lowther, Knightes, and others Justices nominate in his said Graces commission, shalbe, and justice to be ministred accordingly.

And as other newes worthy advertisement occurris, your Lordship shalbe advertised, God willing, who preserve Your Lordship. At Carlisle, the first day of September.

Your servand,

(*Signed*) CRYSTOFER DACRE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Dacre is goode Lordship.

CLXII. MAGNUS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace to be advertised that in my laste letters, amongges other thingges, I wrote unto your said Grace, declaring, as thenne myn oppynnyon was, what damage and daunger was likly to ensewe to thErle of Angwisshe, and howe there was noon assuraunce to be nooted in thErle of Arren. It mooved me soe to write, by cause the said Erle of Arren, being afore an extreme enemy to thErle of Anguisshe, was newly reconciled, and also his procedingges afore in many causes have not gretely bene to be nooted to his honour. Howe be it, as every thing hath commen to passe, his actes nowe doe shewe the true effecte and experience of his parte, booth towardes his Prince, and his kynnesman thErle of Anguisshe; by reason wherof, after my poore oppynnyon, there is suche a knot knytte betwene the said twoe Erles, conscidering thay were thoroughly accoorded of late for the dedely fede that was betwene thaym for the deth of Sir Patrik Hamylton[2], that I see noe way howe

[1] Holograph. From the Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 127. It has been printed by Pinkerton, as has likewise the next letter of Sir C. Dacre.

[2] See p. 160.

the said knotte shulde nowe be dissolved by any grete personnage in Scottelande, oonles it shulde be by the compasing of thArchebusshop of Saint Andrewes, whose practises at this tyme have commen to the deth and distruction of his kynnesmen and nigh frendes, and, as I am infourmed, to his noe litle perell and daungier at this tyme.

ThAbbottes of Melrose and Domfarmeling booth, breder and nephewes to the said Archebusshop, be slayn, as is a grete frende and counsailour of his, the Lorde of Kere[1], Capitaine of Starling, with many other his kynnesmen and servauntes, soe that doutefull it is howe the said Archebusshop shall compase and convey for his partie. For I canne not noote any oon parson in Scottelande, nowe that thErle of Lenneux[2] is slayn, and the other taken, that is able or woll encounter with thErles of Anguisshe and Arren, whose powers and strengthes extende from the brigge of Starling to thEste and Mydde Marches. And, as the cace standeth, there be many freindes conformed with thaire favours and devotion to the said Erle of Anguisshe; soe that nowe, after my poore mynde, good it shulde be, that the yong King shulde be counsailed to avoide all symple and synister counsaill, and to lean with his good and gracious favours to the oppynnyons of the said twoe Erles, being the gretteste men of power and frendeship in all Scottelande, and mooste mete to doe unto His saide Grace true and faithfull service, notwithstaunding any letters written by His Grace ayenst thErle of Anguisshe to the contrary.[3]

Mention

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[1] John Stirling. [2] Slain at the fight of Linlithgow, 4 September 1526.

[3] Henry VIII.'s sentiments on these transactions were communicated by Sir Thomas More to Wolsey in a letter, dated from Stoney Stratford, 21st September, printed by Ellis, Second Series, Vol. I. p. 289, from Caligula, B. VII. leaf 67, where it is catalogued as of the year 1525, instead of 1526.

" His Highnesse very greatly rejoyced the valiaunt acquytaill and prosperouse successe of thErlis " of Anguysh and Arren agaynst theire enemyes, and the disturbours of the peace and quiet of " Scotland, dayly devising such entreprises as shold, if they mought have obtayned theire entent " and purpose, have extended in conclusion to the great parell and jubardy of the yong Prince his " nephieu, not without sum busignes and inquietenes also to this Realme. Wherfore His Highnes " mych approveth your Graces moost prudent device concernyng the said Erlis to be entreteyned " with sum good lettres and pleasuris frome His Grace, with good advice and counsaile to be geven " un to theym, for such good vertuouse and politique ordre to be taken and used by theym for the " good bringing uppe of the yong King, to the weale and suertie of his noble Persone and com- " modite of his Realme, that He and his Realme may herafter be glad, and dayly more and more " delite and rejoice in theire late good chaunce and victorie, agaynst theym that late were assem- " bled agaynst theire King, present in the feld. And the Kinges Highnes thinketh that, sith the " said Erlis have now sufficient open profe that the Archebishoppe of Saynt Andrewis putteth all " his possible power to procure theire destruction, and to rere broilerie warre and revolution in the " realme, to the no litle perell of the yong King theire maister, it were good that they were advised, " in this theire victorie, so substantially to provide for the saufgard of their King and theym selfes,

" by

Mention is made that James Stewarde, and William Stewarde, breder to the Lorde Evendale, be booth slayn. They were speciall servauntes to the Quenes Grace, and breder to Harry Stewarde that attendeth upon Her said Grace.

I humbly beseche your said Grace to pardon me of this my writing; it is but oonly to make playn some parte of the letter sent unto me from Sir Christofer Dacre, and to shewe my pooreste oppynnyon, as I conceive concernyng the affaires and causes of Scottelande.

Hit pleased your Grace, at my departing frome the same, to commaunde me to write to my Lorde of Combrelande, shewing that your Grace desired his Lordeship to be good to Sir Christofer Dacre, touching a farmehoolde in those partes. I wroote to my saide Lorde as effectually as I couth, and declared howe thankefully his doing for the saide Sir Cristofer shulde be accept by your saide Grace; but, as it appereth by the saide Sir Cristofers letter, there commeth noon effecte of my writing.

Contynually I call and labour for the refourmation of the grete charges of this houshoolde, and to reduce the same to be ordoured accoording to the revenues; wherynne I have some busynes. Nevertheles I shall applye me as well as I canne to your gracious commaundement, and after an ordour taken for putting the commissions, lately sent into these parties, in due execution, as canne and may be, the tyme of the yere conscidered, and our sitting at Yourke nowe at Michelmas next, for mynistring of justice, ended; I purpoose soon after to see all Lorde of Richemountes lordeships in these north parties, by the grace of God: whoe evermoore have Youe, my good and gracious Lorde, in His mooste blessed preservation and governaunce. At Shereiff Hooton, the 13th day of Septembre.

Ymmediately upon the making of this my letter, my Lorde of Richemountes Grace, hering that I sent unto your Grace at this tyme, instauntely required me to recommaunde hym unto your said Grace, beseching youe of your blessing.

Your mooste humble preiste and bedeman,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) T. MAGNUS.

Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

" by theffectuall repressing of their adversaries, that the said Archebishoppe and his adherentes in " eny tyme to cum shold not be able, either by craftie practises to deceive theym, or open rebel- " lion to distresse theym, but without eny trust or credence to be geven to the blandishing of the " said Archbishoppe, which this adverse chaunce shall peradventure dreve hym to use for the while, " with purpose and entent of revenging whan he may fynde occasion; they provide and se so " substantiall ordre taken for the surtie of the King, the realme, and theym self, that none evil wede " have power to spring uppe to high."

CLXIII. Sir Christopher Dacre *to* Lord Dacre.[1]

My Lorde. Where as I did write unto youe with your servaunt John Moore of the meating of the Erle of Anguss upon Weddinsdaye and Thuresdaye the 28 and 29 of November at Caldstreme and Ridaneburne, as ye may fordour perceyve by the said Erles writing, whiche I did sende youe with your said servaunt; the said Erle keped nowder of the said dayes, but has appointed to mete at the said places the 13 and 14 daye of this moneth: having litell truste that he will kepe the said dayes, albeit I shall gif attendaunce of the same for the wele and surtie of the Bordours.

My Lorde, your servaunt Gares, who as has remaned in Edinburghe all the Parliament tyme, come hidre to me on Fridaye last. The said Parliament beganne the 12th daye of November, and contynued to the 27 daye of the same moneth, and has contynued the said Parliament with all the summons of the Thre Estates unto the 8th daye of Januarij next commyng; and so all is departed of the towne for this tyme.

The Quene come to Edinburghe upon Tewisdaye the 20ti daye of November; the King and all the Lordes mete Her two myles without Edinburghe at Corstorphyne, and with Her but a small companye; and so the King and the Quene come riding downe to gidres thoroughe the towne to the Palice. The Quene lyes in the chambre where that the Duke laye, and the King lyes in the chambre above her, all in a lodgeng. The King is a mynded not to lye ferre from her, nor he will never be frome her, excepte he be owder hunting or sporting.

The Erle of Cascilles and the Lorde Avendale, whiche as appered not, is in the handes of the Erle of Arrain, and Sir James Hamylton, with all the Lordes and Lardes of the West parties that was on the partie of the Erle of Lennax, to fyne and raunsone at there pleasure.

The Lorde Lynzey and his landes is in the handes of my Lorde of Anguss and George Douglas, with all the Lordes and Lardes of the este and north parties as was on the felde with the said Erle of Levennax, to raunson and fyne at there pleasure.

The Larde of Kere landes is forfected and geven to George Douglas. Rynyane Creghton[2] is forfecte and geven to the Larde of Dumlangrig, and

[1] From the Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 420.

[2] In the Scottish Acts he is called Ninian.

the

the said Rynyane is restored again, and agreed with the said Larde of Dumlangrig, and was in Edinburghe.

The Larde of Bukcleugh has a respecte, and not forfecte, and will gett his pece, and was in Lithquo both Sondaye, Mondaye, and Tewisdaye last; whiche is grete displesure to the Carres.

The Busshop of Sancte Androwes and they ar wele agreed; and so he may come to the Courte, and he will; but he will not come there, unto he see the Courte changed of an oder fashone. The said Busshopp has releassed and geven to thErle of Arrain the Abbey of Kilwynnyng, and so the said Erle is gone to entre and take deliverance of the same. He has geven to thErle of Anguss two thousand marces Scottes, to George Douglas a thousand marces Scotis, to Archbald Douglas a thousand marces Scotis; and he has also geven to Sir James Hammylton a thousand marces Scotes.

The Abbot of Arboroeth, whiche is kynnesman to the Busshop of Sancte Androwes, has lyne all the Parliament tyme in Edinburghe for the fulfilling of this aggreament.

Drurye, a monke of Murouse Abbey, has gotten the bulles of the same Abbey at Rome, and caused them be proclamed; whiche has done grete displeasure to my Lorde Maxwell; for it will put his broder from the same by likelyhode, notwithstanding the King and the Lordes at this Parliament has inacted that no Scotisman shall prevale no benefice at the Poppes hand, excepte that they have licence of the King and the Lordes of the Counsaile.[1]

ThErle of Arguyle, thErle of Crawfurth, nowder of them come at this Parliament, but did kepe them out.

Asfor thordouring of good justice, there is noone done in all Scotland; for the Larde of Laughenbarre, who slewe the Larde of Brombye in Sancte Guyles Kirke dore[2], does go up and downe all this Parliament tyme at his pleasure in Edinburghe, without any maner of correction or punishment.

It is thought and oppenlye spoken all this Parliament tyme, that if the Quene do remane with the King, that the Courte wilhave a tourne; for the King has noone effection, nowder to thErle of Anguss, nor thErle of Arrain.

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[1] See the Acts 14 June 1526, where it is stated that the King, with the advice of the Queen and the Lords of the Council, had written his letters of commendation of the vacant Abbey of Melrose for the promotion of John Maxwell Abbot of Dundrennan, but that the King's letters to the Pope had been surreptitiously obtained for Andrew Dury; and the King declared the latter letters to be null, and ratified those in favour of Maxwell, pp. 301, 302. The same determination was repeated on the 17th of Nov., ib. 310, 312.

[2] The Diurnal states that M^clellan Laird of Bumbie was slain on the 2d of July at the north door of St. Giles's church, by the Lairds of Lochinvar and Drumlanrick, that is, Sir James Gordon and Sir James Douglas.

My

My Lorde, as in your owne causes, I can advertise your Lordship of no thing therof; but, within breif tyme aftur that I come in to the contrey, your Lordship shalbe advertished of every thing at lienth. And, as in all oder affayres of Scotland, your Lordship may be advertished by your servaunt Gares this berer. And the Blissed Trinite preserve Your good Lordship. At the castell of Norham upon Twedde, the 2 daye of December.

Your servand,

(*Signed*) CRYSTOFER DACRE.

My Lord, I besuche your Lordship to speke with Maister Chaunceler for some amendment of this housse; for of my fedelite there is never a chambre but it doys rayne in it, hall, kitching, ne oder; like as your servaunt this berer can shewe youe.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Dacre his good Lordship.

CLXIV. KING JAMES V. *to* KING HENRY VIII.

RITHT Excellent, Ritht Hie, and Mychti Prince, and our derrest Uncle and Brothir, We commend Ws unto Zou in oure maist hartlie wyse, praying Zou to grant at this oure requeste zoure lettres of saufconduct and sure pasport, in dew forme, to oure lovit clerk, Maister Johne Dowglas, and with him in cumpany uthir sex personis or under, his servandis or utheris, sauflie tocum within zoure Realme of Ingland at ony parte thairof, on hors or on fute, be sey land or fresche wattir, thair to remane and do thair lefull erandis, and at thair plessour to pase throw zoure said Realme to ony partis bezonde sey, and in sic wyse to pase and repase als eft as thai pleise, with thair horssis aswele stanit as geldingis, boxis, bulgettis, fardellis, money, gold, sylver, cunzeit and uncunzeit, letteris close and patent, and all utheris lefull gudis, without ony arrest truble or serche at zoure toune of Calyse or ony uthir toune port or passage of zoure Realme, and for the space of ane zeir nixt tocum eftir the day of the date of the samyn to endure. Ritht Excellent, Ritht Hie, and Michti Prince, and oure derrest Uncle and Brother, We pray God have Zou in keping. Gevin undir oure signete at Edinburgh, the 10 day of Januar, and of oure regime the 14 zeire.

(*Signed*) Zour lovyng Brother and Nepho,

JAMES R.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Ritht Excellent, Ritht Hie, and Mychti Prince, and oure derrest Uncle and Brothir, the King of Ingland, &ca.

CLXV. MAGNUS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace to be advertissed. I received this daye divers letters, booth frome Barwik, and frome oute of Scottelande, oone being addressed unto your saide Grace frome Patrik Singclere, whiche I sende up at this tyme purpoosely by this berer, and have commaunded the same to be conveyed unto your Grace with diligence.

Sir William Parre is nigh the pointe of depaching frome hennes booth with letters and instructions unto your saide Grace, wherby the same shall and may conceive the poore myndes of the Counseill here in sondery wises; and amongges other thingges, that there haith bene kept here a right solempne and an honourable Cristenmas, as the saide Mr Parre woll declare and shewe with further matier unto your saide Grace.

Theffecte of suche newes as I have frome oute of Scottelande be, that the Quene of Scottes, upon her speciall sute, and by her meanes, haith brought the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes ayeine into the Courte, and that he haith kept Cristenmas with the yong King and the Quene his moder. And, as I here, thErle of Anguisshe had a good somme of money to agre and consent to the same; whiche it is thought wolbe rather to his distruction in conclusion, thenne for his proufite. He is gentill and hardy, but he wanteth witte in conveyaunce of grete causes, oonles the same be doone by some other thenne by hym selff. This matier was brought to passe, as I am infourmed, by Archebalde Doglas, Provaste of Edinburgh, and uncle to the said Erle, contrary the myndes and oppynnyons booth of George Doglas and William Doglas nowe Abbot of Holy Roode Hous. As is said, the Quenes Grace haith the gretteste rule at this tyme aboute the yong King. I doute not but Her Grace woll breth myche to the same, and to bring ynne suche other as woll serve for her purpoos; to what effecte I doute, but I am sure it woll be soone esspied.

And, for somyche as I doute not your Grace remembreth there resteth a grete somme of money of the Kingges in the custody and keping of the Abbot of Saint Mary Abbay, wherof it is not to be douted but there is or shulde be a good somme of goolde and grootes; I therfore, upon knowlege had of the rasing of goolde, advised the said Abbot at divers tymes to have

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[1] Holograph. From the Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 171. This letter is catalogued in the year 1528, but appears from internal evidence to have been written in 1527.

good

good respecte to that matier, accoording to the truste the Kingges Highnes and your Grace putteth to hym in that behalve. He haith saide well at all tymes; yet nevertheles right soone ar grootes conveyed and putte ynne for goolde, and plakkes and pennys putte ynne for good grootes. Wherfore, under the correction of your Grace, I thenke it shulde doe well, if your Grace wolde declare your mynde touching this matier to the saide Abbot, by your gracious letters. The further ordouring of this cause I remytte to the pleasure of your saide Grace, whoom Almighty God ever have in His mooste blessed preservation. At Pountefret, the 10th day January.

Your mooste humble preiste and bedeman,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) T. MAGNUS.

Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CLXVI. MAGNUS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your good Grace to be advertissed. Of late a servaunte of the King of Scottes came hider, and brought unto me a letter from the Kingges Grace his maister, and an other frome the Quene of Scottes, conteynnyng booth oone effecte and purpoos, that I wolde doo somyche as to sende to the said Kingges Grace, three or foure cowple of houndes mete for hunting of the haire fox and other gretter game, and also a cowple of lyam houndes, being suche as wolde ride behynde men on hors back; as by the contynue of the said twoe letters, whiche nowe I sende unto your said Grace, at large it dooth appere.

Immediately upon the recept of the said twoe letters, I shewed thaym to my Lorde of Richemondes Grace, whoos Grace did right roundely rede thaym over, and furthwith had a naturall inclynation to doe pleasure to the said King of Scottes. Wherupon it was thought good to me, and to other of my Lordes Counsaile being here at that tyme, that insomyche as my said Lordes Grace is Warden Generall of all the Marches foranenste Scottelande, it shulde therfore be right convenient that my said Lordes Grace, for demonstration of good love favour and kyndenes, to doe pleasure with houndes or any other like thing to the said King of Scottes, specially by cause His Grace and the Quenes Grace his moder wroote booth for that matier unto me, knowing me to be here attending upon my said Lordes Grace. And over

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. VIII. Part 1. leaf 5.

this,

this, in my poore oppynyon, I did conjecture the sending hider of the said King of Scottes servaunte was to viset and see my Lordes said Grace, and to noote the maner fourme and facion of his householde, bruted in Scotlande of right high estimation. Howe be it, at my commyng from oute of Scottelande, I shewed booth unto the Kingges Highnes and to your Grace, that the said yong King was veray desirous to have houndes, and suche a person as well couth blowe an horne, to be sent unto hym. Thees premisses reasonned and considered amongges us here, my said Lord hath written, and sent to the said King tenne couple of his oune houndes, in suche maner and wise as your Grace shall conceive by the copy of his letter, whiche with this I sende unto your said Grace at this tyme, with other copies of twoe my severall letters nowe sent to the said yong King and the Quenes Grace his moder; trusting noe thing but myche goodnes, perfite love, and favour, by this meanes, shall encreace betwene booth the yong Princes, provoked furste on the partye of the said King of Scottes by his letters, and the letters also of the Quenes Grace his moder, send unto me as is afore saide.

I have also written to the good Busshop of Aburdyne, and to other myn acquaintaunces there, after a loving and familier maner; and specially I have written to the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes, myche lyke as I have doon to the Quenes Grace; shewing me to be right glad and joyous booth of the Queenes reparing to the yong King her sonnes presence, and of the commyng ynne of the said Archebusshop; declaring that by the Quenes good counsaile and faithfull assistence to be given to the same by the said Archebusshop, good liklihood is that the grete discoordes, debates, dissencions, and variaunces, that of late have bene amongges the Lordes in thoos parties, shalbe repressed appesed and reduced to good unitye and concoorde, to the universall weall reste and quietenes of that realme, and mooste specially for the weall surety and prousperous preservation of the Kingges person thair Soverane Lorde.

The Clerke of the Grene Clooth, that the Kingges Highnes and your Grace sent hider of late, is departid to Goddes mercy. Sethenne his commyng, he naither did take an accompt for the yere afore, nor from Auguste laste hiderwarde, to any good purpoos. The hede officers and Counsaill supposed that they had brought this house in a reasonnable good ordour afore my commyng hider, and soe did advertise your Grace by Doctour Tate[1], trusting that thay wolde soe contynue the same.

The

[1] In the Chapter House, State Papers Scotland, p. 656, is a paper signed by six members of the Duke of Richmond's Council and the Secretary, dated at Sheriffhutton 2 Sept. 18 Hen. VIII., and entitled "Instructions geven unto Maister Doctor Taite, Almoigner unto the Right High and Myghtie

The said Clerk of the Grene Clooth shewed unto me that, besides waiges fees and liverees, the charge of this house in a wook paste not over the somme of foure or five and twenty poundes. Wherunto I gave no credence, but, according to your gracious commaundement, did my duety, as I thought convenient, towardes the refourmacion of many thingges. Howe be it, insomyche as the officers and the said Clerc of the Grene Clooth were myche like of oone oppynyon, I did take some pacience and contynually called for an accompt to be shewed, aither for oone moneth or oone wook; whiche was never doon, for the deeth of the said Clerc of the Grene Clooth: whoo made many promyses, and specially that I and other of the Counsaile shulde have perfite bookes made of every thing, ayeinste my commyng frome the audites, and from oute of Northumberland, afore Cristenmas; whiche appointement was not kept, but further delaye made in that behalve till after Cristenmas. At whiche tyme, all the hede officers, and the mean officers, with the Clerc of the Grene Clooth, were assembled togaiders in the counting house, and there shewed unto me, by the mouth of M[r] Tempeste, that thaire charges were wookely five and twenty pound, or forty mark; declaring further that soe thay mought live. Doubting in this matier, and conjecturing in myne oppynnyon, what was the veraye trouth in that partye, I assembled all the said officers, and other the Counsaile, the next daie; and after some commynycacion had with thaym all, shewing that ofte and many tymes accoording to the Kingges high commaundment and youres, I had required to have had refourmacion of diverse and sondery thinges, that booth shuld have bene for my Lordes honour proufite and avauntage; and fynally shewed unto thaym that, where thay thought the charges of this house were in a reasonnable good trayn and ordour, thay were clerely deceived in thair oppynnyons, and that the same had amounted every wook, oone with an other, above the somme of fifty pound; and soe proved my sayingges theryn, that naither the said officers nor Counsaile couth deny the same. The said Clerc of the Grene Clooth with this was somdeall confused, and said that he wolde attempte and prove the matier ayeine. And what with watche, taking of coolde, and thought for this matier, in all our

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" Prince, Henry Duke of Richemonde and Somerset, by the Counsaill of the same Duke, to bee " by hym declared and shewed unto my Lorde Cardynalles Grace ymmediatly at his repaire now to " London." They relate principally to the Duke's establishment of revenue, and to matters connected with his office of Lord High Admiral. The only historical information contained in them is, that Sir William Lisle and his eldest son Humfrey had been committed prisoners to Pontefract castle by the Council of the North, and that Sir William, since he and other gentlemen of Northumberland had become bound in recognizance " to be of good abering and not commytte any treeson " fallonye robbery riot extortion or forcible entre," had committed riot and forcible entry, for which he was indicted at the last assizes at Newcastle.

oppynnyons

oppynnyons here, it was the cause of his deeth. Wherfore the said officers and Counsaile ar content nowe, that I shall putte in ordour the charges and expences of this grete householde. I truste to doe suche diligence therynne, that every thing shall appere unto thaym daily and wookely; and at every monith ende to have a playn declaracion of all the state of this householde, which is right highly charged.

I truste in breve tyme, conscidering oone mounth with an other, to conceive howe these charges wolbe maynteynned, and therupon shall advertise your said Grace afore Eister, if God geve me good health. For ofte sethenne my commyng hider, I have bene sekelewe and diseased. Yf any meanes be made to the Kingges Highnes, or to your Grace, for sending hider of any other to be Clerk of the Grene Clooth, after my poor mynde your Grace shall doe well not to be haisty therynne; remembryng the charges of this house, and that there be officers enowe here, if every man applye hym to his oune parte, as I truste verely thay woll doe.

Furthermoore, please it your Grace to understand, there is good rule kept on all the three Bordours foranenste Scottelande, and good redresse made on booth the sides; except for Liddersdaill, wherynne, as I conceive by suche letters and copies as I have received from Sir William Eures, Vicewarden on the Myddle Marches, booth the Counsaill of Scotteland and thErle of Anguishe have made right good aunsuer in that behalve, and shewed reasonnable excuse, whye that matier hath taken noe better effecte hidertowarde. Thus Almighty God have Your said Grace in His mooste blessed tuicion and governaunce. At Pountefret, the 14th daye of February.

Your mooste humble
preiste and bedeman,
(*Signed*) T. Magnus.

(*Superscribed*)
Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CLXVII. Duke of Richmond *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Pleas it Yowre Highnes to bee advertised, that right good rule and quyetnes is in thies parties, excepte that the theves of Liddursdale in Scotlande have bene steringe of late in the Borders towardes the Mydle Marches; for refformacion wherof I have written unto the Kynge of Scottes, likeas my Vicechambrelayne this berer canne report unto Yowr Highnes, besechinge owr Lord God

[1] Holograph.

longe to preserve Yowr Grace. Wrytten, at yowr castell of Pountefrete, the third day off Marche.

Youre lawly servaunte,

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges Hyghnes.

(*Signed*) H. RYCHEMOND.

CLXVIII. MAGNUS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace to be advertissed, that over and besides suche matier as at this tyme is adressed unto your Grace, concernyng the intended mynde and purpoos of the King of Scottes for repressing and subduyng the theves of Litheresdaile, I sende unto your Grace twoe letters, oone directed to my Lorde of Richemountes Grace, and the other unto me, frome the said King, conteynnyng thankes for the houndes late sent unto hym; as by the said letters at large it doth appere; declaring further the good mynde and favourable inclynation had by the said King to my said Lorde of Richemoundes Grace.

I have received diverse and sondery letters frome oute of Scottelande, conteynnyng that the Quenes Grace there, at her commyng ynne and reparing to the yong King her sonne, required that Harry Stewarde mought have licence to come to the Courte, and to contynue in the same. Wherunto the said yong King wolde not consent nor accoorde; by occasion wherof the Quenes said Grace departed, not oonly displeased for her party, but also farre oute of favour with the King, and as yet soe contynueth. And in like and semlable maner the Archebusshop of Saint Andrewes is avoided and kept from oute of the Courte: whoe, as I here, repareth to the said Quenes Grace lying now at Starling.

ThErle of Angwisshe hath the hooll rule and autorite aboute the said yong King, and Patrik Singcler is accepted into singuler favour; soe as nowe, withoute the daunger of any parson, he may speke and commyn with the said King at his pleasure, and hath appointed to mete with me at my commyng into Northumberland.

As every thing standeth in theese parties, your Grace shalbe advertised at my commyng up, whiche wolbe after Ester, by occasion that our busynes woll contynue in Northumberlande till after Palme Sonday. Good rule is kept on the Bordours on booth the partes: and brevely I truste to here of punysshe-

[1] Holograph. From the Museum, Caligula, B. III. leaf 301.

ment

ment to be geven to Liddersdaile, whiche matier wanteth noe calling upon. And thus Almighty God evermoore have Your Grace in His mooste blessed governaunce. At Yorke, in the Assise tyme, the 26th daye of Marche.

The King of Scottes hath geven me grete thankes for inducing acquaintaunce betwene hym and my Lorde of Richemoundes Grace, and also did gret chere to be made to my Lordes servauntes being a yoman and a grome, sent into Scotland with houndes, and gave to the yoman tenne pound sterling, and to the groome five pound.

Your mooste humble preiste and bedeman,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) T. MAGNUS.

Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CLXIX. ANGUS *to* KING HENRY VIII.

RICHT Excellent, Richt Hie, and Richt Michty Prince, in my maist lawly maner I recommend my humill and hertlie service unto Zour gude Grace. Emplesit the sammyn, I ressavit zour full honourable tender and richt lovable letteris[1], gevin under zour signett at zour castell of Windesore the 7th day of Julij last bipast, proporting and bering in effect the attemptat and cryme committit by Schir Williame Lisle, his sone, and complices, in brekin Zour Hienes prisone of Newcastell on ye ryver of Tyne, and of yair resort in yis realme; desyring me cause serce and seik ye saidis trespassouris, (and giff yai ma be apprehendit) convoye thame to zour nerrest approchane officiaris; lyk as mair at large is specifyit in Zour Hienes saidis writingis.

Richt Excellent, Richt Hie, and Richt Michty Prince, to certify Zour Celsitude, the Kingis Grace, zour moist deir nephew, my Soverane, incontinent eftir ye resait of zour letteris directit unto His Grace, callit me and Lord Maxwell, his Wardainis, accusand ws richt asperlie, and mervelling nocht litill we suld suffir resset ayde or supple be gevin to ye transgressouris of ye lawis of Zour Majeste his moist dere Uncle, considering the neirnes of blud, carnaill affectioun, mutuall kyndnes, and confideratioun standing betuix his

[1] See Vol. I. p. 211. In the State Paper Office are copies of the King's proclamation for the arrest of Sir W. Lisle and his accomplices, and of the Duke of Richmond's letters to James V. and Angus on the same subject: an original letter from Angus to Richmond on the 18th of August, assuring him that the fugitives were in the Debateable ground: another, of the 24th of August, from the Council of the North to Henry VIII., informing him that they had joined the Armstrongs, and were indicted for high treason: and a copy of Richmond's answer of the 7th of September to Angus, desiring his interference with the Armstrongs, who were Scottish subjects.

moist

moist dere uncle and His Hienes, and attour all yat, incontrarie ye virtew of ye trewis takin betuix the two Realmes. Quhairthrow I was movit mak haisty inquisicioun of ye saidis rebellis, and couth get na knawlege of yair habitude, hanting, nor repair within the bondis of myn office; but alsone as I ma be suerlie certifyit, in quhat part thai declyne, or ma be apprehendit, I sall nothir spair cost travell nor danger of body, to tak yair personis, deliver yaim to zour officiaris, conforme to Zour Graces desyris; nother
ye strait charge I have of zour moist dere nephew my Soverane yaironto, bot also for the greit kyndnes, gud report and speciall favouris Zour Hienes has done and daly dois randir unto my simpilnes (my meritis nocht sua deserving), that I hald my selff addettit bond and thrall to accompleise Zour Grace in yis and every behalve abouff all uyer cristin Prince, zour moist dere nephew, my Soverane and Maister, allanerlie exceptit.

Richt Excellent, Richt Hie, and Richt Mychty Prince, I beseik the Holy Trinite preserve Zour Hienes in langlyff, gud heilth, and prosperite, eftir zour moist noble hartis desyre. Writtin at ye Kingis Palice of Halyrudhouse, besydis Edinburght, ye 10 day of August instant, 1527.

Zour Grace humill servitour,

(*Signed*) Ar^D Erl of Angus.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Richt Excellent, Richt Hie, and Richt Mychty Prince, the Kingis Grace of Eingland.

CLXX. Magnus *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleas it Your Grace to be advertissed, albe it the tyme of the assise at Yorke approoched right nigh at my departing frome your said Grace, yet I came thider the seconde day of the said Assise, and did sitte there with the Kingges Justices and other of my Lorde of Richemountes Counsaile foure daies after.

At my reparing to Yorke I founde there Sir William Lisle and Umfray his sonne, and shewed your pleasure accoording to your gracious commaundement to Robert Bowes, aswell for receiving of Swenons warde, as for inditing of the said Sir William, as his demerites required. Diverse and sondery complaintes were presented by Sir William Ellerker and oone Roger Heron ayeinste the said Sir William Lisle. Theffecte of Sir William Ellerkars com-

[1] Holograph. From the Museum, Caligula, B. III. leaf 44.

plainte

plainte resteth upon this; he alleggeth that, for somyche as he, being Shereiff of Northumberlande, awarded a replevy ayeinste Sir William Lisle for a distresse by hym unlaufully taken, as is surmitted, and that he sent his servauntes, at the requeste of the party greved, to execute the same; the said Sir William Lisle, accompanyed with an hundreth persons, riotously came to the lordeship where as the said Sir William Ellerker doth duell, and there did take and cary away in forceable maner 40 hede of noote. Sir William Ellercar, hering of this matier, folowed, having with hym but thre persons in his company, and mette with the said Sir William Lisle, and axed hym whye that he, in suche riotous maner, did drive and take away his catell. Sir William Lisle said, he did the same by cause that Sir William Ellercars servauntes had made maisteres in his lordeship; saying also, he was as free in the same as was the King, and that naither the King nor any other his officers, if he mought be a party to thaym, shulde medle withynne his said lordeship. The thre persons that were with Sir William Ellercar, being sworne, have depoosed that Sir William Lisle did speke the same woordes.

Roger Heron alleggeth that, where as variaunce striffe and debate is betwene hym and the said Sir William Lisle, as thay were commynnyng to gaider, the said Sir William said to the said Roger, "What? meanes thowe to "strive with me? woll thowe wynne any thing at my handes? I have "ruffelde with the Warden, and also with the Cardinall, and truste to pluk "hym by the noose." The Vicar of Felton, being a chanon of Brinkebourne, curate to the said Sir William Lisle, a kynnesman of his, and an other his servaunte, being allegged to have bene wittennes in this matier, were sent foore to Yorke, and being sworne were examynned; but thay wolde not confesse any suche woordes spoken ayeinste your said Grace. Afore my commyng to Yorke, Sir William Lisle had copy of the complainte putte up ayeinste hym to make aunsuer unto, and also the said Vicar, and the other twoe persons, that were sent foore to have depoosed ayeinste the said Sir William Lisle, were contynually in his company afore that thay were examyned, soe as it was to be suppoosed, thay were all agreed to gader what shulde be spoken. For every oone of thaym in thair depositions agreed in substaunce with other. The said Sir William Lisle and his sonne, aswell for other matiers as for theffecte of the premisses, be booth committe to warde in Pountefret castle.

Justice had good place at Yorke with goodly apparaunce of gentilmen, and lawly obesaunce to the Kingges Highnes and his lawes; where there sufferde 16 persons. The Kingges said Justices desired me to be with thaym at the assise at Newcastle, and soe I have bene; where also was Sir Christofer Dacre,

Dacre, Sir William Eures, Sir Thomas Tempeste, Mr Fairfax Sergeant, Robert Bowes, and other of my Lorde of Richmountes Counsaile. There hath not bene seen soe grete an assise afore, and soe good apperaunce of gentilmen; all men using thaym selves mooste lowly to obbey to the Kingges lawes and his high commaundementes, insomyche that noe man was in fere to complaine, nor to geve evidence ayeinste the theves and malefactours; wherof there was putte to execution 16 persons, many of thaym of the grete surnames and hedesmen booth of Tyndaill and Riddesdaile; twoe of the Fenwikkes, diverse other of the Shaftehouse, Pottes, Haulles, and Hedelees, did suffer. Suche a thing hath not bene seen at oone assise in those partes afore; as I am sure the Kingges said Justices woll shewe unto your saide Grace.

I have sent to my Lorde of Comberlande the commission for keping of Warden Courtes upon the Weste Marches, and have deliverde other twayn, to the same effecte and purpoos, to Sir Christofer Dacre and Sir William Eures for thEste and Myddle Marches. The said Sir William Eures hath taken upon hym to be Levetenaunte of the Myddle Marches, and to be Keper booth of Tyndaile and Riddesdaile, with the fees assingned by your said Grace, saying, he was and ever wolde be at the Kingges high commaundement and youres, and that he woll geve the substaunce of the said fees to the gentillmen of the contrey, to thentent the Kingges said Highnes may be better served in those partes, and the contreys ruled and defended accoordingly. Howe be it veray desirous he is to have my Lorde of Richemountes fee, which is 10£; and, as I conceive, he setteth myche moore by the same, thenne by a thing of farre gretter valour. There is a towardnes for good rule to be kept in Northumberlande; and, for the better inducing of the same, I and other of my Lorde of Richemountes Counsaile have appointed to be ayeine in Newcastle, for keping of the quarter sessions, afore Martynmas, and to see for ordouring of other causes as we have doon at this tyme.

There is a good and an honeste gentill man Shereiff of Northumberlande, called Cutbert Radcliff, sonne to Sir Edwarde Radcliff, whiche Shereiff is geven to good rule, and mynded to doe the beste service he canne to the Kingges Highnes and your Grace, and this yere hath shewed hym selff like a good and true officer.

The said Mr Eures and I have commynned and devised to gaider by thadvice of other, howe that Tyndaill may be brought to good ordour, withoute suche charge as by the inhabitauntes of the same is putte to my Lorde of Richmountes household, by keping of sondery plegges, besides sondery other lying in diverse places. It is thought good that Tyndaile men shulde not come to the knowlege of Yorkeshire; whiche they doe by occasion

sion of thair commyng and going; and that therfore it were right necessary some other remedy were founden, where the plegges shulde remayn moore nigh to thaire oune contrey, and lesse to the charge of my said Lorde of Richmount. Whiche is thought mought be by some good letter to be written from the Kingges Highnes, or from your Grace, to Sir Antony Ughtred, desiring hym that where there shalbe chosen of the mooste principall surnames in Tyndaile, for plegges, 36 persons, making in the hooll thre tymes 12, to be laied at three sondery tymes of the yere, ever by the noumbre of 12 persons for plegges; he wolde applye the waiges of 6 or 7 soulgeours of Barwik, every of thaym at 6£ 13^{s} 4^{d}, for geving competent mete and drinke to the saide 12 persons, after the rate of 18^{d} by the wooke; whiche 12 persons, as is suppoosed, shulde, for the defence of the saide toune of Barwik and the contrey, doe asmyche or moore good by aventuring of thair bodies, as wolde the said 6 or 7 soulgeours. This is but a motion to be conscidered, as it shall pleas your said Grace, for refourmyng of Tyndaile to good rule, avoiding daungier by thaym to ensewe to Yorkeshire, and to exclude thaym for putting of my Lorde of Richmount to soe high charges as contynually thay doe at this present tyme.

The Bordours booth of Einglande and Scottelande, touching thEste and Myddle Marches, kept never better rule, thenne yet thay doe, and have doon sethenne my departing frome thaym, withoute any ordour taken by any of the Wardens or Levetenauntes on aither side. I truste, conscidering that nowe Vice Wardens, Levetenauntes, and other officers be deputed and ordoured, myche better rule and ordour shalbe had and kept upon the said Bordours.

Furthwith nowe at my retournyng into these parties, I intende to doe the beste I can to putte my Lorde of Richmountes householde in good ordour; wherof I have some doubte; but, as I shall fynde and procede in the same, I shall advertise your saide Grace, whoom Almighty God evermoore have in His mooste blessed preservation. At Shereiff Hooton, the 17th daye of Auguste.

Your mooste humble preiste and bedeman,

(*Signed*) T. MAGNUS.

(*Superscribed*)
Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CLXXI. Magnus *to* King Henry VIII.

Pleas it Your Mooste Gracious Highnes to be advertised, that ymmediately upon my commyng frome oute of the south parties, I repared to the Assise thenne to be kept at Yorke, where, conscidering the good rule and quietenes of the contrey, there was but litle busynes, and soe fewe thingges to be doon as have not bene seen afore, as your Justices of Assise canne and woll reapoorte unto Your said Highnes.

Frome thennes I and other of my Lorde of Richemondes Counsaill paste to the Assise at Newcastle, aswel for the assisting there of the said Justices, as to putte the contrey of Northumberlande in some better ordour thenne it was at that tyme, and specially to procure thapprehending and taking of Sir William Lisle, his sonne, and other thair adherentes, and to devise wayes for the resisting and repressing of his ungracious actes and attemptates commytt in the said contrey.

And insomyche as the said Sir William Lisle, his sonne, and other thair adherentes, did not oonly breke the prison and gaill in your castle at Newcastle upon Tyne[1], and there did putte at large diverse your rebelles, outclawes, haynouse fellons, and murderours, but also, at oone tyme sethenne, thay came nigh to the lordeship of Widerington belongging to Sir William Ellercar, and there fellonuously did steill take and drive awaye nigh forty horses, oone and other, and conveyed the same with thaym into Scotland; and, in breve tyme after, the said Sir William and the other, accompanyed with Scottisshe men, came to a towne belongging to the said Sir William Ellercar, and brent, spoilled, and robbed the same; wherupon these haynouse and ungracious actes commytte and doone by the said Sir William Lisle, his sonne, and other, contrary to thaire trouth and duety of allegeaunce, were inquered of afor the said Justices of Assise, where by an honourable inqueste of the beste gentillmen in Northumberland, some of kynne, and nigh alliaunce to the said Sir William Lisle, and his sonne, thay booth with the other be indited of treason, and soe proclamed, not oonly in the open Assise, but also in diverse and sondery places withynne the countye of Northumberland, and upon all the three Bordours fore anenste Scottelande.

Diverse of my said Lorde of Richemondes Counsaill, being as yet in the north contrey, have appointed to mete with me here to morowe, for ordouring of sondery causes; and therfore ymmediately Your gracious Highnes

[1] See Vol. I. p. 211.

shalbe

shalbe further acertaynned in the premisses, and what devices we have taken for the better ordouring of the said contrey of Northumberland, where is grete darth of corne, and myche povertye; and the same therby, and specially Tyndaill and Riddesdaill, myche the moore suspecte to breke and go at large. Howe be it, I truste suche wayes ar taken, that the gentillmen of the contrey shall doe contynuall watche and good esspiall to be kept, and not oonly be diligent to the defence of the contrey, but also to contynue in drede, if thay doe offende or pretermytte any thing in that behalve, that nowe is commaunded unto thaym in the name of Your Highnes.

I have harde diverse and sondery oppynnyons to avoyd the daungears, hurtes, and harmes that ar suppoosed likly to be doone and commytte by the said Sir William Lisle and his sonne in Northumberlande, and canne not withoute gret coste fynde soe convenient wayes and meanes as have bene commynned betwene Sir Thomas Clifforde and me, for the apprehending and taking of the said Sir William Lisle, and his sonne; by reason that my Lorde of Comberlande hathe in his handes oone of the heddesmen of the Armestrongges in Scotlande, as the said Sir Thomas Clifforde woll shewe unto Your Highnes all at large. And, for somyche as it is not to be doubted but the said Sir William Lisle hath knowlege and advertisment howe all the hooll contrey of Northumberlande standeth, and is highly charged for his taking and subduyng, he therfore woll contynually putte his doubtes to be in thoos partes, withoute any grete drede or doute in maner to be had by hym of the Weste Bordours, where the practise to be commytte by the said Sir Thomas Clifforde is intended and purpoosed by hym to be putte in execucion, yf soe it may stande with your mooste gracious pleasur.

The said Sir Thomas Clifforde bringgeth unto Your Highnes aunsuer of your mooste gracious letters lately sent unto the King of Scottes and to thErle of Angwisshe, and in breve tyme my Lorde of Richemondes Grace doth looke for aunsuer also of suche letters as his Grace hathe adressed, sethenne my commyng hider, to the said King of Scottes and thErle of Angwisshe, copy wherof in haiste, with other letters, shalbe sent unto Your said Highnes.

Patrik Singcler, servaunte to the King of Scottes, mette me at Newcastle, and amongges other thinges shewed unto me the contynuall truste, and high confidence that the yong King his maister hath in Your mooste gracious Highnes, and that the Quenes Grace his moder doth lye for the mooste parte at Sterling, and repareth litle to the Courte there. He shewed me also, as I knowe of trouth, there hath bene of late a grete assemble and a Counsaill kept at Edinburgh; where as thArchebusshop of Saint Andrewes

and a grete parte of the noblemen spirituall and temporall were to gaider, and that amongges other thingges it was concluded that thErle of Angwisshe shulde be Chauncellor of Scotlande, and that the Busshope of Aburdyne, being an honourable and a vertuouse wise man, shulde be assistent unto hym. Soe that it appereth the said Erle contynuethe in good autoritye. As further thing shall occurre, aither in Scotland or in these partes, Your gracious Highnes shalbe therof advertised by the Grace of God. Whoe evermoore have Youe, my mooste dradde Soveraine Lorde, in His mooste blessed tuicion and governaunce. At Yourke, the 22ti daye of Auguste.

Your mooste humble preiste servaunte and bedeman,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) T. Magnus.

Unto the Kingges mooste graciouse Highnes.

CLXXII. The Duke of Richmond's Council *to* King Henry VIII.

Please it Your Mooste Gracious Highnes to bee advertised, that where in oure letters late sente unto Your said Highnes we asserteyned the same that my Lorde of Richemoundes Grace, upon certaine consideracions, had wryttene bothe to the King of Scottes and unto thErle of Angwyshe, aswell for thapprehending and taking of Sir William Lysle, Humfrey Lysle his sone, and others their adherentes, and delyvering of theym unto my said Lordes Vicewardaynes on your Borders, as for good rule to bee observed and kepte on the same your Borders by the partie of Scotlande: so it is, that the said King of Scottes and Erle of Angwyshe have bothe addressed their severall letters of awnswer at this tyme unto my said Lordes Grace, right effectuelly couched and penned in full honourable maner and fourme, lyke as shall and maye appere unto Your said Highnes by the same; whiche letters, with a letter addressed unto me, your mooste humble servaunte, Thomas Magnus, from Sir Cristofer Dacre Knight, Vicewardayne of your Este Marches foranempste Scotland, we sende unto Your mooste gracious Highnes at this tyme.

Amonges other thinges we conceive, by the contynue of the said Erle of Angwyshe letter, that Sir William Lysle is residente in the Debatable grounde[1] with the brokene men (as he affermeth) of bothe the Borders, mysruling and disordring the cuntreys next adjoynyng therunto, in suche a

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[1] This was contradicted by Sir William Eure in a letter of the 12th of September to the Duke of Richmond's Council. Caligula, B. III. leaf 209.

maner

maner and facion that, if he bee suffred, he wolle put alle at large in those parties.

Besydes this we understande dyvers and sundry matiers from oute of Scotlande, by the purporte of the said Sir Cristofer Dacres letters, lyke as Your gracious Highnes maye conceive therby at large; and in effecte we note pryncipally oone thing, whiche is, that the said Sir Cristofer doubtethe, that for lak of metinges at dayes of true, and making of redresse by the Scottes, the Borders shall shortly breke; by occasyon wherof (as he alleggeth) suche inconvenyences shall ensue, as wolde be hardd to be refourmed in brief tyme herafter.

Wherfore, aswell regarding thespeciell note conteyned in the forsaid Erles of Angwyshe letters, as the advertisemente of the said Sir Cristofer Dacre, with sundry other causes by hym declared touching thaffayres of Scotlande, we have devised letters sente furthe from my said Lordes Grace to the said Erle of Angwyshe yn Scotlande, to thErle of Cumbrelande Vicewardayne of your Weste Marches, and to Sir William Eure Knight Vicewardayne of your Mydle Marches, as well penned as we cane devyse to serve for the purpose, copyes wherof we sende also unto Your Highnes, that by the same Your said Highnes shall and maye have intelligence, howe that my said Lordes Grace advertisethe thErle of Angwishe, beyng Chauncellour of Scotlande and the greate Counsailloure there, to have speciall regarde with deligence, accordinge to his auctoritie, that dayes of true furthwith, and with alle spede, maye bee appoynted and kepte upon the Borders, withoute over shoting or disapoynting, as they have bene of late, and that due redresse maye bee made withoute delaye, and your rebelles and fugityves to bee apprehended and takene, and not to bee ayded socoured or releved (as they bee in dede) by the Armestronges of Scotlande, wherof some of theym bee servauntes to the said Erle of Angwyshe; and soo my said Lordes Grace hathe playnly declared unto hym, as shall apere by the said Erles owne letters, redy to bee shewed. And thus Almyghty God have You, oure mooste drad Soverain Liege Lorde, in His mooste blissid tuycion and governaunce. Written at the Manour of Medley, the 7th daye of Septembre, by your mooste humble subjectes and servauntes,

(*Signed*) T. Magnus
(*Signed*) Wyllm̃ Parre
(*Signed*) Jo. Uvedale

(*Superscribed*)
Unto the Kingges mooste gracious Highnes.

CLXXIII. Duke of Richmond's Council *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleas it Your good Grace to be advertised; that at youre late departure towardes youre greate journey into the parties of Fraunce[2], we received youre full honoureable letters and credence, delivered and shewed unto us by Maistir Thomas Magnus, Directoure of the Counsaill here; and according to the same, we with the beste pollicie we canne (considering the greate charges whiche bee likely to ensue for this yere folowing) have applied, and shall endevoure us in every behalf, to accomplishe observe and folowe the contynue of the same. And where as we have dischargid divers of my Lorde of Richemoundes servauntes, suche as best maye bee spared, and mooste specially for theire mysdemeanures in sundric wise used, in cace they or any of theim shall chaunce to repayre either to the Kinges Highnes, orelles unto your Grace, to thentente they maye bee acceptid and takene againe into service, we thene beseche your Grace (as it shall stande with the pleasure of the same) to considre the greate nombre of servauntes wherewith my said Lorde of Richemounde is charged, and the greate scarcite apparaunte for this yere, not like to bee susteyned withoute putting the Kinges Highnes to further greate costes and expensis.

Soo yt was, that ymmediatly upon the departure of youre Grace from London towardes youre said journey, Sir William Lisle Knight, Umfrey Lisle his sone, thene being in warde within the castell of Newecastell upon Tyne, not oonely brake the prison there, and escaped furthe of the same castell, but alsoo put at large and toke out with hym divers and sundrye haynous theves murdrers rebelles and outelawes (aswell Scotishe as Englishe) being thene in prisone there; and furthewith passid into the realme of Scotlande, there unyting and banding theymselffes with a cumpany of theves, callid the Armestronges, manyfeste offendoures and haynous mysdoers to bothe realmes. By force whereof (albe it the cuntrey of Northumbrelande (before the said escape) was in as good a traynte of justice as heretofore hathe bene senc in those parties) divers and sundrie persones, being more inclyned unto spoyle and robbries thene to any due confirmytie of justice, have repayred and associate theim to the said Sir William and others his adherentes. And thereupon the

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. VI. leaf 147.

[2] See Vol. I. pp. 191–281.

said

said Sir William, at divers and sundrie tymes, (assisted with the said Armestronges and others the theves of Liddirsdale) have entred into the parties of Northumbrelande, and there have brente, spoyled, robbed, reved, and heried many the King oure Soverain Lordes subjectes inhabitid there, to theyre uttir undoing, and the greate ymbolding of the wilde people of Tyndale, Riddisdale, and of all other places upon the Borders.

At the last assise at Newecastell upon Tyne the said Sir William Lisle, Umfrey Lisle, and William Shaftoo, and sundrie others theire accomplicis, Englishemen, for theyre haynous actes aforesaid, were and bee indited of treason before the Kinges Justices there, the copies whereof with all the circumstaunces of the same, the Kinges Attourney had up with hym, to bee shewed unto the Kinges said Highnes and unto youre Grace.

And, insomoche as it was right well knowen and conceived, that the cuntrey men there did not endevoure theymselffes with deligence to resiste pursue and folowe the said malifactoures and outelawes for theyre repressing and apprehending (as apperteynethe unto theyre ducties to have done); we therefore, with thadvise of our Souverain Lordes said Justices, caused the said Sir William, and all others his confederates, to bee proclaymed traytoures, aswell at the said assise, as alsoo through all the thre Marches, adding to the same suche extreme daungers and grevous ponyshementes, as by the lawe shulde ensue, to all suche as in any wise ayded socoured releved or assisted the said Sir William, or any his said adherentes, by any meanes. And over this, we exhorted, monysshed, and in the King oure Soverain Lordes name straitly commaundid aswell all the gentilmen, as all others thinhabitauntes of the said countie of Northumbrelande, to endevoure and applie theymselffes to kepe due watches, and to bee redie at all tymes upon hewe and crye to pursue and folowe the said malifactoures, according to the lawes and statutes in suche wise provyded.

At divers and sundrie tymes (calling to rememberaunce the effecte of the treatie of peas concludid bitwene bothe realmes) my Lorde of Richemoundes Grace hathe writtene bothe to the King of Scottes, and unto the Erle of Angwishe nowe Chauncelloure of Scotlande, for thapprehending taking and delivering of the said Sir William and others, the Kinges rebelles, receiptid in Scotlande; and at all tymes hathe had right good and pleasaunte aunswers. But of truethe no good successe hathe yet hiddirto ensued thereupon; whereof we doo not a litle marvaile, considering the effectuell promysis made by the said King and Erle, in that behalf.

All this notwithstanding, the said Sir William, with the others his accomplices,

plices, contynuelly persiste in theire ungracious and detestable demeanures, dailye doing greate hurte and dammages in Northumbrelande. And, because we conceive the cuntrey of Northumbrelande dothe not theire duties ner deligence for the resisting of the said attemptates, but permyttethe and sufferethe the said Sir William and all thothers frely to passe and repasse, in maner withoute resistence or interuption, and that alsoo we undirstande many other ill disposed parsones, aswell of Tyndale, Riddisdale, as of other places of Englande and Scotlande, dailye commytte sundrie robbries and spoyles undir the pretence and coloure of the said Sir William and other outelawes; we therfore for the more savegarde of the said cuntrey have done Sir William Eure Knight to remove from Harbottell, and advised hym to lye with his servauntes at Felton, or nigh thereaboutes, being a lordship of the said Sir William Lisle (whereunto he and his said sone mooste oftene doo resoorte, and have theire mooste socoure and releeff). And for the more suertie and bettir furnyture of the said Sir William Eure, we have devised that he shalhave with hym there 30 or 24^ti^ horsemen at the leest of the souldeours of Barwik; all whiche with his owne servauntes we esteme to ammounte to the nombre of threscore parsones; and have devised to geve every oon of the same 60 parsones (because that horsemete and all other vitailles bee verie scarce and extreme dere in those parties) foure pens by the daye, during the space of twoo monethes to bee issued furthe of my Lorde of Richemoundes coffers, untill suche tyme as the Kinges mooste gracious pleasure and youres shall and maye bee knowen in that partie.

We entende alsoo that certaine houses within the woodes of the said lordship at Felton, belonging to the said Sir William Lisle, shalbee brente distroyed and pulled downe; and the corne haye and vitailles there either to bee caried thens, and ymployed to the releeff of the said Sir William Eure and his company, orelles to bee brente and distroyed: wherby the said Sir William Lisle, ner none of his, shalhave any aide releeff or socoure in that quarter, where hathe bene theire chieff refuge.

And, where we undirstande that divers women and other symple parsones bee and have bene theire espielles and messengers, we have commaundid the said Sir William Eure tattache and put the same in warde, within the gaole at Newecastell.

And bicause it is thought unto us that the said Sir William Lisle (failing of his socoure aide and releef at Felton and thereaboutes, whenne he or any of his shall chaunce to stele in) woll resoorte unto a nother place of his called Newton, nigh unto the borders of youre Bisshopriche of Duresme (like as he hathe

hathe done of late) youre officers there, with thassistence of the Erle of Westmerlande, entende in briff tyme to prepayre and to have good watche and espiell, aswell for his apprehending, as for resisting of his malice, if he shall presume to attempte any hurte in that cuntrey.

Furthermore we signifie unto youre Grace that, asferre as we cane in anywise conceive, albe it the said Sir William Eure is Shiref of the countie of Northumbrelande, Vicewardeyne and Lieutenaunte of the Mydle Marches, and Kepar of Tyndale and Riddisdale; yet we doo not see that he can or maye serve the Kinges Highnes soo substauncially, as he ought to doo in that cuntrey, considering the greate hurtes and haynous attemptates commytted more oftene upon the Medle Marches thene in any other places; and that thinhabitauntes of that cuntrey doo nother arrise assemble nor stere with hym for the defence of the same: like as your said Grace shall conceive by his owne letters, whiche we sende unto you herein inclosed.

Fynally, in oure mooste humble wise we beseche youre Grace to considere, that the receipte ayde assistence socoure and releeff, that is geven to the said Sir William Lisle, and to all others the rebelles and outelawes of this realme, within the realme of Scotlande, is the chieff and principall cause of all the mysordre of the said Borders, and gevethe a high occasion and comforte to all others ill disposed parsones to bee bolde, and to bee of suche ungracious demeanures. Wherefore thapprehending and due ponyssing of the said Sir William Lisle for his demerites wolde bee a comforte to all good and true men, and a terrible ensample to all other like offendoures. Whereunto, with all oure pore experience and pollicie, we shall endevoure and applie oureselffes (for as moche as in us is) to the beste we canne or maye. As knowethe Almightie God, who evermore have You, oure good and gracious Lorde, in His mooste blissid tuycion and governaunce. Writtene at Yorke, the 16^{the} daye of Octobre, by youre mooste humble servauntes,

(*Signed*) BRIAN HIGDON. T. MAGNUS.
(*Signed*) W. BULMER. T. TEMPEST. ROBERT BOWIS
(*Signed*) JO. UVEDALE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Legates Good Grace.

CLXXIV. Eure *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleasith Your good Grace to be advertised. Of late I did certifie your Grace of the demeanour of the countre, and how oft I have demandit justice and redress of the Scottes for suche offensis and attemptates, as ar commyttid and doon by the surnames of the Armestranges Nixsons and Crosers, with whome Sir William Lisle, and all other his adherentes, ar reset, and daily rides to gethers, and commyttis birnynges murdirs and herthschippis within the realme of Englound; and as zit I can get no remedie thereof, bod aunsweris of delayes, to the utter undoing of the Middill Marchies of Englound, and the Kingis trewe subjectis dwelling within the same. Wherefor pleasith your good Grace myne pore oppynyon is, where with I humble beseche your Grace not to be myscontented, that outher ther must be well horset men abiding and remaynyng upon the frounteres of Englound for anempst Liddirsdale, as at Hattwyssill, Hexham, Swyneburn, Gonnerton, and Chipchace, or elles the surenames of Armestranges and others, with the owtlawis above writyn, haith wele ne utterly distroyed the hede of Northumbrelond and the water of Tyne; and or Cristynmas, in myne oppynyon, without hastie remedie, it schalbe clerely distroyed. For I doo ly my selff at Herbottell, whiche is the middle parte and uttermoost frontour of the Middle Marchies, and the greatest hurt that the Scotes and owtlawis in tymes past was, to come in ther, and doo harmes in Englound. And by cause of my lying ther, they comme downe the water of Tyne, whiche is 16 myllis from me; and soo, pleasith your Grace, I am not of power to kepe boithe the placez. Where throughe, without hastie remedie, seing ther is no punyschment in Scotland for Liddersdale, bod the countre wilbe utterly distrooed. Not withstanding, I shall doo the uttermost that lyeth in my power to withstand ther malice as long as I may, and nother sparre my bodie nor goodes, as ferre as thay will ryche; humble beseching your good Grace to tender the premyssis, and what case the countre and I standithe in. And thus Jesu preserve Your good Grace in honour and helthe. Writyn at Herbottell, the 27 daye of October. Your humble servaunt at commaundment,

(*Signed*) Wyllm̃. Eure.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legaites Grace this be delyvered
in goodly haist.

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. IV. leaf 82.

CLXXV. ANGUS *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

RICHT Excellent, Richt Hie, and Rycht Michty Prince, in my maist lawly maner I recommend my humyll service unto Zour Celsitude. And, forsamekle as ye samin hes directit diverse letterz unto ye Kingis Hienes zour derrest nevo my Soverane, and to my simpilnese, for ye apprehensioun of Schir William Lisle, sone, and complicis, rebellis to Zour Majeste, and as zit zour princely petitioun nocht fulfillit; howbeit ye Kingis Hienes my Soverance standis of veray gud will and mynd yeronto, and has causit strait proclamationis be maid attour all ye partis of his Bordouris for ye taking or slaying of ye saidis misdoaris, and hes promisit gret guerdoun and reward yarefore, in semlable maner as my Lord Duk of Richemondis Grace causit proclame on yat syde. And, as for my self, I sall laubour and do deligence, nycht and day, to accompleise Zour Hienes, nocht anerlie in yat behalf, bot alsua in all uyeris materis, as I am gretlie adettit to do yat thing mycht be plesand on to Zour Majeste. Maist humlie beseiking ye samyn to pardoun my sympilnes, and have pacience, quhill yat mater may be brocht to gud purpose; and at it wald plese Zour Hienes cause scharp wache and spiell to be execute apoun ye saidis rebellis on yat parte as salbe done here. And I traist in God within breif tyme all sall cum to gud pase, conforme to zour maist noble hartis desire: and in verite I sall never be at rest nor quiet in my mynd, nocht sparand pane trawell nor expensis, on to ye tyme Zour Celsitude be satisfyit in ye premissis.

Rycht Excellent, Rycht Hie, and Rycht Michtie Prince, I pray ye Blissit Trinite to preserve Zour maist noble Persone in honour and prosperite. Writin at ye King my Soveranis Palace of Halyrud house beside Edinburgh, ye secund day of November, 1527.[2]

Zour Grace humill Servitour, &c.

(*Signed*) ARD CHANCELLAR.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Richt Excellent, Richt Hie, and Richt Mychty Prince, ye Kingis Hienes of Eingland, &ca.

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[1] From the Chapter House, Letters to King and Council, Vol. I. No. 9.

[2] Caligula, B. VII. leaf 101. is a letter of the same date from Angus to Wolsey, which, after congratulating him on his return from his "vayage in ye partis bezond," proceeds on the same subjects, and nearly in the same terms, as the above letter.

CLXXVI. Angus *to* Wolsey.[1]

My Lord. In my maist hertly maner I recommend my service unto Zour Grace. Emplesit the sammyn I ressavit zour full honorabill and effectuose letters, gevin at zour place besydes Westmynster the 5th day of December instant, certifying and bering in effect, that be the tenour of my lait letters zour Grace dois persave my gude mynde and dispositioun in sicthingis as ma tend to the continuance and nurising of gude luff and amite betuix the Kingis Hienes my Soverane and his derrest uncle the Kingis Hienes of Eingland, ministratioun of justice, and punising of ewil doaris, to the restfulnes of baith the realmes; geving me lawd and pryse, mair yan my meritis ma deserve, togidder with zour full wyse and substanciouse gude counsall, quhilk salbe to me as command and charge: and that, sen perpetuall peax is establissit betuix ye realmes of Eingland and France, thai, that wald saw discorde betuix the Kinges Hienes my Soveran and his derrest uncle, can nothir have favouris thare nor in France, and giff occasioun to all thre the Princes to have thame at haitrent; and forthir desyring reformation tobe maid, concernyng Sir Williame Lisle and his complices, of the attemptatis and myscheiffis committit be thaim according to the vertew of treux: lyk as at mare lenth is specifyit in zour said letters.

My Lord, plesit zour Grace be rememberit, how my forbearis in all tymes bipast has bene about to foster and furthbeir good luff peax and rest betuix thir twa realmes and athir of the Princes yerof, as is notourly knawin to all and sindry in yir partis succeding eftir thame. And giff I wald presume tobe sa bald or foilhardy, nocht followand the futsteppis of wysmen past of before, to attempt or do otht incontrair yer wysdomys, I mycht be well reput and haldin rycht unwyse, and mare attour baith unthankfull and unkynd, considering the neirnes of blud the twa Princes standis in at this tyme, the greit kyndnes and humanite, speciall favouris, and diverse gratitudes done to me be the Kingis Hienes of Eingland and zour Grace, sa that my haill mynd and intentioun has evir bene, sen I grew to ony perfectioun, (and mekill mair sen I was constitut in office and auctorite, and ane hevy cure laid on me) to

[1] From the Museum, Caligula, B. VII. leaf 93.

study

study alwayis possibill for the intertenyng and uphalding of gude peax amite and concord betuix thir twa realmes, punising of trespassouris, and puttin of justice to dew executioun, and to do yat thing mycht be acceptabill or plesand to ye Kingis Hienes zour Soveraine and zour Grace, above all erdly Prince, his derrest nephew my Soverane allanerly exceptit. Bot, as for the favouris of France or ony yerin, salffand the plesure of the Kingis Hienes zour Soverane and of zour Grace, I set it at litill, or ellis rycht nocht bot in gudlynes; for I fand na favouris thare, bot collusioun and dissait, as is wele kend.

And now the noyis is the Duk of Albanie procuris salffconduct and licence of the Kingis Hienes zour Soverane, to returne here, allegeand he has my Soveranis consent yerto; the contrary tharof is verray trew, as His Hienes has declarit before Leonard Musgraiff, gentilman. And I traist fermly the Kingis Hienes of Eingland and zour Grace has providit sa surely and substanciously for ye wele and indempnite of his derrest nephew, enduring his lese age, that ze will now continew and persevere, quhen His Grace is growin to consider the sammyn be perfit intelligence. And I ma knaw the Kingis Hienes zour Soveranis gud mynd and zour Gracis in that behalff, I sall, with Goddis Grace, resist the said Duk, and do His Hienes mair steid and plesure with lefull service, yan he ma do.

My Lord, as anentis Sir William Lisle, his sone, and complices, rebelles and tratouris, I assure zour Grace to do extreme diligence, but dissimulacioun or delay, as all the cuntre sall clerely ken, to satify and fulfill the Kingis Hienes of Eingland and zour Grace desyris in yat behalff: and wald that zour Grace plesit to send ane gentilman here to remane, that he mycht understand the verite and my part in yat mater, and quhat pane and travell of body, costis and scaithis, I and my frendis dois daly sustene, to bryng yat to gud effect, nocht for na pensioun nor sowmes of money, but allanerly for the speciall favour my simpilnes beris to the service of the Kingis Hienes zour Soverane, and singlar emplesure to zour Grace. And, quhen I and my frendis has perfurnisit His Hienes and zour Gracis desyris on oure awin expense, I will refer the reward to His Hienes and zour Gracis greit wysdome. Maist inteirly beseking the sammyn to solicit and cause the Kingis Hienes zour Soverane charge my simpilnes with ony service to me possibill, and I salbe fundin als reddy and of glaid hart yeronto, as ony uyer siclyk of his retinew or houshald, with all ye steid and plesure I can or ma do to zour Grace; myn allegeance to my Soverane and Maister allanerly exceptit. And thus ye Blissit Trinite preserve and keip Zour Grace. Writtin at the Kingis

Kingis Hienes Palace besydes the Abbay of Halyrudhouse, the 29th day of December, 1527.

Zour Gracis with all service,

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Cardinalis Grace, &ca.

(*Signed*) Ard Chancellar.

CLXXVII. Northumberland *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Pleasyth yt Your most noble Grace to be adwertyssed off your affayrs in thes your north partes off your Realme. Sens my last wrytyng unto Your gracius Hyghnes off the occurrantes off the sayme; the 21th day off January, on Edward Horslay, my Lord Legattes servaunt, and Thomas Eryngton, my servaunt, with other off my Lord Legattes tenauntes and myne, mayd affray apon Wylliam Charleton, other wyse callyd Wylliam off Shotelyngton, the hyed rebell off all the howthlawes, and on Harre Noble, Archbold Dood, and Rogyer Armestrang; whych forsayd rebelious personnayges had beyn in the Bysshopryk of Durram, and robbyd dyverse persons, and taykyn away a prest with them presoner; and in ther retorne and conflycte was slane the forsayd Charleton and Noble, and Dood and Armestrong taykyn. Whych 2 wher condemnyd at a Warden Coort, by me holden for the sayme the 27 day off Januarij; and for the owttragious crymes by the sayd Armestrang commyttyd and don abowttes Nowcaistell, I causyd hym to be hangyd ther in chaines, and Archbald Dood in lyke cayse at Awnewyke, wher he had most offendytt, and Wylliam Charleton at Hexsam, and Harre Noble at Heyddon Bryge, wher the sayd confflecte was don. Apon whych descomfortor as I suppos, and that yt was ferryd among the other rebelles that I wold have mayd a royd apon them in short spas, Wylliam Lysle and Humfray hys sone, with 15 other of the rebellius personayges, as I was comyng from mas on Sonday last, the mett me in ther sherttes with halters abowtes ther nekkes, and submyttyd themselffes with howth ony maner off condecion unto Your most gracious marcy, the most humble and lowly bescheyng Your most gracius Hyghnes off your tender and pettius marcy, orels the wher redy to byde the execucion off Your Graces most dredfull laws, accordyng unto ther demeryttes. Whych persons I stryght way comyttyd unto prisons with in

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[1] From the Chapter House, Letters to King and Council, Vol. III. No. 50 a.

my

my pouer castell off Alnewyk, for the sayff kepyng off them unto suche tyme as I may know forther off Your most gracius Hyghnes pleasouer; the whych known, I shall indevour my selffe, acordyng unto my most bondon duty, to the accomplychment of the sayme, with howth affection favour mede or dred off ony person.[1] As knowyth the Holly Trenite, who preserve Your most gracius Hyghnes. At Alnwyke, the 28 day of Januay.[2]

Your mooste humble servant
and lowly subject,
(*Signed*) HŸ NORTHMBRELAND.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges most gracius Hyghnes.

CLXXVIII. TUKE *to* WOLSEY.[3]

PLEASE it Your Grace. Yesternyght, after my departure from the same, I was advertised that oon of the 16, whiche besides Sir William Lisle and his son Humfrey came in with halters aboutes their neckes, is a yonger son of his, being not past 12 or 13 yere old; who, as it is said, never offended, but that he hathe been oute with his father, peraventure fearing lest he shulde lak bred at home.

Like it your Grace, I am neither moved of affeccion, mede, or other parcial cause, as I take God to recorde, for I never knewe nor sawe the parties, nor have to do with any their frendes aliance or acquaintance; but whither it be of faderly compassion, for I have children of myne oune, and on moche of that age, vel nescio quo spiritu ductus, the remembrance of this innocent hathe caused me, that in my bed this nyght I coude not forbere to water my plantes, having in fresh remembrance, what I knewe in King Henry the VIIth days was considred and alleged towching the difference bitwene the Kinges lawes and an instinct or lawe that is in nature; when Sir James

[1] In the Chapter House (State Papers Scotland, p. 598), is a deposition of Humfrey Lisle, sworn on the 6th of June, 20 Henry VIII., disclosing twenty-five different offences of murder, robbery, prison-breach, and arson, committed by his deceased father Sir William Lisle, himself, and their servants, confederates, adherents, and part-takers, sometimes accompanied by Scots, and at other times by Englishmen only, all which Englishmen are stated to have been put to execution of death.

[2] On the same day Northumberland wrote a letter to Wolsey to the same purport, and inclosed in it a copy of the above. Caligula, B. VII. leaves 112, 113.

[3] Holograph. From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. XII. No. 56.

Tirel

Tirel and Sir John Wyndham wer put to dethe, and their sonnes upon that consideracion pardoned. I thought convenient to advertise your Grace, what was shewed me of the said yonger son; most humbly beseching the same to pardon me of my boldnes and symple pitee.

Your mooste humble servaunt and bedman,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) BRIAN TUKE.

To my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CLXXIX. LORD DACRE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your good Grace to be advertised. Where as I wrote unto your Grace in my laste letters, howe that I had sent your Graces letters, and severall letters frome my self, to thErle of Angus, and had received none ansuer frome hym; soo it is I have nowe received from the said Erle a letter, whiche I doo send your Grace herewith[2], by purporte wherof your Grace may perceive, that ther woll nothing be done in thes causes wherin your Grace wrote to hym, unto the Tewisdaye next aftur Lawsondaye. And, sith that it is so that I can git none other remedye but siche drifte, I shall doo my best to kepe thys Bordoure in a staye and suretie, for as yet it haith taken no maner of harme, sith my last writing to your Grace, notwithstanding all the perpensed mallice of our ennymeys enempt us; and shall also attend upon the meating, and kepe it upon my parte; and, as we then shall doo, certefie your Grace with diligence. I have had my servauntes, lieng with the said Erle of Angwis, calling upon hym for this mattier sith Shroftide, supposing that he wolde have

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[1] From the Museum, Caligula, B. VII. leaf 28. The date "1525" has been added at the end of this letter by some old, but not contemporary, hand. In the catalogue it is placed under the year 1526. Both these dates appear to be wrong, and the true date to be 1528. It is material only, as the letter contains intelligence of the marriage of Queen Margaret to Henry Stewart, an event to which the historians assign very different dates, but most (if not all) place it earlier than the spring of 1528. That such is the true date of this letter is proved from several circumstances: 1528 is the only year within the scope of this letter, in which the 27th of March fell on a Friday; and the same observation applies to Saturday the 4th of April, occurring in Dacre's letter of the 8th of April, which is proved by its contents to be contemporaneous with that in the text. The indictment and examinations against Richard Grame are partly in the same volume, leaves 212–215, and partly in the Chapter House, and are expressed to have been taken in March, 19 Henry VIII., that is, 1528.

[2] Caligula, B. VII. leaf 27, dated 19th March, and signed "Ar^D CHANCELLAR." He says the King has gone forth on his pastime, which will keep him till Easter, and on his return Lord Maxwell shall make redress; and prays Lord Dacre to suspend all matters till Tuesday after Lawsunday.

bene

bene more qwyk in it, then he haith bene. Howbeit, he shewed my said servauntes that he woll soo doo, and use hym self in it, soo as the Kinges Highnes and your Grace shalbe content; and for that cause forberes to wryte unto your Grace, unto suche tyme as he shalhave done that thing whiche may pleas the Kinges said Highnes and your Grace in that behalve.

Pleas it also your Grace, I warned a Wardein Court and a session of peas, to holde in Carlisle, and to begynne upon Fridaye the 27 daye of the moneth of Marcij last, and again the same tyme I attached 21 of the moost principall offendours of thes parties, to my knowlege; and delyvered them unto Sir Edward Musgrave, Shiref of this shire, to be by hym kept in the Kinges gaole within his castell of Carlisle. And soo, according to my said warnyng, I beganne the same court and session upon the same Fridaye, and contynued about the same unto the Mondaye at night following. And of the same 21 personnes ther were cast at the Warden Courte upon Satturday 5, and at the sessions upon Monday 3, that is to say, two Armistranges, two Hadringtons, one Routlege, one Taillour, one Bulman, and one Ashbrig, being the principall surnames of this Bordour; whiche were put to execution accordinglie. And the reste ar repryed to the next quarter sessions, which shall hold immediatlie aftur Ester weke. Ther was one of the said offendours that was delyvered unto the Shiref, named Riche Grame, being the moost principall person and hedesman of all this Bordour, and maried with the Armistranges, that I took for betrasing of me and my company to the said Armistranges, when I burned the Debatable ground; indicted of treason for the same cause: whome I purposed shuld have bene hanged drawne and quartered for his detestable offence, albeit upon Sondaye last about noone the saide Riche Grame was suffred to escape out of the Kinges said castill of Carlisle. The manour of his escape, by thexamynation of sundry personnes examyned afore me and other Justice of Peas, is this: the said Riche Grame goyng lowse up and downe within the said castill, by the commaundement of the Under Shiref Syr William Musgrave, son of the said Sir Edward, yevin to the gayollour; howbeit that he was delyvered sufficiently irned; and the yates and a pryvey posterne towardes the feildes standing oppen, lapp out at the said yates and posterne, where he faund a man with a led hors redye to receive hym; and soo he roode awaye wythout any pursuyte. I have warned a session to hold in Carlisle upon Satturdaye next, to thintent that the escape maye be inquyred upon, for the Kinges advantage and the condigne punyshment of the same. I assure your Grace, thoughe I doo write at this tyme but barely in this mattier, it is one of the mooste oppen and shamefull mattiers

that haith bene sene in thes parties; like as your Grace shal knowe moore plainlie in breif tyme. And trulie moore harme is like to ensue upon it, for I fere that all his freindes shall goo into Scotlaund with hym, and take his part. I truste that grete pursuete shalbe made to the Kinges Highnes and your Grace for a pardon for the escape; and if any pursuyt be made, I besiche your Grace to suffer none to passe, unto suche tyme as your Grace be fully advertised of the veraye treuth of the mattier, conscidring that the traitour is indicted of such a treason, whiche is accompted to be highe treason, and soo shamefullie escaped out of the innerwarde of the Kinges castill, of the dailight, at oppen yates, and a pryvey posterne in the utterwarde, whiche haith not bene accustomed to be oppen, but at tymes necessarie.

And where your Grace wrote unto me in your Graces letters that ye had spoken with Thomas Musgrave anempt the delyverye of Beawcastell to me, who was well contented soo to doo; and for that purpose sent downe his servaunt; and where also your Grace sent me commaundement by my servaunt this berer that I shuld receive it, and medle with no prouffites belonging to it, but only with the boundes about it: pleas it your Grace I have sent to vieu the house, and trewlie it is clere in ruyne and decaa, so that no man can dwell within it, unto it be repayred. And over that, Thomas Musgrave, Deputie, haith clerelye spoled it, and taken awaye all the lede that was upon it and within it, and broken downe all the glaswindoyes, and left nothing that he coth distroye or carye awaye. And asfor any prouffit that can be rased of any ground or other thing about the said hous, I assure your Grace it woll do no man good, as is well knowen. And therfore I besiche your Grace to be soo good and gracious unto me, considring that your Grace obteigned me the patent therof of the Kinges Highnes, as to cause the said Musgrave surrendre his patent, according as your Grace was mynded at my departure frome your Grace: and I shall reasonably agree with hym at your Graces pleasoure; for I am sure your Grace wold think grete folye in me to take that the Kinges hous to kepe, beyng soo grete a charge as it is, and to have no maner thing aither to the keping or reparacion of it.

Asfore newes of Scotlaund, Henry Steward haith maryed the Quene of Scottes[1], as she haith confessed her self: and for that cause the King her son caused

[1] Her divorce from Angus appears by the following certificate to have taken place either in 1527 or 1528. In page 369 the former year is mentioned; but as the commencement of the year was, at that period, far from settled, and the 25th of March was the more usual, it is probable that the sentence of the 11th of March was in 1528 rather than 1527.

"Nos Petrus, miseratione Divina, Episcopus Sabinensis, Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalis, "Anconitanus nuncupatus, Universis et singulis præsentes literas nostras inspecturis fidem facimus "et

caused the Lorde Arskyn and a certein companye to lye about the castill of Sterling, to attache hym; and thereupon the said Quene delyvered hym out, and soo he is put in ward by the Kinges commaundement.

" et attestamur, qualiter nos alias, tanquam Judex et Commissarius per Sanctissimum Patrem " Nostrum Papam in Romana Curia in causa et causis inter Serenissimam Dominam Dominam " Margaritam Reginam, uxorem quondam claræ memoriæ Domini Jacobi Quarti Scotorum Regis " Serenissimi, actricem ex una, et illustrem Dominum Dominum Archibaldum Douglas Comitem " Angusiæ, de et super nullitate et invaliditate prætensi matrimonij inter eos contracti et consum- " mati, rebusque alijs in actis causæ et causarum hujusmodi deductis, et illorum occasione partibus " ex altera specialiter deputati, ita suadente justitia, nostram diffinitivam sententiam Romæ die " undecima mensis Martij anni a Nativitate Domini millesimi quingentesimi vigesimi septimi pro- " mulgavimus; cujus quidem sententiæ tenor sequitur, et est talis. Christi nomine invocato, de " Dominorum Jurisperitorum consilio per hanc nostram diffinitivam sententiam, quam pro tribu- " nali sedentes, et solum Deum præ oculis habentes, ferimus in his scriptis, sententiamus, pronun- " tiamus, decernimus, et declaramus in causa et causis, quæ coram nobis inter Serenissimam Majes- " tatem et Dominam Dominam Margaritam Reginam, uxorem quondam claræ memoriæ Domini " Jacobi Quarti Scotorum Regis Serenissimi, actricem ex una, et illustrem Dominum Dominum " Archibaldum Comitem Angusiæ adversarium, de et super nullitate et invaliditate prætensi matri- " nonij inter ipsos ut dicitur contracti et consummati, rebusque alijs in actis causæ et causarum " hujusmodi latius deductis, et illorum occasione partibus ex altera. In prima versæ fuerunt et " vertuntur instanter prætensum matrimonium inter præfatos Dominam Margaritam et Archi- " baldum Douglas contractum et carnali copula consummatum, fuisse et esse nullum et invalidum, " ac de facto processisse, ipsumque propterea, et prout processit, de facto dissolvendum, ac per- " petuum divortium inter ipsos Dominam Margaritam et Archibaldum faciendum esse, prout " dissolvimus et facimus, dictumque Dominum Archibaldum ad restitutionem omnium et singu- " lorum mobilium immobilium et se moventium bonorum quorumcunque, occatione dotis a præ- " fata Domina Margarita habitorum et receptorum, relaxationem restitutionem et dimissionem con- " demnandum, cogendum, compellendum, et constringendum, condemnamusque, cogimus, compel- " limus, et constringimus, oppositiones quoque et contradictiones et recusationes et impedimenta quæ- " cumque per præfatum Dominum Archibaldum Comitem eidem Dominæ Margaritæ in præmissis " et quolibet præmissorum et circa ea quomodolibet factas et præstitas, factaque et præstita, fuisse et " esse themerarias, indebitas, injustas, et iniquas, themerariaque, indebita, injusta, et iniqua, et de facto " præsumptas et præsumpta, illasque et illa eidem Domino Archibaldo Comite fecisse aut facere " minime licuisse neque licere de jure, ac de et super illis prætensoque matrimonio hujusmodi et " alijs prædictis eidem Domino Archibaldo Comiti perpetuum silentium imponendum fore, et impo- " nimus; ipsumque Dominum Archibaldum Comitem tam in fructibus ex prætensa dote et bonis " prædictis, de tempore motæ litis prædictæ citra perceptis, quam in expensis in hujusmodi causa " coram nobis pro parte præfatæ Dominæ Margaritæ legitime factis condemnandum fore, et con- " demnamus, quarum taxationem nobis in posterum reservamus. Ita pronuntiavi ego Petrus, " Cardinalis Sabinensis, quodque dicta sententia, nulla provocatione suspensa, in rem transivit " judicatam. Nosque ob absentiam nostram a dicta Curia literas executoriales desuper decernere " non potuimus. Ea propter vos omnes et singulos supradictos hortamur in Domino, ut præsenti " nostræ fidei veritatisque attestationi fidem indubiam adhibeatis, et adhiberi faciatis, in judicio et " Ecclesia. In quorum fidem et testimonium præsentes literas manu nostra propria subscripsimus, " nostrique sigilli appensione muniri mandavimus. Datum Anconæ, in Palatio Episcopali, anno " a Nativitate Domini millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo octavo, die vero secunda mensis Aprilis, " Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo Patris et Domini nostri Domini Clementis, Divina Providentia " Pape Septimi, anno quinto.

" Per Cardinalem Sabinensem,

" (*Signatur*) Sixtus Zuchell^{9} Secre^{tr}$_{\rho}$"

The Counsaill of Scotlaund beying to giddres at Edinburghe now lately, haith caused oppen proclamacions to be made in every parte of the coste of Scotlaund, that none of the Kinges subjectes reseant within any of the good townes upon the said coste, shall by of any Frenshmen, any prise, Flemmyn, Spaynyard, or Esterling; or ayde or assist any Frencheman with vittaill or any oder things of intent to take any siche prises within their stremeys; and if any suche Flemmyn Spaneyard or Esterling flee for succour in any havin or cryke upon the said coste, that thay shalbe received ayded and assisted with vittalles, and suffred to departe without taking of any harme.

ThErle of Angwis come downe to the Bordoures to have made a roode of thArmistranges, and assembled his companye, and the Carres of Tevydale refused to go with hym, bicause that thaye were under bannde of assuraunce with the said Armistraunges; and soo he retourned for that tyme, and made out letters in the Kinges name, to proclame the said Armistraunges the Kinges rebelles, and to blowe out uppon theim; as the custome is ther. Whiche letters the Lord Maxwell gat, and wold not suffre theim to be put in execution within his Wardenrye. Wherupon the said Erle of Angwise is now commen downe again to the Bordoures to Jedworth, purposing to make a roode emongest the saide Armistranges, and to put the said letters in execution: and whedder he woll soo do or not, I knowe not. The Lorde Maxwell caused the said Armistranges to make a roode upon the Lard of Johnston, his oune suster son, who is at dedely fede with theim, for the killing of mikill Sym Armistrang; where thay killed thre of his freindes; and the Lord Maxwell hym self laye in a bushement to manteigne theim, purposely to have killed the saide Larde of Johnston, if he had pursued theim.

I do send your Grace herewith the commission of gayoll delyverye of this shire of Cumberlaunde; beseching your Grace to cause a new commission to be made, and moo parsonnes of the shire to be put in it of quorum; for, bireason that ther is but one of the shire of the quorum, we couth not sit by it, but by the old commission. For, asfore siche as be of quorum within the said commission that ar not within this shire, thaye do never come in thes parties, but ons in the yere at the generall assise.

I was in the Debatable grounde now lately, and ther brynt and distroyed suche houses as was left unbrynt, and specially one strong pele of ill Will Armistraunges, buylded aftur siche maner that it couth not be brynt ne distroyed, unto it was cut downe with axes. And so, according to your Graces instructions, I thinke the said Debatable grounde be now clere waiste, for to my knowlege there is no houses of any effect left within it, except a part of Cannonbye, wherin I have written to your Grace to knowe the

Kinges

Kinges pleasoure and your Graces, with my poore opynnyon therin. And the Holy Trinitie preserve Your good Grace. At Nawarde, the secound daye of Aprill.

Yours with humble serwys,
(*Signed*) WILLM̃ : DACRE.

CLXXX. LORD DACRE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEASE it Your good Grace to be advertised. Where, emongest other thinges in my last letters, I advertised your Grace of thescape of one Riche Grame out of the castill of Carlisle, who is indicted of treason; so it is, sith that tyme, the freindes of the said traitor ar loppen to hym into Scotlaunde, that is to say, his fader, and his 7 brether, and 30 other personnes that dwelled under theim, where thay and their goodes ar receipted ayded and manteigned by the Lord Maxwell, who takes theim clere to manteignance, aswell as he doth the Armistranges. And I can have no remedie therof, unto the meating whiche thErle of Anguise haith appointed with me to holde upon the Tewisdaye next aftur Lawsondaye, wherof I have advertised your Grace; where the said Erle hath promised a part of the King his maister Counsaill shalbe, and then I shall ask deliverance of the said rebelles and their goodes according to the treux; and in the meane tyme I shall write to the said Erle of Anguise accordinglie. And if I shall fynde theim then towarde and well mynded to good reull, and that they woll maike good and indelayed redresse for the partie of Scotlaunde, according to the treux, like as I shalbe redy to do for the partie of the Kinges Highnes, I shall soo taike and geve, accordinglie; and therof certefie your Grace in deligence. And in cace I fynde theim otherwise mynded with driftes and delayes aftur their accustomable maner, and that thay woll not punysse ne reforme this grete enormyties used daily by the Lorde Maxwell, being the King their maister officer of the West Marchies of his Realme, considring his manefest and plaine demeanour sounding and appering none oder but to the clere breche of the Bordoures, if the same do lye in his power; I shall leve this Bordour being under my charge in a sufficient stay, and theraftur with all diligence reasorte to your Grace, at post, to thintent that I may knowe the Kinges pleasour and your Graces, how I shall ordour me for the well and suretie of this his Bordour commytted to my custodie. For, if the said Lord

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. IV. leaf 37.

Maxwell

Maxwell be suffred to continew afture this maner, it shall not be possible for me at lienth to kepe it in a stey; albeit I shall for my partie do soo, and use my self according to your Graces instructions, aswell in defence of this said Bordour, as in all other thinges being under my charge; that the Kinges Highnes and your Grace shalhave no cause to arrect any blame in me, God willing.

Pleas it also your Grace, uppon Satturdaye the 4th daye of this instant moneth of Aprill, I with other Justices of Peas within this shire of Cumberland kept a session at Carlisle, for tryeing of thescape of the treatour afore named, according to my writing. A part of the gentilmen that were pannalled to inquere upon it were appointed and sworne at the sessions holdin upon the Mondaye next afore; and the rest were sworne the said Satturdaie. And soo, aftur their charge gevin unto them, and evidence of the said escape, thay went furth. And, howbeit that the same escape was oppen and shamfull, according as I advertised your Grace, and their evidence plaine and manefest; yet by reason of suche grete lawbour as was made to a parte of theim, thaye wolde not fynde it perfitelie. And, when thaye had sittin all Satturday and unto Sondaie at aftur none, thaye couth not all agree, but deasired to com out, and then gave in the bill, which was delyvered unto theim to be founde, miche raced; wherunto two of theim wold not consent that any part of it shulde be raced. Howbeit, the other 11 parsonnes said plainly that thaye wolde geve none oder veredict. Wherupon by the counsaill of the Justice of quorum being lerned, we tooke it that thay gave us. And, considring that thaye have looked thus sklenderlie upon the said escape, howbeit that the same is one heynous offence, and that by meane therof so grete an inconvenient haith ensued, to the grete daungier of the Kinges true subjectes; therfore, and to thintent that the mattier maye be oppen and plaine to the Kinges Highnes and your Grace, according to my formor writing, and that your said Grace may take further direction in it, as by sending for the gentilmen of the said inquest tappere afore your Grace, or otherwise as shal best stande with your Graces pleasour; I doo send unto your Grace herwith a book conteyning theffect of all thole mattier, that is to saye, the copie of thindictament of the traitour wherupon he was areyned, the copie of the booke of thexaminacion of sundry personnes aftur he was escaped, of the manour of his said escape; whiche, with moore, overtidious to be written to your Grace at this tyme, was declared unto the said inquest for evedence; the copie of the bill that was gevein to theim to be inquered upon, and the copie of asmuche of the said bill as thaye have founde, with the copie of their names. The principall of all the said copies remanes here of recorde, incace

the

the said inquest wold denye any parte of the mattier conteigned in theim. Under correction of your Grace, good it is that this mattier be substancially looked upon for insample of the countrey. And the Holy Trinitie preserve Your good Grace. At Naward, the 8 daye of Aprill.

Yowrs with humble serwys,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) Willm̃ Dacre.

To my Lorde Legat is good Grace.

CLXXXI. Angus *to* Sir C. Dacre.[1]

Richt Honorabill Sir, and weilbelovit Cousing, I recommend me unto zow in my maist hertlie maner. Certifying the sammyn, the Kingis Hienes my Soverane and Lordis of his Counsall, set for the zeill of justice, repressing and punising of trespassouris and brekaris of the Bordouris, sa that the subjectis on baith sydis ma leiff in tranquillite and restfulnes, conforme to the trety of peax takin betuix the Princes of thir twa Realmes, has thocht maist gavand and ane army to be rasit the 22 day of Junij nixt tocum; quhar the Kingis Hienes my Maister, helpand God, purposis to pas in propir persone, lyk as mair lenth is specifyit in the writing directit fra my Soverane to his derrest uncle the Kingis Hienes zour Maister; and ordanit me to mak manifest unto zow and uyeris officiaris on thai Bordouris, exorting the sammyn to have reddy gaderit and assemblit togidder, agane the said day, all and syndry zour Soveranis subjectis within the bowndis of zour offices and possessionis, to cum foranent my Soveranis said army, to se cerse and be sickir that nane of the saidis malefactouris, thar wyffis barnis nor gudis, be resset or suppleit within the realme of Eingland; in sic sort that name of thame escaip to underly correctioun for thar demeritis and enormiteis, bot to incur extreme confusioun and ruyne; in augmentatioun and fostering of mutuall kyndnes, common wele, and amicable correspondence betuix bocht ye realmes and liegis yerof. And because I knaw my Lord zour nephew is instantly abuff at the Court[2], I do nocht writ to him, bot to zow allanerlie for the West Marchis, and sall herefter,

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[1] From the Chapter House, State Papers Scotland, p. 82.

[2] Lord Dacre had left the North before the 17th of April, of which date there is in the same Volume a letter to him from Sir Christopher.

aucht

aucht dayis before the said diet, advertise zow of new yerof; will God, quha conserve zow eternalie. Writtin at Edinburght, the 27 day of Maij, 1528.

Zowr Cowsyng,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) Ard Chancellor.

To the richt honorabill and my weilbelovit cousing, Sir Cristopher Dacre, Wardane of the West Marchis under his nephew, &ca.

CLXXXII. Lord Dacre *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleas it Your good Grace to be advertised. Yisternight I received writinges frome the Bordours, wherof one cam out of Scotlaund from thErle of Angwise directed to myne uncle Sir Christofer Dacre concernyng thaffaires of the said Bordours, whiche I shuld have presented unto your Grace this daye, if I had bene well. Howbeit it haith chaunced me soo, in my commyng home frome Cantorburie, where I was in pilgramege nowe in this vacacion, sith the departure of your Grace frome hens, to take a fall of my horse, and to breke my left arme, overthuart a cartspirn, bireason wherof I maye not at this tyme adwaite upon your Grace, whiche is moore displeasour to me then the greif of my sore, considring as the cace standeth, and that I cannot be with your Grace to declare my poore opynnyon; but I trust to God within 8 or 10 dayes to be in good cace, soo that I may se your Grace. Wherfore I doo send your Grace herwith at this tyme the said letter, that cam from thErle of Angwise, to gidders with a letter that cam frome the Lorde Maxwell to my said uncle; and one oder letter whiche cam frome my wife[2]; wherby your Grace may perceive in what cace the said Lord Maxwell staundeth, and the Bordors of both the sides; and how the King of Scottes, and the said Erle, is determyned to doo for steying of the same, as the said Erle affermeth. Humbly besiching your good Grace that I may knowe the Kinges pleasour and your Graces, what ordour shalbe takin within the boundes that is comitted to my custodie, incace the said King of Scottes com forwardes, according as the said Erle writeth. Under correction of your Grace, in my poore opynyon I think it good that substanciall ordour be takin along all the Bordours of this the

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. IV. No. 36.

[2] Caligula, B. II. leaf 178. She was Elizabeth daughter of George Earl of Shrewsbury; in the note to p. 39. she is erroneously stated to have married *Thomas* Lord Dacre.

Kinges

Kinges realme againste Scotlaund, soo that the same may be furnyshed, in cace any of the said rebelles flie out of Scotlaund frome the King of Scottes at his commyng downe to the Bordours, and drawe into the wilde parties of the Bordors of this realme, that thaye maye be apprehended and holdin out, so that the said King of Scottes nor his Counsaill shalhave no cause to lye any default in the Kinges officers of his Bordours. For, if thaye maye chace theim ons out of Scotland, thoughe thaye be no longer frome thens then the said King of Scottes abode upon the Bordours, but manteynentlie retourne again after he be departed, yet thaye woll arrect all the default upon this side. And therfore good it is that we soo joyne enempt theim, that thaye have no suche cause. And, asfore my part, whiche is miche in this behalve, considring as all the rebelles upon the Bordours of Scotlaund joynes upon the West Marchies of this realme, being my charge, upon the Kinges pleasour and your Graces knowen, I shall so provide, by the soverance of God, that during the said King of Scottes abode upon his Bordours for apprehending and bringing to sylence of the said rebelles now reseant ther, He nor his Counsail shalhave no cause to complene for any refuge that the said rebelles shalhave within the boundes of the said West Marchies. And soo, if he woll hold his purpos, and remaigne upon it a good season, I doubt not but the Bordours shalbe in a better quyet within breif tyme.

I besiche your Grace to remember the letters that your Grace commanded to be made to the King of Scottes and thErle of Angwis, upon the said Erles desire made in his letters, whiche I shewed to your Grace, and aftur delivered the same to Bryane Tuke by your Graces commaundement; for nowe, under correccion of your Grace, I do rakin that good advertisementes frome the Kinges Highnes and your Grace to the said King of Scottes and Erle of Angwis shuld com in good season, again the setting forward of the said King with his armye in this jorney, and be a good meane to quikkin and sharp theim towardes their purpos with good effect. And the Blissed Trinitie preserve Your good Grace. Written at my poore hous without the citie of London, the 9 daye of Junij.

Yours, with humble servys,

(*Signed*) WILLM̃: DACRE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates good Grace.

CLXXXIII. King James V. *to* King Henry VIII.

Richt Excellent, Rycht Hie, and Mychty Prince, our derrest Uncle, Broyere, and Confiderate, We gif Zow our maist cordialle recommendacionis. Plesith Zow have knawlege We have inserte in oure letters, direckit to ye Wardanis on zour Bordouris, ye cause quhy presentlie ye raid and ost, till have bene led incontrar ye thevis and rebellis on oure Bordouris, wes delayit and postponit, quhilk now maire planelie We schaw wnto Zow. Derrest uncle, Ze sall onderstand ye Estatis of oure Realme and Consaile ar in ane parte discontentit of ye ordoure of justice ministrat in tyme bypast be ye Erle of Anguse oure Chancellaire, and inlykwyse We have oft and diverse tymes considerit mony apperand dangeris and inconvenientis on ye Bordouris of baith ye Realmys, hendering of justice and due redress, in defalt of oure said Chancellaire, as We ar informit. And for ye haisty remeid and reformacioun in ye premissis We have set ane generall Counsaile universalie of ye Estatis of oure Realme in Edinburgh ye 10 day of Julij nixt[1], quhaire, God willing, be ye avise of our weill myndit Consaile, We sall provyde sua, yat ye direct and rycht ordoure of justice withoute percialite may be ministrat universalie till all oure liegis wythin our Realme, wyth gude and deliberate determinacioune tuichand ye effaris of oure Bordouris, and in syk manere yat in tyme cummyng yair sall nocht be syk occasioune of plantys, as hes bene in tyme bypast, to ye effect amite luff and frendschip betuix Ws, baith our Realmes, and liegis, may have encrese and fortherans. Thairfore, derrest uncle, in caise ye said Erle wald meyne wnto Zou of oure onkyndnese or of our Counsaile, We pray Zow hertlie gif nay haisty credens yerto, wnto ye tyme Ze persave quhat parte We keip wnto Zow and zour liegis, throw ye reformacioun now laitlie to be devisit, and ye effect of ye samyn beand ryplie and weill considerit.

Richt Excellent, Rycht Hie, and Mychty Prince, ye Blissit Lady mot ever have Zou in governance. Gevyne onder oure signet, at oure castell of Striviling, ye 23 day of Junij, and of our regime ye 15 zeir.

(*Signed*) Zo^{r} lovyng Brother and Nepho,

James R.

(*Superscribed*)

To ane Rycht Excellent, Rycht Hye, and Mychty Prince, our derrest Uncle, Brothere, and Confiderate, ye King of Inglond, &^{ca}.

[1] There are no proceedings of this date in the Scottish Acts.

CLXXXIV. The Articulis and credence to be schewin be our familiar servitour and gentilman of House, PATRIK SINCLER, to our derrest, maist tender, and bestbelovit Brothir and Uncle, ye King of Ingland, in our behalf, be ye avyse of ye Lordis of our Counsale.[1]

IN ye first, ye said Patrik sall recommend Ws rycht hertlie to our said derrest brothir and uncle.

Item, ye said Patrik sall declare, yat, quhar ye Erle of Angus wes in ye partis of Fraunce be avyse and ordinaunce of ye Estatis of our Realme, and yar eftir be our said unclis support help and supple come in his Realme, and ye said Erle, being weil trettit be Him, come in yis our Realme, and ressavit thankfullie, put to hie autorite and governance at our said derrest unclis instance and request, traisting at ye said Erle suld haif governit and usit our autorite virtuosly, to our weil and honour, and interteneing of gud peax and amite betuix Ws, our Realmes, and liegis.

Item, ye said Patrik sal schewe to our said derrest uncle, yat eftir We had ressavit ye said Erle to our familiar service, promovit him to ye principale offices of our Realme, wyth diverss uyer prerogativis aboun uyer our Baronis, ye said Erle, haiffand na respect to our honour, ye weil of our Realme and liegis, nor being rememorand of ye gret humanite and thankis done be our said derrest uncle, contrar ye weil of baicht ye Realmes; alsua applyand all commoditeis and accidentis of our Realme to his singulair proffit and avancement; and howbeit ye said Erle, beand our Chancellair, Wardane of our Est and Myddil Marcheis and Lieutenent of ye samyne, procurit divers radis to be maid apoun ye brokin men of our Realme, he usit our autorite nocht aganis yame, bot aganis our Baronis, and uyer our liegis yat wald nocht entir in band of manrent to him, to be sa stark of power yat We suld nocht be habil to regne as his Prince, or haif dominatioun aboun him or our liegis, quhilk We traist be alse displesand to our said derrest uncle as to Our selfe.

Item, ye said Patrik sal schewe, yat, howbeit ye said Erle insolentlie usit him self and our autorite, as is afor rehersit, nocht ye lese We, haiffand parfit cherite and naturale affectioun to our Baronis and liegis, and rather to retret yame fra yar insolente and evil maneris, mak yame to knaw Ws as

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 244. Wolsey's advice to the King upon this mission of Patrick Syngclar will be found in Vol. II. pp. 139, 140.

yar Soverane, and to be trew obedient liegis, quharby We may regne as yar naturale Prince, and throu yar gud exemple haif ye remanent of our liegis humile and obedient, thane to tyne yame; We commandit ye said Erle to pase and remane in certane invard partis of our Realme, and his broyer and eme interchangeablie to entir in ward; sua yat We, our Realme, and liegis, mycht be apperandlie suyr fra all dammaig hurt and brek yat mycht ryse and growe within our Realme be yar vilfulle contumacite assistence and fortifying of evil doaris and evil inclynit, in our lese age, to hurt of our liegis; nocht ye lese ye said Erle, his brother, and eme, vil na wayis obey Ws as yar Prince, bot has stuffit yar strenchis and housses, maid conventioun of our liegis aganis our autorite, and daylie fortifys trespassouris in burnyngis herschipis and oppressing of our Realme; traisting, as We suppoise, to haif our said derrest brothir and unclis confort supple and resset within his Realme, to our inestimable dammaig skaith and hurt, extinctioun and sloknyng of ye naturale affectioun of bluyd and frendschipe standinge betuix Ws and our said derrest uncle, and breking of ye peax tretit betuix Ws and baith our Realmes.

Item, to ye intent at our said derrest uncle sal onderstand yat We desyr na thing sa hertlie as to keip gud luf amite and frendschipe with him, being maist tender of bluyd to Ws, and at We vil admitt nayne to our counsale or familiarite, yat wald ony vyse labour solliste or procur to brek our kindnes, or moiffe ony occasioun quharby our luf mycht be ony vyse myniste; We desyre yat, because ye last peax and trewis contractit betuix Ws is now haistelie to exspyr, yat our derrest brothir and uncle vald pleise, for our eise, and for diverse occasionis quhilkis may redound to our satisfactioun, send certaine discrete personis commissionaris sufficientle autorizat to ye Bordouris, quhar our commissionaris salcum and meit for prorogation or new tretting of peax betuix Ws and our Realmes for uyer thre zeris, to ye effecte yat in ye meyntyme We may ordour our Realme, put gud reule within ye samyne, and, being of mature age, may avyse apoun perpetuale amite to be kepit betuix Ws, wyth equale and kindlie conditionis, according to ye proximite of our bluyd.

Item ye said Patrik sal desyr yat, gif ye said Erle, his broyir eme and frendis, wald seik help confort supple and menteinance of our derrest uncle, and to be confortit and ressavit within his Realme to our hurt lychtlying and displesour; yat he as ane kindlie eme, derrest brothir, and maist tender kynnisman, wald repele him fra all sik resset, according alsua to ye peax and trewis contractit betuix Ws.

Item, finaly, ye said Patrik sal request instantlie our said derrest brothir and uncle, yat He, haiffand consideratioun of ye tendernese of bluyd standing

betuix

betuix Ws, wald accord Him to yir our desiris; assuring our derrest brothir, yat We sal, wyth all hertlie kindness, favour eid and supple and furthir all thingis yat may be to ye honour and pleasour of our said derrest uncle, keping of gud justice, interteyning of peax and amite betuix Ws, our Realmes, and liegis; beleving suyrly yat our derrest uncle vil stand in sic lik vil and mynd to Ws. Subscrivit wyth our hand, at Edinburgh, ye 13 day of Julij.

(*Signed*) James R.

L. S.

CLXXXV. Lord Dacre *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleas it Your Grace to be advertised, that sens my repare in these north parties, and upon the knowlege had of the subdeigne exchange of thaffaires of Scotland, I sent a servaunt of myne to Edinburghe, who laye ther the space of 10 dayes, and cam hidder this daye to me. He sheweth me that the King and Quene cam frome Sterling to Edinburghe upon Mondaye the 6 daye of this moneth, accompanied with the Bisshops of Glaskew, Abirdene, Dunkeld, Gallowaye[2], and Brighen[3], to gidders with thErles of Argile, Arren, Ecclington, Rothuse, and Bothwile, and also the Lordes Maxwell, Avendale, Seton, Forbos, Home, and Yestre, with their servauntes, to the nomber of 300 speres. And in the Busshop of Sainct Andros loegeing the King remaigned Tewisdaye, Wednisdaye; and upon Thuresdaye following ther was proclamation made in the Kinges name, that no writing messangers or messages shuld by any parson be sent unto thErle of Angwis, his two bretherne, or uncle; and that none apparteignyng unto any of theim shuld be founde in the towne or precinctt of the same fro 4 of the clok aftur noon furth, upon paine of deth. Upon the Satturdaye and Mondaye following, the King and the forsaid Lordes satt in the Tolbooth; where as thaye determyned to have a Parliament, and the same to begynne in Edinburghe on Wednisdaye the 2 daye of September. Thaye have auctorized the Busshop of Glaskew, late the Kinges Scoolmaister, to be Chaunceller of Scotlaund; the Lord Maxwell to be Provest of Edinburghe. The King and Lordes of Counsaill haith sent writinges at this tyme unto the Kinges Highnes and your Grace with Patrik Sincler. The King is reuled and advised by the Quene, Henry Stiew[*art*] now her husband, the

[1] From the British Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 17. Partially printed by Pinkerton.

[2] Henry Weems. [3] John Hepburn.

Lord

Lord Maxwell, and the Lard of Buccleughe, cheif manteiners of all misguyded men on the Bordours of Scotlaunde, to gidders with the Shiref of Ayre that slew thErle of Cassils[1], and now bedfello to the said King; with suche like oder murderers and mysguyded personnes, whiche ar now best cherysshed and [*most*] in favors with the said Kyng and Quene. I see no liklyhode or apparaunce [*of*] any staye or good ordour to be had within Scotlaund for the causes aforesaid. Therfore I besiche your Grace, that I maye knowe the pleasoure of the Kinges Highnes and your Grace, as I shall ordour me, forasmuche as many henyous offences ar commytted upon the Bordours of both sides, and thofficers, that was, or nowe is, deputed for the partie of Scotlaund, neither made, or of lyklyhode woll make, redres for the attemptates passed. Assuring your Grace, all the tyme the King was in Edinburghe, he was nightlie watched with sundrye Lordes in their moste defensible arraye; and one night the King watched hym self in like arraye, for fere of thErle of Angwys and his partie.

Upon Tewesdaye last the said King and Quene removed to Sterling, and the Lordes roode to their owne countreys, leving Edinburghe, and the countrey adjacent, in disordour. As other newes occurres wo[*rthy of*] advertisement, your Grace shalbe certefied from tyme to tyme.

Like it also your Grace, seing the disordour within Scotlaund, and that all the mysguyded men, bordorers of the same, inhabiting within Eskdale, Ewsdale, Walghopdale, Liddisdale, and a parte of Tevidale foranempt Bewcastelldale, and a parte of the Middle Marchies of this the Kinges Bordours, entres not this West and Mydle Marchies to do any attemptate to the King our said Soverain subjectes, but thaye com thorow Beawcasteldale, and retornes for the moste partie the same waye agayne. And also seing ther is no staye had in the said Beawcastell dale, like as was devised by the Kinges Highnes and your Grace at myne admission to thoffice of Weste Wardenrye; therfore it maye pleas his said Highnes and your Grace to send unto Thomas Musgrave commaundement to lye in Beawcastell, aswell for the suretie and defence of his charge, asfor the rest of both thes West and Middle Marchies; and he shalhave assistence at all tymes requysite, when he sendes unto me or my deputie laufull warynyng.

Pleas it also your Grace to knowe I received the Kinges Highnes mooste honorable letters sent unto me, upon the wrong surmyse and at the pursuyt of my Lorde of Cumberlaunde, for the Kinges laundes adjoynyng Carlisle,

[1] The time of Cassillis's murder, and the person who perpetrated it, are matters of dispute; but the better opinion seems to be that it was committed on the 22d of December 1527, by Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudon, at the instigation of Sir James Hamilton.

parcell

parcell of the Shirefwik of Cumberlande, latten this yere by me. Wherunto I made my said Lorde aunsuer[1], and also have written unto the Kinges Highnes my poore advice and mynde in the same, as by the principall letter, to gidders with the copie of myne aunsuers sent unto your Grace at this tyme, your said Grace maye perceive. And yf it be thought unto your Grace that my letters now sent unto the Kinges Highnes shalbe delivered or not delyvered, I remyt the same to your Graces pleasour; besiching the same to be my good Lorde therin, and that I maye, with as convenyent diligence and your Graces favours, knowe His Highnes and your Graces pleasour, or the tyme of sheving of the cornes come, whiche approches nere; considering as the Kinges poore subjectes, whome I lete the same launde unto, haith their cornes growing therupon.[2] And incace His said Highnes and your Grace be contented, frome this yere furth, that my Lorde of Cumberlaund shall further let it, then I humbly besiche your Grace that the poore men now occupyeing maye peasebly take of their cournes of the ground, and rejoys the same for this yere, and paye their ferme therfore, and soo further to be ordred as shall best lyke His said Highnes and your Grace.

Pleas it your Grace also, I have, not only by my self, but also by my deputie, sundrye tymes required of my Lorde of Cumberlaund and his deputie, delyveraunce of two common trew brekers, erraunt theves of Scotlaund, spoilers of the King our soverain Lordes trew subjectes, takin within this the Kinges realme in the tyme of peas, named Dande Armistrang and Dyk Irwen, called Dik of the Wodfote, yet remayning within Carlisle castell; to thintent they and aither of theim may be ordred and punysshed indifferentlie by waye of justice, according to their desertes, whiche I couth not doo for lak of delyveraunce of theim. Bireason wherof, sundrye malefactors taketh grete courage to spoile the Kinges trew subjectes, and commytt like attemptates within my charge, to the evill exsample and grete discomforte of wele disposed personnes. In consideracion wherof, it may pleas your Grace to dyrect the Kinges most honorable letters of commandment to my said Lord of Cumberlaund and his deputie, for delyveraunce of theim to me the Kinges officer; for sens the said Dyk Irwen was taken, his broder kynne and freindes hath takin a kynnysman of myne called Jeffray Middilton, a man of oon hundreth mark launde and better, as he was commyng in his pilgramege frome Sainct Ninians in Gallowey

[1] In the Chapter House, State Papers Scotland, p. 178, dated 10 July. By this letter it appears that Dacre and Cumberland had been desired by the King to let things remain in statu quo till after Michaelmas.

[2] Lord Cumberland, on the 28th of September, wrote to Wolsey on this subject a letter, which is in the Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 84.

within

within Scotlaund, and kepes hym amonges errant theves adjoyning the Bordours, for suretie, and woll not put or suffer hym come to libertie, as a trew pilgrame shulde, without he redeme the said arrant thef called Dik Irwen, notwithstonding the King of Scottes salve conduitt, that my said kynnysman had for his trew passage of recorde. And the Holy Trynytie preserve Your Grace. At Naward, the 18 daye of Julij.

Yours with humble serves,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) Willm̃ Dacre.

To my Lord Legat is good Grace.

CLXXXVI. King James V. *to* King Henry VIII.

Richt Excellent, Richt Hie, and Michty Prince, our derrest and bestlovit Brother, Cousing, and Uncle, We commend Ws unto Zou in oure maist hertlie manere. We have ressavit zoure letteris datit at Wyndessour the last day of June, presentit to Ws be zoure traist servitoure Clarenceoux King of Armez, at oure abbay of Melrose, the 19 day of Julij ; be the quhilkis We persave zoure maist hertlie lufe kindnes and affectioun unto Ws, zoure brother, and tender nephieu, and quhat laubouris travellis and expensis Ze wald tak and underly, geving zoure help and assistance for ye conservacioun and weilfare of oure Persoun, auctorite regale, liberte, and fredome of the samyn ; quharof We thank Zow richt mekle, and sall nocht anerly be reddy to Zou with assistance of oure liegis in semblable cace, geve Ze happin ony to have, quhilk God avert, bot with oure awin persoun, quhen We be requirit.

Richt excellent, and bestbelovit brother, and uncle, suche it is, thare wes insurrectioun attemptit aganis Ws throu division and variance, like as We wrate unto Zow, the quhilk We, weill servit with oure trew liegis, hes repressit and cessit, swa that We beleve nevir to have impediment in ye using of oure auctorite in tyme cummyng, be Goddis grace. And at this tyme We ar in travale towart oure Bordouris to putt gude ordoure and reule apoun thame, and to stanche the thiftis and rubberis, committit be theiffis and tratouris apoun ye sammyn. And as oure besines takis effect, We sall advertis Zou, to ye intent yat gude ordoure may be had, quharthrou baitht ye Realmez may be harmeles of sic misreullis in tyme cummyng, to ye plesser of God, ese and tranquillite of baitht ouris liegis. Forther, derrest uncle, We have latelie directit unto Zou oure familiare servitour Patrik Sinclare, amply instructit with oure mynde in diverse materis. Richt Excellent, Rycht Hie, and Michty Prince,

Prince, oure derrest Broyer and bestbelovit Uncle, We pray God have Zou in His governans. Gevin under oure signete, at oure Abbay of Jedburgh, the 23th day of Julij.

(*Signed*) Zo[ur] lovyng Brother and Nepho,
JAMES R.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Richt Excellent, Richt Hie, and Michty Prince, oure derrest Brother and Uncle, the King of Ingland.

CLXXXVII. ANGUS *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

RICHT Excellent, Richt Hie, and Michty Prince, in my maist lauly maner I commend my humill service unto Zour Hienes; and has ressavit Zour Gracis letteris bering dait of Ampthill the 9th day of August last bipast, directit to the Kingis Grace zour nephew my Soverane, and to my simpilnes, togidder with the doubill; be the quhilkis I do cleirly consider the principall richt tender and effectuose in favoris of me and my materis; and causit Zour Hienes saidis leteris be delibrait unto the Kingis Grace my Maister; traisting thare-throw, and for my trew service and law obedience, with greit gifftis offerit be me to His Hienes, till have obtenit ressone equite and justice: bot, in the contrarie, because I mevit me to Zour Hienes, I was the war hard, and is processit on the maner, and ane pretendit dome gevin on me and my frendis, of lyvis landis and gudis, in the stratest and maist extreme style can be devisit[2], richt unordourly, and aganis the lawis and consuetude of the realme, and als aganis God and gud conscience, considering I never faltit nor committit sic sobir crymes as was allegit, at the instance and sinister solicitacioun of my party, as I sall ansuer to God, and as salbe notourly knawin unto Zour Hienes herefter be ane spetiall greit frende of myn, quhilk I sall send to Zour Hienes incontinent eftir ane part of this besynes be done, presently occurrand, that sall informe Zour Grace of all myn effaris, and have credence as my selff. Maist humilly beseking Zour Hienes, for the reverence of God, zeill of justice, and wele of my simpilnes and house, as I that has bene and evir salbe Zour Gracis trew and faithfull servand enduring my lyffe, that it wald pleise Zour Hienes stand my gud Prince and protectour, as Zour Grace has evir done hertofore,

[1] From the Chapter House, State Papers Scotland, p. 218.
[2] See Scottish Acts, pp. 322 seqq.

and

and suffir me nocht be injurit nor oppressit, as myn enemys and unfrendis intendis to cause the Kingis Grace my Soverane to do. And in the meyne saissoun, quhill I ma gudly direct my said frende unto Zour Hienes, it wald pleise the sammyn certify and command zour servitour my Lord of Northumbreland[1], ane of zour officiaris in yir partis, to suppley mantenne and defend me in this my just accioun and querele, ressavand me within zour Realme, and cause the bordourraris ryd with me, giff I charge thame; as myn allanerly hoip and speciall confidence is in Zour Hienes, quhais maist nobill Persone the Blessit Trinite preserve in prosperite. Written at Coldinghame Abbay, the 10th day of September.[2]

Zour Hienes humill servitour,

(*Signed*) Ar[D] Erl of Angus.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Richt Excellent, Richt Hie, and Mychty Prince, the Kingis Hienes of Eingland.

CLXXXVIII. Lord Dacre *to* Wolsey.[3]

Pleas it Your Grace. Aftur my departure, at myne arryvall in thes north partes upon the West Bordoures, myne uncle, being my Deputie, met the Lord Maxwell, Wardein of the West Marchies of Scotlaund, at Loughmabanstan upon Sainct Laurence day last past, and noo redres could be hade; but appointed a new daye of meating to hold upon Sainct Barthilmewe day: against whiche day, thay assigned sex billes of aithersyde to be redressed, and the assises of aither realme elect and chosen for the performaunce of the same. And at the said meating, my said uncle desired to have an officer of Scotland for the attaching and resting of one William Waughe, borne within this realme, being traitour rebell and fugitive unto the Kinges Highnes, who was personally present on the ground. And aftur the arreste soo made by the said officer of Scotland, my said uncle did aske deliveraunce of the said Wardein of the said William Waugh according to the article of the peace;

[1] Angus had bespoken Northumberland's friendship by a letter of the preceding day, which is in the British Museum, Caligula, B. VII. leaf 95.

[2] On the next day Angus wrote to Wolsey a letter, somewhat more full than that in the text, but with the same object, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 176. And on the 14th of September he sent his brother to the Cardinal, with a letter, declaring the manifest wrongs done to him. Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. I. leaf 6.

[3] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. IV. leaf 38.

whiche

whiche deliveraunce was denyed by the said Wardein of Scotland: wherupon my said uncle did raise an instrument. And bicause your Grace gave me in commaundement at my departure, that, if I could see noon apperaunce of redres nor justice on the Bordours, to send to the King of Scottes; wherupon I did send my servaunt to the said King, not only certefieing hym of this mattier as concernyng the deliveraunce of the said rebell, but also demaunding redresse of Liddisdale with the deliveraunce of my servaunt Miles Halton, whiche is witholdin in the castell of the Armitage within the boundes of the said Liddisdale, sence the slaughter of my servauntes, whiche was upon Lambes evin was a twelmonth. Copie of my said letter, with the copie of the letter sent frome the King of Scottes, your Grace shall receive herin inclosed.

Also pleas it your Grace, the day so appointed by my said uncle with the Wardein of Scotlande to holde upon the said Sainct Barthilmewe day for redressing of the aforesaid sex billes, the said Wardein did shote the said day unto the secound day of September, allegieing in his said writing, bicause his broder Edward Maxwell and the Larde of Johnston had latelie brent the mote of Liddale, parcell of the Kinges lande within Nichol forest, and at the said brennyng slew one Gilbert Richardson, aftur their formour meating upon Sainct Laurence day last; lyke as your Grace may perceive by the copie of the said Wardein of Scotland letter herin closed.

Pleas it also your Grace, I met the Lorde Maxwell, Wardein of Scotland, the said secound day of September soo appointed by hym, and the assises of aitherside sett downe and sworne, and the foresaid six billes of aither realme delivered unto the assissers. The said Wardein of Scotland with the assisers of the same, no redres could be had of theim for the partie of Scotland of the said six billes of England, ne also noo redres had of the said Wardein of the grete brennyng and slaughter at the said mote of Liddale, parcell of the Kinges Highnes enheritaunce within the said Nichol forest, done by Edward Maxwell, the said Wardeins broder, and the saide Larde of Johnston. And, by long persuasion and communicacion had in the demaunding for the reformacion of the said six billes, with the gret brennyng and slaughter at the said mote of Liddale, the said Lorde Maxwell, Wardein, declared and shewed, that it was the King his Soverain mynde and pleasure that Commissioners shuld mete at Loughmabenstan the 4 daye aftur Sainct Lukes day, being the 22 daye of October next commyng; and haith appointed for the partie of Scotland the Kinges Secretary, Sir William Scott Lard of Balwery, and Maister Adam Octerburn; and proclamacions made upon the same, at the said meatinges. Wherin it wol pleas your Grace that I may knowe the pleasour of the Kinges Highnes and your Graces, if any Commissioners shall come downe against the

said daye, or in what maner I shall ordour my self, not only in the premisses, but also as concerning thinhabitantes of Liddisdale; as your Grace may well perceive that ther noo apperaunce of good reull redres ne justice to be had of the said Liddisdale; as by certein letters sent frome thErle Bothwile, with the aunsuer therof by me made, copies wherof I send your Grace herin inclosed (the principalles of the said copies I do send at this tyme unto the Kinges Highnes) your said Grace may perceive.

Also pleas it your Grace to have in remembraunce, at my departure I declared unto your Grace that I had one Dande Nicson Scottisman in warde, which was taken doing evill in England, whiche Dande wold lowse my servaunt Miles Halton, who as yet remaigneth in Scotland in prison more then this twelmonth; and that, I woll not take on hand soo to doo, without licence of the Kinges Highnes and your Grace. And, seing I cannott gitt my said servaunt lowsed, neither at the King of Scottes hand nor thErle of Bothwiles, it wol pleas your Grace to solicite the Kinges Highnes, that it may soo stand with his gracious pleasure by your Graces meanes, that I may have the saide Dande Nicson, for the redemyng and lowsing of my said servaunt. And the Holie Trinitie preserve Your Grace. At Naward, the 13 daye of September.

Yours with his service,

(*Superscribed*) To my Lorde Legatis Grace.

(*Signed*) Willm̃: Dacre.

CLXXXIX. Northumberland *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleace it Youre good Grace to be advertysed that the 11th day of September I receyved youre Grace is most honorable letters, wherin youre Grace commaundis me to certyfy the Kynges Highnes and youre Grace of the affaires of Scotland, concernyng the Erle of Anguyshe; of the which as I can come to knawledging, and the order of the Kynge of Scottes agaynst the said Erle (notwithstanding the Kynges Highnes letters and youre Grace in hys favour), youre Grace shall perceyve by certeyne letters sent unto me by my servaunt Roger Lasselles, whoo lyeth at youre Gracis castell of Norham; the copy of which letters I send unto youre Grace herein closed.[2]

And,

[1] From the Museum, Caligula, B. III. leaf 291.

[2] These copies are in Caligula, B. III. leaf 289., B. I. leaf 29., and B. VII. leaf 14.

" The

And, if thErle of Anguyshe shalbe dryven oute of the realme of Scotland, than according to the Kynges high comaundement and youre Gracis, I shall receyve

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" The copy of the furst letter to my Lorde from Roger Lasselles.

" Pleasith Your goode Lordeship to be advertised of the variance betwixt the Kyng of Scottes " ande the Erle of Angois. Uppon Wednysday at none, that last was, Archibald Dooglas was at " Edynburgh, ande with hym all the houshold servauntes of thErle of Angois, thAbbot of Holy " Roodhous, ande George Dooglas with theym. And, as the saide Archibald was at dynner, " comyth in Lorde Maxwell, or evir he wist, ande with a small company of men, clapped about the " hows; and Archeboldes men was scalyd in the towne, so that they couth nevir be gotten to " geder, and so ther was Archebold and hys men fayn to get theym away on horsbake, so that " their was fewe or none takyn, bot horsses. And so they be all banysshed from Edenburghe, and " can be no partie, ande their frendes falles all from theym. And so the Erle is in Tenttallen, and " hath sent thAbbot of Hooly Roodhows to me, to knowe wheder they may be resett at Norham or " nay; for they suppose veraly that ye knowe that yt ys the Kynges pleasour, ande my Lorde Car- " dynalles, that they shalbe resett, ande that your Lordship ys so acerteyned. And therin they " desired me so soore, that I told theym that I shuld assigne theym a chambre in the owtward " warde, to I knewe your Lordship pleasour; wherin I beseche your Lordship I may knowe your " Lordship pleasour as shortly as ys possible; for I looke daily, when they shall come to me. For " of a verey trouth they mow not tary within Scotland. Ande the Lord of Buclugh shuld have " taken the towne with the Lorde Maxwell, ande he cam not to night. Ande the Kyng entred in " to the towne aither on Fryday or on Satturday. Ande they ar commonyng, who shall have " thErles landes. Ande so at thys Parliament he shalbe attaynted, both bloode and landes. Ande " their commyth a servaunt frome thErle of Angois by post to your Lordship. And thus I " beseche Allmighty Jhesu to preserve Your good Lordship with increas of honour longe to " contynewe. Written at your castell of Alnewike, the 29th day of August, by your moost humble " servaunt,

" Rog Lasselle"

" The copye of the 2d lettre sent to my Lord frome his steward Roger Lassels the 8th day " of Septembre.

" Pleasithe it Yowr Lordship to be advertysid, that the Parlament is done at Edynburgh apon " Setterday last, and there is thErle of Anguysshe attayntyd, and all his part takers, apon 7 artycles, " whereopon 2 of the cheef was, that he shuld confedder hym sellf with England, and keepe the " Kyng this 2 yere aganst his wil and the lawes of Scotlande; and all thother was but light " matters. And so thay have gyffyn all his laundes to the Lord Bothewel, the Lord Maxwel, the " Lord of Bukclewghe, and the Shyref of Ayre, with dyverse other whiche bee nye abowt the " Kynge. But he was not attayntyd by the hole assent of the Parlament (as the costum is), but " the King did cheas forthe 6 Bysshopps and 5 Erlis and other great Lordes, which were all his " enmys that he had in Scotland; and thay gaf verdyd agaynst hym and attayntid him. And so " oppon our Ladys evyn the Kyng of Scottes was appoynted to remove frome Eddynburghe to " Haddyngton, and 8 thowsand men of warre with hym, intendyng to put the said Erle and his " brethern with all there part takers in to England, and besegis Tentallon, Coperspethe, and " Coldyngham, to put theym in possessyon to whome he hathe gyffyn theym unto. Allso the Kyng " gafe unto the Lord of Hoome all the said Erlis landes in the Mars, and he hath refusyd theym; " wherewith the Kyng hathe takyn a highe dyspleasure, and, as yt is said, he ys comynge toward " hym for yt. And apon Setterday the 5th day of Septembre, the Erle of Angwishe, the Abbot " of Holyroodhows, come to Tweede syde, and callyd over opon me, and desirid me that I wold " come and speek withe thaym; and so I dyd. And the sayd Erle askyd me, if that I knewe the

" Kynges

receyve the same Erle in to England, unto I knowe further of the Kynges Highnes pleasure and youre Grace is therin.

And

" Kynges Gracis pleasure and my Lord Cardnalls, as my Lord Cardnall dyd promes his servaunt " to send to yowr Lordship. And I shewyd hym that I supposyd verely that your Lordship had " no forther knowlege sens your servaunt come home. Whereof he had great mervel; desyrynge " me that he myght have a chambre for his doughter, whiche he had with the Quene of Scottes; " and the yong Erle of Huntlye, and the wyfe of Archbald Dowgles, to wayt opon theme; and an " other chambre for hym self, thAbbot of Holyroodehows, Georg Dowgles, and Archabald Dowgles, " yf he of necessyte bee dryvyn thereunto, and those that be his parttakers. He desyrythe that " thay may be in the town of Norham 2 or 3 days, unto suche tyme as the Kyng retorne home- " wardes, and scail his host; and then the said Erle with all his frendes will home agayn to there " own howses; for there is none in all Scotland (except the Kyng be there his own person) that " wyll feght agaynst hym. And soo, yff that hee may have lycence to cum intoo this realme of " England, when as the said Kyng of Scottes comyth with his great host, and here to remayn unto " suche tyme as the sayd host be scalyd, hee settes not by all his enmys in Scotlande, and will " occupye his landes, magre theme all. And I have promysyd hym that, yf the Kyng cum with " his great host, I shall suffer hym to be in Norham castell and in the town, unto suche tyme as I " shall knowe forther of your Lordshippes pleasure; alway provydyd that the said Erle nor none " of his company shall doo any harme too Scotland durynge that tyme.

" And, as tochyng the order of the Bordures, the thefes of boothe sydes never did steal so fast; " for thay reken none other, but that yt wylbe playn war, and flees away with there godes frome " the Bordures of bothe sydes; that, if there be not a stay in it shortly, I fere me it shall be past " makynge of redres, for the Kynges company dothe robb and spoyl all the tenauntes and frendis " that belongythe unto thErle of Angwyshe, and the Erle lykewyse and his frendes dothe robb and " spoyl all theme that takes the Kynges part, where thay may attayn and cum too; and by reson " thereof the Bordures of bothe sydes takith all thay may gyt. And that I may knowe your " Lordshippes pleasure in thees matters, as shortly as ye may, I desyre your Lordship; for apon " the morrowe after our Ladye Day, or apon Thursday at the ferrest, I can not persave the con- " trary but that thErle with all his frendes and parttakers shalbe dryven in to this realme of " England. And thus I besich Almyghty Jhesu too preserve Yowr good Lordeshipp with encreace " of honor longe too contynewe. Wryttyn at Norham, this Ladysday the 8th day of Septembre. " Yowr most humble servaunt,

" Roger Lassells."

" The copy of the 3d letter to my Lorde from Roger Lassells.

" Pleasith it Your Lordship to be advertessed, that the King of Scottes shuld have sett forward " upon Thursday last, butt his Lordes and He could not agre, and so the ost is skailed and breken, " and the King reculled bakk agayne to Sterling; and the countre sayes that it was for fere, and " that the King and his Lordes durst not cum: and the King and his Counsaill saith that it was " bycaus that they wold not distroy the corne; and so they say that they will assemble agayne " assone as the corne is gotten. Butt thErle carith not for it, for his frendes drawith to him " agayne, and mony moo then ever he had, so that, and it ware knowen in Scotland that the Kinges " Grace and your Lordship wold gyf hym anny aide, he wold be partie ennouth to rull the King " and all Scotland. And uppon Thursday at nyght, when the ost was in skailling, and the King in " Edenburgh, thErle of Angis sent 4 score men, and every man a ledde geldyng in his hand, and " they rode 4 myllis beyond Edynburth, and brynt 2 goodly townnes, that the King myght have " light to see to risse with all upon Fryday in the mornyng. And, howe the King takes with that " matter, ther is no worde comoned as yet. And upon our Lady day all thois, that had the Erle of

" Angis

And in lyke case, accordyng unto youre Grace is comaundement, I have wryten unto the Kynge of Scottes and the Quene, for the appoyntment and namyng of suche personages of Scotland, as shuld met uppon the Borders for the contynuance and prorogation of trewis betwixt the realmes; persuading theyme on myn owne heede to thexpedition therof, by reason that the publysshing and knawledge of the said convention and metyng for the afforsaid purpose shall moch preserve and establishe the tranquilite and good rewle of the Borders, nowe being in moch unstablenes, not oonly by the troublus affaires of the Erle off Anguyshe, but alsoo by occasion that the comonalte of the same Borders be in dowbt, whether they shall have peace or warr, seying the last contynewance off trewis in soo breve tyme to be endit; and that daily the malifactors of the realme of Scotland doo moch harme within the Borders of England by reason of the same. All which enormyties by meatyng of the Commyssioners afforsaid myght wele be redressed and reformed, to the welth of both the realmes.

And nowe of late they of Lyddersdale came into Eingland to have robbyt within my rowmes; and Syr Rauff Fenwik, havyng knawledge therof, met theyme at theyre comyng in, and put theyme to flyght, and toke Edmunde Noble, which was the cheif owtlaw now that the Kynges Hyghnes had in Scotland, whoo according to hys demerittes fourthwith shalbe put to execution.

" Angis landes, thene came in with ther patentes to have them seallyd and signed, and so the King " dyd; and when He had so done, He delyverd them to a paig of his chamber, and commaundid " hym to kep them; and so, at after none, the Lordes that had the patentes geven came to the King, " and desyred to knowe his pleasour why that He wold not delyver ther patentes according as He " had yeven them. And He askyd his Counsaill whether he myght revook all that He had done or " nott; and his Lordes said, "Yes"; and then He callyd for a noterey, and revokyd all that He had " done, and bad them goo and chaisse thErle of Angis forth of Scotland, and they shuld have ther " patentes. And so they ar not content with ther part, for as yet they have gytten none of " thErlis landes, and hath lost thErlis favour. And upon Setterday comyth John Maydour for- " wardes from thErle of Angis to your Lordship, and so streght to London; and within 3 dayes " after comyth Georg of Dugles to your Lordship, and so on to London, and Patrik Synkler comyth " with the Kinges letters streght to London, and he hath promessed oppenly, affor the King and all " his Counsaill, if the King sent bott hym, he shall gett of the King of Yngland 3 yeres peax, and " that the King shall not aide thErle of Angis: and this he hath under taken. And if the Kinges " Grace hold hym strait at this tyme, they will make any redresse that the King will devise, if " your Lordship send this worde up to my Lord Cardynalles Grace, or Patrik Synklar come at " hym. For Scotland was never so eith to wyne as it is nowe, nor never so ferde; for they feyre " the King will take part with thErle of Angis. So that he and the King will hold them harde " nowe, the King may have of them what so ever He will desyre. As I here ferder newis in " theis matters, I shall assertene your Lordship from tyme to tyme. Bott asfor theiffes of Tyndaile " roode never so fast, and robbis and reves, and no redresse wilbe had therof. And thus I besuch " Almytghty Jhesu to preserve Your good Lordship with increasse of honnour long to contenowe. " Wrytten at the castell of Norham, this Fryday the 11th day of September at 4 of the clok at " after nowne, by your humble servaunt,

" ROGER LASSELLS."

In an indorsement on this letter Lassells is called Sir Roger.

tion. And thus daily they of Lyddersdale, which be a greate nomber of thevys, do not only of thies Borders of the Est and Mydle Marches, but alsoo of the West Marches, moche great harme, to the Kynges poore subjectes. For which, and many other causes consernyng the welth of thes Borders, if it may stand with the Kynges Highnes pleasure and youre Graces, I wold be glad to awayte uppon the same, for I trust for the space of 8 wekes. Though I shuld be absent, I shuld stey the Borders in verey good case.

Most humbly beseching youre Grace that, yf the Kynges Highnes and youre Grace be contentyd herewith, than it may pleace youre Grace to direct youre gracious letters to Syr Thomas Tempest and Robert Bowes to come up withe me, whoo haith bene alwayes of my counsaill in the Kynges affaires, according to the Kynges Highnes commaundment and youre Gracis. At which comyng up I trust soo to informe youre Grace of the state of the Borders and countrey, that by youre Graces great wysdome and pollice youre Grace shall fynd with a litell coste a fynall remedy in the tyme of peas agaynst all thes rebelles and notaryus thevys, and for the oppressing of all such beyng withyn the realme of Scotland.

And alsoo thys 17 day of September I receyved letters from thErle of Anguyshe[1] by John Maw his servaunt, with letters from my servaunt Roger Lasselles[2], the which letters I send up unto youre Grace herin closed. And, frome

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[1] In the Chapter House, State Papers Scotland, p. 228, dated 14 September.

[2] The original letter, in Lassells's handwriting, is in Caligula, B. VI. leaf 13.

" Pleisse it Youre Lordchipe to be advertissed, that apon the moroy after that the oste was " skalleid att Edenburthe, the Kyng, by the adwisse of thErlle of Ourgiell, and other of thErlle " of Angis enimes, causid proclamacion to go furthe into the cuntre in to Duglesdaille and them " that longid to thErlle of Ourgiell to assemble; for Dugles daille lyethe in meides of the strenthe " of thErlle of Angis enimes. And so the Kyng lyes in a burroy towne butte a lettell bysides itt, and " all the contre haithe laide seig to the said castell of Dugles, so it is thought that it will nott be " holdeng, for it liethe so among thErlle enimes, and also it is no housse of defence itself. Howe " be it, there mene in it and he ententes to kepe it, exsepe that the Kynge laye greit ourdenance to " itt. And so I send to youre Lordchipe inclossid in this belle all thois names, the wiche attentyd " thErlle of Angis, and also all thois the whiche haithe thErlle landis geven to thame. And so " I can nott se att ther weill be redres maid of the Burthres, onles exsepe that thErlle of Angis " have the rulle, for there is never one greit mane in Scotland that dare occupye theme sefls. And " asfor the attant of thErlle of Angis, there were agreitt off itt, and his gewene to theme that " shulle have att Sterling, or the Kyng come to Edenburth. And so thErlle of Angis burnes " and reffes of all thame that is his enimes in Lodiane, and ne to Edenburthe; and weill do, unto " suche tyme as he knowithe the Kynges plesure in itt. And thus I besuche Jesu to preserve " Your Lordchip long to encresse in honour. Wryttyn at the castell of Norham, this 13th day off " Septembre, by youre humble servaunt,

" (*Signed*) ROGER LASSELS."

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde.

The

frome tyme to tyme, I shall further acerteyne youre Grace of such occurraunces as be in thes north parties, as I may have perfite and trew knawledge of; and to all other thinges, that may be to the Kynges high pleasure and youre Graces, I shall indevour me with all diligence, according to my most bounden dutye. As Oure Lord knowith, whoo preserve Youre good Grace with long lyve, and with asmoch increace of honour, as your most noble hart can desyre. At my maner of Topclyf, the 17th day of September.

Your most bonden servaunt,

(*Superscribed*) To my Lord Legates good Grace.

(*Signed*) H. NORTHMBRELAND.

CXC. NORTHUMBERLAND *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEASITH it Youre good Grace to be advertysed, that the 21th day of this present moneth of September, came George Dowglas, the Erle of Angwyshe broder, unto me, with a letter frome the said Erle; the which letter I send unto youre Grace herein closed; and the credence of the same was, fyrst, that I shuld

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The inclosure, containing the names of those who sat on Angus's forfeiture, and of those to whom his lands were granted, is in Caligula, B. III. leaf 36.

" Thies ar the names of the persons that sat and concludit uppon the Erle of Angois forfatour,

" Spirituall and Temporall.

" The Archbushop of Glasco
" The Bushop of Dunkaill
" The Bushop of Aperdene
" The Bushop of Galoway
" The Bushop of Dumblane
" The Prior of Saynt Andros.
" The Erle of Orgiel
" The Erle of Arrane
" The Erle of Eglenton
" The Erle of Murrey
" The Lord Makyswell.

" And all thies was those that was the Erle of Angois great enemys, the Lordes in Scotland.

" Thies ar the names of theym, the whiche the Erle of Angois landes is disponed to:

" To the Erle of Orgiell, the Lordship of Arbanathe, with his uncle eschette.
" To the Erle of Arrain, the Lordship of Bothwell.
" To the Erle of Morrey, the Lordship of Bonkell.
" To the Lorde Maxwell, the Lordshippes of Crawfurth Duglas, & Drumsiar.
" To Sir James Hamelton and the Sherif of Arre, the Lordship of Dugles.
" To the Lorde of Bukclooghe, Gedworth Forest.
" To Mark Carr, Preston.
" To the Controller, Lenlowis.
" To the Lord of Keir, the Forest of Dye, with his brother eschette.
" To Mastir John Camelle, the Lordship of Kelispendyr.

" And reserved to the Kynges Highnes, Temptallante, with the Superiorite of Angois."

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. VIII. Part I. No. 117.

be

be a mediatour unto youre Grace in the favour of the said Erle, whoo next unto the Kynges Highnes doth owe his hart and service unto youre Grace, havyng only hys confidence in the same to be hys good and gracious Lord. And also shewid me that verey small the Kyng of Scottes doth regarde the Kynges Highnes letters and youre Grace is, as youre Grace may well perceyve when he hath indyted hym cheifly for adhering hym self with Englande. And alsoo the said Kyng was purposed to rayse a great army the 29th day of this moneth, and dyd noyse that it shuld be for the oppressynge of the said Erle of Angwysh. But yt was thought, that it shuld be rather for doyng some prejudice to England, seyng that he came downe to Coldyngham, which is within 7 myles of youre Graces castell of Norham. Agaynst which tyme, with the grace of God, I shalbe nyghe unto youre said castell with the power of Northumberland, to withstand hys purpose as ferr as in me shall lye, yf he be abowtward to attempt any such malice. And also I can not perceyve that any redresse can be maid uppon the Borders, for the Kyng of Scottes doth maynteyn all the theves and rebelles of the same; and when I doo wryte unto hym for dewe redresse, he gyveth aunsware at all tymes to my servaunt, that he can not beleve that they doo any such offence. Wherfore I can not see that any redresse woll be maid uppon the Borders, except the Erle of Angois be put in auctorite agayne. And, as the occurrances of thies north partes commyth unto my knawlege, I shall not faile to certyfy youre Grace from tyme to tyme, according to my most bounden dutie. As Oure Lorde knowith, whoo preserve Youre good Grace in long lyff, with asmoch increace of honour as youre most noble hart can desyre. Wrytten at my maner of Topclyf, the 22th day of September.

Your most bondon servaunt,

(*Superscribed*) To my Lord Legates good Grace. (*Signed*) H. Northmbreland.

CXCI. King James V. *to* Northumberland.[1]

Richt traist, and weilbelovit cousing, We commend Ws to zou in all hertlie maner. Zour letters off ye dait at Topliff ye 14 day of Septembre last bigane, beynge ressavit be Ws, We knaw and ondarstandis yarby ye gud and kynd mynd ze beir anentis Ws, our weilfair tranquillite and rest of our Realme.

[1] From the Museum, Caligula, B. VII. leaf 149.

And

And quhar be certane writtingis send to zou be our derrest uncle zour Soverane, ze ar movit to be advertist of ye terme and diet We wald war kepit, and of ye plaice for ye takyne and prorogacioun of new trewis betuix Ws and our said derrest uncle, and off ye namis of ye personagis quhame We wil send to trait and conclude ye samyne; sua at ze may advertise our said derrest uncle zour Soverane yairoff. Rycht traist cousing, We haiff send our Maister of Armis, Lyoun, to our derrest uncle, instrukit wyth our large writtingis contenent our mynd and desyris in yat behalff at lenche; bot, for zour advertisment, We desir in our saidis writtingis, at His Hienes wald send his Commissionaris sufficientlie auctorisat to ye Bordouris, quhar We sall cause for our part thre of yir Commissionaris followand, ye Abbot off Kelso, ye Abbot of Cambuskynneche, ye Provest of ye Trinite College, ye Officiale of Lowdeane, ye Larde of Balwere, ye Lard of Farnehirst, ye Larde of Lundy in Angus, Maister Adam Otterburn our Advocat, to convene ye aucht day of ye moneth of Novembre nixt tocum at sik place of ye Bordouris as salbe thocht expedient be our said derrest uncle, he advertisand Ws abefor in dew tyme of ye place, and sendand ane conduct, as consuet is. Quharfor We exhort zou rycht tenderlie, at ze wil, eftir zour greit and usit wisdome, supprese all opinione off commonis, bayth on Bordouris and wyer placis, fra beleiff of ony new motioun to be had betuix baithe ye realmes, for ony truble proceding be ye mishaving of Archebald sumtyme Erle of Angus, quhil ye day off meting forsaid, quhar na falt salbe fundin on our part for prorogacioun of peax to be had, and yarefter all faltis to be emendit, wyth Goddis grace, quha haiff Zou in keping. Gevin onder our Signet, at Edinburgh, ye fift day of Octobre, and of our Reigne ye 16 yeir.

(*Signed*) JAMES R.

(*Superscribed*)
To our rycht traist, and hertly lovit cousing,
ye Erle off Northumbreland, Wardane of
ye Est and Myddil Marcheis of Ingland.

CXCII. MAGNUS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your good Grace to be advertised, that my Lorde of Richemondes Grace is in right good health and mery. And, sethenne the begynnyng of the pestiferous and ragious swete that haith reigned[2], my saide Lorde till nowe of

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. VIII. Part I. No. 9. [2] See Vol. I. pp. 298, 302, 304, &c.

late

late haith lyen and contynued in a private place[1], with fewe personnages attending upon his saide Grace; and naither the same, nor any other his company, haith bene vexed troubled nor encombred with that sekenes. And nowe his saide Grace is commen hider, and contynueth amongges his servauntes in his oune house, to thair all grete counfortes, seing his goodly procedingges in all vertues.

Of late my Lorde of Northumberlande came hider to viset and to see my saide Lordes Grace, and made suche speciall requeste sute and instaunce that he mought have my saide Lorde to see his house and manour of Topcliff, that therupon thay passed thider booth togader; where as my said Lorde of Northumberlande had my saide Lorde oone night, and did unto hym all the honour and pleasure he couth in the mooste goodly and mooste humble maner. And I assure your Grace, my Lorde of Richemonde for his partye did use hym self, not like a childe of his tender age, but moore like a man in all his behavours, aswell in commynnycation as other, facionnyng every thing to the beste purpose.

And where as my Lady of Saulesbury is in truste that I wolbe at London this terme, for the matier concerning the lordeship of Canforde[2]; soe it is, that my Lordes Receivour and Auditour in the south parties have in commaundement to serche and to inquere in every place of thaire circuite, for all suche evidences, recoordes, writingges, and mynumentes, as canne and maye in any wise make for my Lordes right, touching the said lordeship. Wherfore, and insomyche as I am and shalbe in contynuall busynes for my Lorde of Richemondes causes in thes parties, specially for keping of his audites, I canne not nor maye be at London this terme, nor till I may be fully acerteynned, what the saide Auditour and Receivour shall have doon touching the serche of evidences as is aforesaide in thaire circuite.

Of late the Lorde Dacre was here with my Lorde of Richemondes Grace, in his commyng southwardes, and soe passed forwarde to see the Kingges Highnes and your saide Grace. There is noe litle trouble nor busynes betwene thErle of Cumberlande and the saide Lorde Dacre, not oonly to the inquietting of thair servauntes frendes and lovers in Comberlande and Westmoorlande, but also the contreys there, by occasion of the same, be the moore further frome good rule. Wherfore your saide Grace shall doe a good and blessed dede to sette some good ordour betwene thayme. The grogges

[1] On the 31st of May Sir William Parre informed Wolsey that the Duke had on account of the prevailing sickness been removed to Ledeston, three miles from Pontefract. Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. IX. No. 170.

[2] See Vol. I. p. 322.

and

and displeasures doe insurge and arise for the rule of the toune and castell of Carlisle, moore mete, in my poore oppynnyon under the correccion of your Grace, for oone of thaym with the Wardenry, thenne to have thoos offices devided, as thay be, betwene thaym.[1]

Sir William Parre is, or wolbe, with your Grace at this terme. He canne shewe unto your saide Grace what I have doon, and howe I have used my self in thexecuting of the Kingges high commaundement and youres, for the reducing of my Lorde of Richemondes houshoolde to some better ordour and lesse charges thenne the same haith bene at hertofore. Howe every thing shall procede and be folowed as it is mooved and spoken upon, as yet I am in doubte; but for my partye as my duetye is, I shall use the beste diligence and polecye I canne for the same; as your Grace shall conceive moore at large in tyme commyng. And thus Almightye God have Youe my good and gracious Lorde in His mooste blessed preservacion. At Shereif Hooton, the 7th daye of October.

Your full humble
preiste and bedeman,
(*Signed*) T. MAGNUS.

(*Superscribed*)
Unto my Lord Legates good Grace.

CXCIII. NORTHUMBERLAND *to* WOLSEY.[2]

PLEASITH it Youre good Grace. According to youre comaundement to be advertysed of the newes of thies partes syns my last letters unto the same, the Kynge of Scottes, the 2de day of this present month of October, in hys owne Person with the nombre of 500 men, came to the Abbey of Coldyngham, afore whose commynge the Erle of Angwyshe brother, whoo was Priour ther, was departed to the mercy of God, and ther thought to have takyn the said Erle. But he, havyng prevey warnyng of the Kynges malityus purpose, dyd hove with 200 men within a myle of the Kynge. And at the said Kynges comynge thyther, he put the Lorde Home, and hys brother the Abbot of

[1] A letter from the Duke of Richmond's Council to Wolsey, dated 16th October, is among his Correspondence, Vol. VI. leaf 145. It states that Dacre and Cumberland were going to London, and that their dispute was of such importance that the Council had deemed it right to refer the matter to the Cardinal.

[2] From the Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 459. Printed by Pinkerton.

Gedworth,

Gedworth, in the said hous of Coldyngham, and ther left theyme to kepe it; retornyng agayn homeward.

At which returne the said Erle of Angwyshe pursued the Kyng soo fast, that he drove hym to Dunbar. And alsoo the said Erle expulsed the Lord Hoome and hys brother owte of Coldyngham, and ther nowe doth remayne hym self; as more at lenth youre Grace may perceyve by the Erlis letters sent unto me, the which letter I send unto your Grace herin closed.[1]

And nowe the said Erle haith sent unto youre Graces castell of Norham the Lady Margaret his doughter, which he had by the Quene; whoo ther doth remayne unto such tyme I may knawe furder of youre Graces pleasure.

And for the said Erle, I can see non other but that of very necessite he shalbe dryven unto this realme for sucker, by reason of the great army that the Kynge doth rayse against the 18th day of this month, only to put and expulce owte of his realme the said Erle; whoo in lykewyse haith wryten unto me to aide hym; to which, noo furder than I have wryten unto your Grace by my former letters, I will procede anendes the saide Erle, unto such tyme as I may knaw the Kynges Hyghnes pleasure and youre Graces; the whiche to folowe, accordinge unto my most bounden dutye, I shall indevour my self to the uttermost of my power.

Notwithstanding nowe, whan the said Erle of Angwyshe dyd set apon the Kynge of Scottes, it was in the nyght, at which tyme many Scottes men, and, as I am verey credably informed, dyvers of the Borders of England, came unto the said Erle in the nyght, the which dar not resort unto hym in the day, soo that he was 500 men apon the nyght whan he chassed the Kynge.

And for justes of the Borders, here is non kept of the Scottes party, nor noo redresse maid; for of late the Scottes have bene in on the water of Tyne and takyn 23 men and 16 catell. And noo redresse I can have of the Kynge of Scottes, nor of hys Counsell, for the same. And for the contrey of Northumberland for theft done for ony Inglyshe men, I suppose was never in such stay as it is nowe, and noo crymes nowe comytted, nawther by gentlemen ner non other, contrary the lawes of the Wardenry and justes, but thay be sharply corrected; sayff, to the parlus example of all the contrey, Syr William Ellycar haith, without licence, bene in the realme of Scotland, and also brought in with hym Marke Carre and other Scottes men, to the Kynges castell of Werke, and ther hunted openly with the Scottes men, in Ingland: the which march tresons, by caus he is the Kynges servaunt, I durst not

[1] Caligula, B. VII. leaf 98.

procede

procede unto, without the Kynges plesure knawen and your Graces; the which, in the premisses, most humble I besech the same I may knaw, and that it may lyke youre good Grace to gyf credence unto my felowe Lenard Musgrave this beirer, whoo purposely I send up unto you, to informe youre Grace of thes occurraunces at lenth.

And this 9th day of this present month I receyved letters frome the Kynge of Scottes and the Quene, the which I send unto youre Grace; wherby youre Grace may well perceyve the colorable aunsware of the said King. As oure Lord knowith, whoo evermore preserve Youre good Grace with long lyf, and asmych increace of honour as youre most noble hart can desyre. Wryten at the Kynges towne of Newcastell uppon Tyne, the 9th day of October.

Your most bondon servaunt,

(*Superscribed*) To my Lord Legates good Grace.

(*Signed*) H: NORTHMBRELAND.

CXCIV. NORTHUMBERLAND *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS yt Youre good Grace to be advertysed, that the tenthe day of Octobre I receyved youre Graces most honorable letters, with the Kynges Highnes letters dyrectyd unto the Kynge of Scottes; the which, according to youre Graces commaundement, I sent to the said Kynge of Scottes by a servaunte of myne owne in post; whoo reteyned hym unto the 25 day of this same monthe, and than by my said servaunte wrote a lettre unto me, the which lettre I send unto your Grace by thys berer, with the copye of my lettre unto the said Kynge of Scottes; wherby youre Grace may well perceyve that the said Kynge of Scottes doth bere still his malicius mynd toward thErle of Angwysshe. And alsoo, accordyng to the Kynges Highnes commaundment and youre Graces, I maid generall proclamations throughe owte the countye of Northumbreland, that all men shuld be in a redynes opon an howrs warnynge, for bycaus the Kynge of Scottes dyd rayse an army to pursewe thErle of Angwyshe. Notwithstanding, yt was extemed and planly supposed under the color of the same, that he wold invade thees the Kynges Marches under my rewle; for defens of which I willed all men to be in a redynes. Yet, nevertheles, the said Kynge of Scottes is com too Temptallon, an hous of thErle

[1] From the Museum, Caligula, B. VII. leaf 135.

of

of Angwyshe, with the noumbre of 12 thowsand men, by estymation, beinge twentye myle frome the Bordure, and besegyth the same, and, as it is said, doth send thErle Bodwell with the Lord Hoome to Coldyngham, to expulse thErle frome thens.

And alsoo the 17th day of this same month I dyd receyve, by a pursyvaunt frome Master Magnus, the Kynge and youre Graces most gracious letters, wherin the Kynges Highnes and youre Grace commaundithe me to be nye unto the Bordures to gyf attendaunce of Hys Hyghnes Commyssioners: the which I shall doo according unto the Kynges commaundment and youre Graces; and for that caus shall remayne at my castell of Alnewike, and alsoo caus all such indempnytees, as the Scottes haith done to thies the Kynges Bordures, to be representyd unto the said Commyssioners.

And this 27ti day of the said monthe, I have receyved youre most gracyous letters by George Dowglas, wherin youre Graces pleasure is that I shuld let the people slyp (if they soo will) with thErle of Angwyshe, he being in great necessitee; reservynge alway that nawther the Kynges Highnes commaundment, nor my pore advyse, shalbe notyd to be the occasion of the same. As for which I assure youre Grace thErle is soo welbeloved in England, that verey hard yt shuld bee (if I dyd my best) to withdrawe the commons frome rydynge with the said Erle, to hurt or domage the realme of Scotland. And as consernynge youre Graces castell of Norham, of whiche I am youre Graces servaunt and officer; sens fyrst thees assembleys haith bene in Scotland, I have haid Roger Lassells, with 40 of my howseholde servauntes and 20 of his owne, lying contynewally at youre Graces said castell. And if it shall fortune the said Erle to be dryven thyther for socurs; there shall noo moo come within youre Graces castell, but thErle, George Dowglas, and Archebald Dowglas, with 3 with theyme, and noo moo; and thay shall lye in the utter ward, and in noo wyse they shalbe maid prevey to any of thynner wardis withyn youre Graces castell. And, as I shall have knawledge of the occurraunces of Scotland from tyme to tyme, according to my most boundyn dewtye, I shall not fayle to sertyfye your Grace of the same. As Oure Lord knowith, whoo preserve Youre Grace with long lyf, and as mych increace of honour as youre most noble hart can desyre. Wryttyn at my castell of Alnewyk, the 28th day of Octobre.

Your most bondon servaunt,

(*Signed*) Hr Northmbreland.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates good Grace.

CXCV. Angus *to* Northumberland.[1]

My Lord, in my maist hertly manere I commend me unto Zour gud Lordschip. And, to certify the sammyn of sic novellis as occurris here, emplesit zour Lordschip call to rememberance how the King my Maister assemblit his army the 18 day of October last bipast, nochtwithstanding the tender and speciall letters the Kingis Hienes of Eingland directit to His Grace in favouris of me, and incontrar the said convocacioun, or assegeing of my house of Temtalloun; at the quhilk He and his army, with artillierie of his awin and of Dunbar castell, in greit quantite, has lyne and assegit rycht scharply, baith be gunnis and inginiouse men, baith Scottis and Frenche, that myndit the wallis in sic sort that, as can be rememberit, thar was nevir sa mekill pane travell expensis and diligence done and maid for the wynnyng of ane house, and the sammyn escaip, in Scotland, sen it was first inhabit. And apone Weddynnisday the ferde of November the King removit to Edinburght, bot 16 mylis fra Temtalloun, and left ane band of futmen, and ane cumpany of horsemen, to convoy hame the artillierie. And that sammyn Weddynnisday at nycht, I and part of wele horssit men of myn awin, to the nowmer of aucht score, and levit the lave of my folkis behynd me at Temtalloun, followit in eftir thame; and a litill eftir the mone rysing, or it was day, set apone thame, and has defait thame all, loving to God, baith horse men and fut men, and slane David Falkconer principall capitaine of the fut men, the best man of wer was in Scotland on the sey, and was takin be Einglismen nocht lang ago. And I have takin ane uyer capitaine of the fut men, and has him in firmance. And als I tuk the Maister of the Artaillie, and wan all the sammyn, and had baith men and artaillierie all in my will and dangar. Bot, because the King my Maister is sa neir of blud to the Kingis Hienes of Eingland, that has done sa mekill for me, and sa gud and graciouse Prince to me, and mekill the better be zour solicitacioun, I wald nocht dishonour the King here sa fer as to hald his artaillie, bot convoyit the sammyn my selff, quhill it was furth of danger; and sufferit the Maister of Artaillie to pas, and prayit him to commend my lauly service unto my Soverane, and to schew His Grace that I have bene trew servand and subjett to the sammyn; and that I gave His Grace na wyte of ocht that was done to me, bot to the ewill avisit personis about His Grace, nocht worthy yerto, and had done sic dishonour to him at this tyme, thai

[1] From the Museum, Caligula, B. VII. leaf 99. Printed by Pinkerton.

mycht nevir amend it, and I had plesit put it to executioun. My Lord, thir premissis ar of verite. And howe beit I mycht have any way and appoyntment, I will do na thing yerin bot be the ordinance of the Kingis Hienes of Eingland, and the avise of zour Lordschip; and has writtin presently to the Kingis Hienes to send command to the Commissionaris, nocht to tak na trewis nor peax, without I and my frendis be restorit to our heritagis, benefices, offices, rowmys, and possessiounis. And His Grace abyding yerat, I knaw perfit all wilbe, as His Hienes will have it. And forther in every behalff my brother zour servand can informe Zour Lordschip, quham God conserve eternaly. Writtin at Coldingham Abbay, this Satterday.

(*Signed*) Zours Arp Erl off Angus.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Erle of Northumbreland, Lieutennent and Wardane Generall of the Marchis of Eingland foranentis Scotland.

CXCVI. Angus *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Richt Hie, Richt Excellent, and Mycht Prince, in my maist humill manere I commend my lauly service unto Zour Hienes. Emplesit Zour maist nobill Grace, zour Commissionaris and thame on this syde convenit within zour toune of Berwyk the aucht day of November instant, and has appoyntit the nynt day of the nixt monetht to meit in the said place, for finall conclusioun of peax to be takin; maist humilly beseking Zour Hienes to have regard and consideratioun of my sympilnes, that is, and evir salbe, Zour Hienes trew and faithfull servitour, and to be sa gud and gratiouse Prince as to writ to zour Commissionaris, commanding thame that na peax nor trewis be takyn with Scotland, bot giff my matteris be dressit in the sammyn; for I, my frendis and parttakaris, sall byd at, underly, and fulfill, the commandment and plessour of Zour Hienes enduring oure lyffis, quhilk I promit faithfully to observe and keip. And giff the trewis beis takin at this tyme betuix thir twa realmes, without myn effaris be ordourit yairin, I and my frendis ar uterly distroyit and put doune for evir, sa that I ma nevir be habill to serve Zour Hienes; for this peax, that Scotland desyris, is allanerly for my distruction. Nocht

[1] From the Chapter House, State Papers Scotland, p. 295.

doutyng

doutyng Zour Hienes great prudence will have gud consideratioun of my faithfull mynd and trew service unto Zour Hienes, and to have piete of me, and pardone myn inoportunite now in tyme of neid, that has nane uther help nor suppley bot Zour Hienes allanerly.

Richt Hie, Richt Excellent, and Mycht Prince, I pray God Almychty preserve Zour maist noble Persone in lang lyff and gud prosperite. Writtin at Coldinghame Abbay, the 13th day of Novembre, 1528.

Zour Hienes humill servitour,

(*Signed*) Arp Erl of Angus.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Richt Hie, Rycht Excellent, and Mychty Prince, the Kingis Hienes of Eingland, &ca.

CXCVII. Magnus, &c. *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleas it Your good Grace to be advertised, that accoording to the Kingges mooste high commaundement and youres, directe unto us by your severall letters, the oone of the 5th and the other of the 6te daye of October, and mooste specially by a booke of instructions[2] signed with the Kingges mooste gracious hande, for our meting and assemblee at Barwik with the Commissioners of Scottelande, we have endevoured us, after our poore intelligence, to accomplisshe and fulfill theffecte of the same. And, in our going towardes the Bordours, we were with thErle of Northumberlande at Annewik, and mette there with the Levetenauntes of thEste and Myddle Marches, and thought soe to have doone with the Levetenaunte of the West Marches, whiche couth not be, for sondery lettes and impedimentes to the contrary. Nevertheles we riped us there as well as we couth, and had knowlege in what state the Bordours were ynne, for wante of redresse to be made to the same by the partie of

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1 From the Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 95.

2 Original, Caligula, B. VIII. leaf 25. Copy, B. V. leaf 40. These instructions were issued in consequence of the mission of Syngelar. Magnus and his colleagues were directed to obtain redress for murders committed on some of Lord Dacre's tenants, were furnished with detailed arguments in favour of Angus, and authorized to supply him with a safe conduct to England. After proceeding thus far, in consequence of a further communication from Scotland, a change was made in the instructions, and after further arguments in Angus's favour, it was directed that he should remain in Scotland, and they were to give him secret encouragement to do all the annoyance he could, and to conclude a separate article in his favour, so that nothing should be done against him, till Henry should be convinced of his crime of lese-majesty.

Scottelande. And, oonles it were for the grete and haynnouse attemptate doone and committed by the Scottes to the Lorde Dacre servauntes, and also oone or twoe high roberies doone of late by the saide Scottes in open forreys made in Northumberlande, specially withynne the baronry of Langley, my Lorde of Northumberlandes lordeship, where there were reved and taken awaye above 24^{ti} scoore hede of catell, and a grete noumber prisonners taken and conveied into Scotlande, there is, as farre as we canne conceive, as grete or gretter redresse to be made by the partie of Einglande, as by the partie of Scottelande, sethenne the tyme and season that this present trieux was concluded.

The 8te daye of this instaunte moneth, accoording to the contynue of the Kingges mooste honourable letters, we mette at Barwik with thAbbot of Kelsaye and Mr Adam Otterburne, assigned Commissioners for the King of Scottes; and, after gentill and condigne salutation, and somme commynnycation had of our assemble there, aither partie did see theffecte of the other commission. And, perceiving that the King of Scottes commission, after our myndes, was right sclender for the matiers and causes that we had to treate and commyn upon, purpoorting oonly but a peax for three yeres to be had accoording to this said present peax laste concluded; we shewed unto thaym we did not a litle marveill therof, conscidering there were many matiers of ymportaunce to be spoken upon, that, withoute further commission extending moore at large thaire autorities, right harde and deficill it shulde be for us to conduce and bring to good effecte and purpoos suche causes and matiers as contynually were used by the partie of Scottelande, to the breche of peax and provocation of booth the Princes to right high displeasure. And, albe it the said Commissioners of Scottelande persisted in requiring us to have a peax concluded and agreed accoording to theffecte of thaire said commission, we shewed unto thaym we couth not nor mought agree therunto, but furste to call for due redresse of suche high and haynnouse attemptates with other, as have bene doone and committed, sethenne the taking and concluding of this present peax.

Wherunto the said Commissioners couth not denye, but that our demaunde in that behalve was reasonnable, soe farre as the same mought be convcniently had on their partie; but thay were in doubte not a litle, for somyche as the Armestrongges, and other the inhabitauntes of Liddersdaill, were not in due obeysaunce to thair Prince, what redresse therfore shulde or mought be made, for suche grete and haynouse attemptates as were doone and committed by thaym, and other like offenders in thoos partes.

This cause was harde to the said Commissioners to aunsuer unto. Wherupon

p on thay mooved and procured us, furste to conclude a peax, not denying us to have the same for four or five yeres; and for that intent and purpoos thay woolde be content to sende for a newe commission; and reasonned that redresse couth not nor mought be made in breve tyme, because the due ordour therof muste reste in proves and trialles of men in diverse and sondery places upon the Bordours.

We reasonned and required also that, in case the Armestrongges, and other the theves of Liddersdaill, woolde not in any wise desiste frome thaire cruell and high attemptates, nor make due redresse, as in that behalfe it apperteynneth, that thenne there mought be an article made in the treatie of peax, or in a sedule to the same to be annexed, that, in case the King our Soveraine Lorde did in any wise moleste vexe or trouble thaym by brennyng herying or otherwise, that his soe doing shulde not be to the breche or rupture of the peax. To this thay said thay couth geve noe convenient aunsuer, withoute further knowlege of thair Princes pleasure. Howe be it, as thay said, thay thought it was right necessary and nedefull, that the saide theves shulde be repressed by the power and consent of booth the Kingges.

We required also, accoording to the treatie of peax, that furthwith all suche prisonners as of late were taken withynne the Einglisshe grounde, and as yet deteynned and kept in straite warde and prison in Scotlande, by the Armestrongges and the other Liddersdaill theves, shulde be deliverede putte at large and libertie, or and afore that we shulde condesende accoorde or agree to any further treatie of peax. Wherynne, as it appered, thay thought our request was reasonnable. Howe be it, as thay alledged, thay couth provide nor promyse any remedy in that partie, saying thay woolde endevour thaym selves, for somyche as in thaym is, that the said prisonners shulde be freed and putte at large.

Thus by the space of twoe or three dayes we reasonned for redresse, and declared that, withoute the same, and deliveray of our prisonners, it was not honourable for the King our Soveraine Lorde and Maister to conclude any peax; and over this inferred that it was myche lesse honourable to the King of Scottes, that his requeste for peax shulde, upon good and reasonnable consciderations, be restraynned or disapointed, in defaulte of his oune subjectes, for want of due obbeysaunce: the said Commissioners of Scottelande, contynuyng still in thaire oppynnyon, furste to conclude a peax, and thenne after to passe to the other causes concernyng the redresse aforesaid.

Proceding thus in these former matiers, we touched thErle of Anguse, desiring to knowe what the King of Scottes intended to doe for the said Erle, at the requeste and contemplation of the Kingges Highnes our Soveraine Lorde

Lorde his dereste uncle; persuading soe many reasons as we couth, accoording to theffecte of our instructions, and as we couth induce by our poore reasons, for the avauncement and setting forwarde of that cause unto our purpoos. Wherunto the said Commissioners made aunsuer, and said, that if in any wise this matier were attempted or mooved unto thaym effectually, that thenne commaundement was geven unto thaym, that thay shulde not in anywise demoore therupon, but rather to take thair leves honestely, and soe to departe, withoute further intromitting or medeling in that behalve; shewing, as trouthe was, it was noe parte of thair commission, naither generall, nor speciall. Nevertheles, knowing some parte, as thay said, of thair maisters counsaill, thay inferred that it was noe litle marveill to His Grace that the Kingges Highnes, his dereste uncle, shulde soe largely labour or geve any favour to that person, whoom His said Grace did take and repute as his rebelle, suppoosing in suche a case that His Highnes woolde rather persecute hym for his sake, thenne in anywise to admitte hym soe highly unto his favour; soe that therby, as thay alledged, it appereth that the Kingges said Highnes rather pretendeth superioritie of Scottelande, thenne otherwise.

Conceiving these reasons and oppynnyons, thenking the same not to passe withoute reasonnable aunsuer to be made by us, it was alledged ayeine, that it became right well the Kingges Highnes to write, moove, and to be meanes for the said Erle of Anguse to the King of Scottes his dereste nephieu, conscidering that, if he soe rigorously in his youth shulde persecute his noble men and Peers of his Realme, for noone higher cause nor transgression thenne yet appereth, fynally by all liklihood it shulde tende and make to his oune destruction, conscidering he is, totally and at the leiste, myche moore ruled and advised by theves and murderours, thenne by the noble men of his realme. And at this poynte we remembred some of the said yong Kingges Counsaillours, that is to wete, Sir James Hamylton, whoe did sley the Erle of Lenneux, the Sherriff of Heire, whoe also did sley thErle of Casselles, the Lorde of Buclough, whoe was cause of the deth of Dan Carre Warden of thEste Marches of Scottelande, and the Lorde Maxwell, cheiff maynteyner of all offenders, murderours, theves, and other, daily procuring and seching wayes and occasions to the breche and rupture of the peax betwene booth the realmes; by meanes of whiche mysruled persons, and of Harry Steward, nowe maried to the Quene of Scottes, the said Erle of Anguse is attainted, as consequentely by all liklihood shalbe other the noble men of Scotlande, for want of good Counsaillours aboute the said yong King, to his oune noe litle daungear jeoperdy and perell in conclusion, if that the counsaill of his dereste uncle the Kingges Grace be noe better folowed; proceding moore for the weall

weall suretie and favour that His Highnes bereth to his said dereste nephieu, thenne for any other cause had towardes the said Erle of Anguse.

With these aunsuers and other, we perplexed the said Commissioners, soe that thay said thay were desirous of peax; whiche if the Kingges Highnes woolde deny to his yong nephieu, hit was not honourable, and contrary to the lawes of God and nature, the King thair Maister being soe nigh conjoynned to the Kingges Highnes by proximitie of bloode; saying further that, if the Kingges Highnes shulde estraunge hym self soe farre from thaire Prince and Maister, regarding moore a straunger thenne his oune bloode, He was thenne infoorced to secke and be meanes for further frendes.

To this it was alledged that the Kingges Highnes never intended nor thought any favour or bering ayeinste the yong King his dereste nephieu, but oonly to geve unto hym His beste advice and counsaill for his prousperous weall and suretie, and is content to contynue with hym in peax, and never thought the contrary, though many grete occasions have bene geven to the same. Howe be it, we shewed hit was not convenient we shulde sodainly enter into the said peax, noone other ordour nor direction taken for the haynouse attemptates doone and committed to the King our Soveraine Lordes subjectes, not yet redressed, nor autoritie committe to the said Commissioners to treate commyn and conclude for the same, and specially till we shall knowe further the King our Soveraine Lordes high pleasure in this cause and other: declaring further His saide Highnes did mynde noone other thing, but as was reasonnable godly and naturall, albe it His said Highnes made meanes, like a vertuouse Prince, for a noble man being in adversitie, noone otherwise but as all good reason requireth. And, if herafter any breche of peax shall fortune or chaunce, it shall not be by any occasion geven by the Kingges Highnes, but in the defaulte of the yong King and his Counsaill, that woll see noone otherwise for the due ordour of justice to be mynistred to the subjectes of the realme of Einglande, soore hurted and damnyfied by the legies of Scottelande.

Thus, upon many reasons and persuasions made on booth our parties, the said Commissioners and we have proroged our diet till the 9th daye of December next commyng, this present peax standing in full effecte, as it did afore, till the 15th daye of January, and straite commaundement geven, booth in Einglande and Scotlande by proclamations, for the due observing of the same. The whiche 9th day of December, the said Commissioners and we have indented, God willing, eftesoons to mete here at Barwik, and soe to procede and conclude further.

Theffecte of all these premisses conscidered, as the Kingges said Highnes and your Grace shall commaunde us further to be ordoured in the same, mooste

mooste humbly we beseche your said Grace, that we maye be advertised with convenient spede and diligence; and whither we shall persiste in not taking of peax, oonles ordour be geven for thErle of Angus after the purpoorte and tenour of our instructions, or howe we shall fynally use our selves in that poynte; for therupon dependeth a grete parte of our conclusions, aither for peax or warre.

It is openly bruted and spoken in Scotteland, and in these the north partes, by George Douglas and Lyon harralde of armes, that the Kingges Highnes woll take noe peax with the yong King of Scottes his nephieu, oonles the said Erle of Anguse and his frendes be comprehended in the same, or otherwise reconsiled to the favour of thaire King and Soveraine Lorde: whiche is soore murmoured and spoken upon by the Kinges Counsaill of Scotlande.

We doubte that, upon due serche and depe examynation, there wolbe founden many grete attemptates doone and committed upon booth the parties of Einglande and Scottelande, the egalite or inegalite wherof we canne not as yet perceive, because all parties have not bene harde, nor we surely enfourmed of the same; and therfore for a good ordour to be taken in that behalve, we thenke, under the correction of your Grace, the saide cause shulde not retarde nor stoppe the peax, but that, upon conclusion of the same, we shulde appointe tymes for the Wardens of booth the parties to ordour thoos causes.

We thenke also that, howe soe ever the egalite or the inegalite of the said attemptates be, that a generall abolition of the same were not nor shulde be good to be had; for by that meanes a commyn murmour of the poore people shulde insurge, and woolde counforte all offenders to persiste in thaire evill and ungracious demeanours; and therfore better, under correction, it is that, upon meting of the Wardens, some redresse maye be made, and the other to remayne, and rather never to come to effecte, thenne clerely to be discharged; wherby the lesse harme and obloquie shall ensewe and folowe.

And, if the Scottes woll not aunsuer for the Armestrongges and the Liddersdaill men, whoe daily doe committe right high attemptates in Einglande, our oppynnyon is thenne, that some clause be annexed to the treatie of peax, if it maye be, conteynning in effecte that, if the Kingges subjectes canne not nor maye have directe redresse of thaym, or to be made for thaym, that thenne it shall and maye be levefull to the Kingges Highnes to pursue the said malefactours, and to take remedy of thaym, the treatie of peax or any parte therof in any wise notwithstanding.

And, in case the Kingges Highnes woll have noe peax, oonles thErle of Angus be provided in the same, the Scottes being of contrary mynde soe to doe, thenne of necessite garrisons muste be ordeynned and layd upon the Bordours,

Bordours, for defence of the same at the breking up of the peax; for otherwise the said Bordours and a grete parte of Northumberlande, lying waiste and not inhabit, as it hath bene, but also in extreme povertie, wolbe destrued; insomyche as thay be noe thing in comparison soe strong, naither in capitayns nor the commynnaltie, as ar the Scottes on thoder partie. The inhabitauntes of Tyndaill and Riddesdaill of late were in Scottelande, and many of thaym taken prisonners, and have loste at the leiste eight scoore horses; soe that the Bordours be somyche the weyker therby.

And, finally, we thenke, saving your gracious pleasure and refourmation, it were not good to refuse peax for thErle of Angus, conscidering the warre of Scottelande is never to the proufite of Einglande; naither that peax shulde be refused, though the Scottes woll see noe remedye for refourmation of the theves of Liddersdaill. In whiche twoe cases some other remedy maye be studied and devised, with farre lesse charge thenne aither to maynteyn warre with garrisons or otherwise; the Kingges high honour saved in every behalve, the same notwithstanding.

Mooste humbly we beseche your Grace, in case ye shall thenke we write any thing to largely in these premisses, to pardon us; the same procedeth but to shewe our poore oppynnyons as we thenke, being and shalbe redy to accomplisshe that thing that shalbe commaunded unto us.

And, insomyche as the daye appointed for our next meting here ayeine woll in breve tyme approoche nigh at hande, I, Thomas Magnus, intende therfore to remayne here in the meane season, to inserche see and noote the procedingges of Scottelande on all parties. And, in case the Commissioners of Scotlande, whoe have right well been enterteynned here, with suche pleasures and commodities as couth be had in this contrey, doe not soe well applye thaym selves with good juste and true reapoorte, as thay promysed thay woolde doe at thaire commyng to thaire Soveraine Lorde and maister, I thenne, being in truste to have knowlege and intelligence in that behalve, purpoos to write to the yong King of Scottes and his Counsaill, declaring at large, as nigh as I canne, all suche thingges as shall make for the Kingges high pleasure and youres. And in the saide meane season I, Sir Thomas Tempeste, being Controuller of my Lorde of Richemondes householde, intende to repaire into thoos partes, and to looke upon some parte of my duetie, and soe to retourne hider ayeine, ayeinste the daye appointed for our next meting.

The said Mr Adam Otterburne, oone of the King of Scottes Commissioners, and his Advocate, humbly besecheth your Grace of your good and gracious favour to be shewed unto hym in a cause of his oune, depending afore your Grace in travers betwene oone Mr Myller and an other called

Saunder Keye, Scottissheman, for a bargayn of salmon. The said Mr Adam is a sad, discrete, and an honeste gentilman, and therfore we ar the moore boolde in his cause to make intercession for hym unto your said Grace; whoom Almighty God evermoore have in His mooste blessed preservation. At Barwik, the 14th daye of November.

By your humble bedemen and servauntes,

(*Signed*) T. MAGNUS.
(*Signed*) A. UGHTRED.
(*Signed*) T. TEMPEST.

(*Superscribed*)
Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CXCVIII. MAGNUS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your good Grace to be advertised. I truste the same hath had knowlege howe the King of Scottes hath laide sege to Temptalon, and hath bene there by a good season, and, prevaling litle therunto, hath geven over the same; and in his retournyng towardes Edinburgh, thErle of Anguse, folowyng his armye, hathe slayn Davy Fawconer, well knowne in Einglande, being capitayn of the saide Kingges footemen, as he was in his lodging going homewarde: the matier for that partie resting soe still at this season.

I conceive also that in the tyme of the saide sege, Archebalde Douglas, uncle to the said Erle, and George Douglas, the said Erles broder, did mete to gader at a certaine place, as I remember called Cobornespath, with Sir James Hamelton and the Shereiff of Heire, cherisshed servauntes and in grete favour with the King of Scottes, and did common to gaider for an ordour howe the said Erle and his frendes shulde be reduced and brought into the gracious favour of thaire Soveraine; but, as I understande, the said ordour was not to the contentation of the said Erle and his frendes. And therfore, as farre as I canne conceive, the saide Erle doth reste to suche wayes as shall or maye be taken, moore to thaire proufite pleasure and avauntage, by the Kingges Highnes.

Accoording to your gracious commaundement, George Douglas hath received the hundreth pounde assigned to and for thuse of thErle of Anguse his broder, and haith bene here with me at diverse tymes sethenne my commyng hider.

[1] Holograph. From the Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 125.

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Hit besemeth me not, for want of knowlege and intelligence, to reason in these matiers, but as I am commaunded to doe my duetie and diligent service; and elles I woolde thenke, under the correction of your Grace, it were not good that we, oonly for the said Erle, shulde discounforte the King of Scottes, or abate any parte of his favour frome the Kingges Highnes his dereste uncle; where as afore He was soe well inclyned to the devotion of Einglande, as couth be thought or devised. And therfore it mooveth me to putte your said Grace in remembraunce of the same, whiche in any wise did not procede by the saide Erles wayes and meanes; but therupon, and specially by meanes and favour of the Kingges said Highnes, the said Erle was myche the better accept and taken into favour in Scottelande, and soe if any remedy woll chaunce, he is likly at this tyme, and elles for noone other cause, as farre as I canne conjecture and understande.

Commaundement, as it is said, was geven that, if any of our Borderours woolde slippe to the said Erle, thay shulde be sufferde. A good noumber of thaym of late were to gader, as I am enfourmed, and aither fewe of thaym or noone woolde passe into Scotlande to the saide Erle, oonles it had bene by speciall commaundement.

As I am enfourmed, there is at this tyme litle or noe gonne powder in Scottelande, soe that therfore thay be enfoorced to sende into Fraunce to be furnisshed of the same, and other munytions for the warre; wherof, oonles the same be in Dombar, there is noe plenty in Scottelande. But this matier commeth upon the saying of George Douglas.[1]

Ymmediately upon the making of this my letter, the said Erle of Anguse, being well counforted with suche messages as I have sent unto hym, accoording to the Kingges gracious instructions and youres, and content to take myne assuraunce by woorde for his commyng or entering into Einglande withoute any writing, not necessary after my poore oppynnyon to passe, in case that

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[1] Among Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. VIII. Part I. No. 125. is a letter from Northumberland to Wolsey, of the 16th of November, which contains the following passage:

"And alsoo I receyved letters frome thErle of Angwyshe, the which letters, I send unto youre "Grace; and at my rejournyng frome youre said castell toward my poore hous, beyng two myles "on the way, over tooke me the saide Erle, whoo told me that he came to declare and shew unto "me, according to his dutye to the Kynges Highnes, such maters as he knew in Scotland; the "which was, that oon Maister John Camell a Scottysheman, uncle to thErle of Argyle, shuld goo "over into the parties of byyonde the see, to prepare for gonnes and gonne powder and other "munycions of war, in adventure that any warr shulde be betwene the Kynges Hyghnes and "theyme. And alsoo that he said, such thynges as he shuld knowe of from tyme to tyme he wold "not faile to send unto youre Grace, with spedy dyligence. And in lyke case he haith sent, unto "the Kynges Highnes and your Grace, letters, the purporte wherof I knowe not."

the said Erle and his frendes woolde shewe the same, as noe faill thay woolde, to thencoraging of other in Scottelande to be parte takers with thaym, came hider unto me with his uncle and broder; geving, as he is gretely bounden, mooste humble and mooste lowly thankes with his service during his liffe unto the Kingges Highnes and your Grace, for the grete counforte and favour in this his mooste extreme daunger adversitie and trouble, shewed to hym and all his said frendes; by whoom I conceive his oppynnyon is, insomyche as the yong King hath bene disappointed of his purpoos at Temptalon, and hath had noe small displeasures doone by the said Erle, after refusell made to his mooste humble and mooste lowly offers, as it apperteynneth to a subjecte to use hym to his Soveraine Lorde, the said yong King, by meane of frendes, woll the rather inclyne to thaccepting of the saide Erle into his mercy and favour. Wherof I have litle truste, but perceive myche to the contrary, moore nowe to be nooted thenne was afore, by occasion of the slaughter of the saide Davy Fawconer, being of convenient substaunce, and oone of the beste capitayns in Scottelande, specially upon the see; whiche is grevously taken by the King of Scottes and his Counsaill, to thencreace of further grudges, moore depely ympressed in the Scottes mynde towardes the saide Erle thenne all other were afore.

He and his broder George have mooved me and my companyons to reste still in calling for redresse, and not to entre into any further peax with Scottelande, alledging that therby the saide King of Scottes and his Counsaill shalbe infoorced to graunte and consent to any thing that we woll require or desire of thaym; the contrary wherof I esteme to be true, and soe hidertowarde I and my saide companyons have proved the same, by due experience, at this the tyme of our meting with the Commissioners of Scottelande, whoe have demaunded of us what redresse we had at any tyme made by the saide Erle of Anguse, whenne he was Warden of thEste and Myddle Marches of Scottelande by these three yeres passed. Wherunto we couth make noo perfite aunsuer; naither the Bordours of Einglande doe lawde praise nor commende the said Erle in any wise, for doing of justice in that behalve; the saide Commissioners ymputing totally the defaulte and blame therynne to the saide Erle of Anguse.

The saide Erle also shewed unto me, that the saide yong King and his Counsaill have sent oone William Hamelton to thEmperour, desiring mariage, and to be in lege and amyte with hym; and right soe the Commissioners of Scottelande, by waye of gentill conference and commynnycation had betwene us, confessed the same in effecte withoute any motion by us made therunto, affermyng the same to be procured and sette forwarde by the meanes of the saide

saide Erle of Anguse, whenne he was Chaunceler, and in his beste autoritie. I suppoos that this is likly to be true. It maye therfore like your Grace to ponder this matier after your gracious pleasure, as the same shall thenke good. I induce this cause with other, aswell comprised in this my letter, as in the other, to putte your saide Grace in remembraunce of soe many thingges as I thenke necessary to come to knowlege.

The saide Erle and his broder procure asmyche matier as thay maye, tending to thaire oune advauntage, and for the releving of thaire oune causes; wherynne I shall doe asmyche as to me shalbe possible, accoording to the Kingges mooste gracious commaundement and youres, by the helpe of Our Lorde God, whoe evermoore have Your said Grace in His mooste Blessed tuition and governaunce. At Barwike, the 14th day of November.

Your full humble preiste and bedeman,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) T. MAGNUS.

Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CXCIX. NORTHUMBERLAND *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAYSYTH yt Your good Grace to be adwertyssyd off such nows as by asspielles I can come to knowlayge off howth off Scotland, consernyng the mayryag off the yong Kyng there. So yt ys, as I am credyably infformyd, the Kyng off Scottes dyd send on Wylliam Hamylton, wo long agoo dyd pas by your Grace, in to France, to conclud a ferme peas for ever betwyn the Emperour and the sayd young Kyng off Scottes, and also to conclude mariage betwyxtt the sayd Kyng and one off the Emperours susters. And, apon wrytyng now resewyd from the sayd Hamylton, the Kyng off Scottes hayth callyd hys Parlementt to be holden at Edeinbrowgh, apon Senct Androw day to begyn; wher unto he hayth sommonyd all hys Lordes, both speretuall and temperall, apon payn off deth; ther, as I have perffett knowlayg, only for to send an Embassitour for the fynyshing and perffayting off the premysses with the Emperour. And watt shall be don or concludyt at the sayd Parlementt, I shall not fayll, as I may gett knowlayg, to serteffy your Grace; most humble bechechyng the sayme that, yff yt may stand with the Kynges Hyghnes and your most gracious pleasoure, I may repayr unto your presences, the whych

[1] Holograph. From the Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 241., where it is catalogued as of the year 1529.

shall

shall be my most comffort; and that I may declare unto your Grace the staytt off thes Borders, the whych I putt no dowth, from that your Grace shall have perffayt knowlayg off the sayme by your grett and pollytyk wisdom, your Grace shall dewyz and take such an ordere in these partes, as shall be for the well and polytyk orderyng of the pur contry, that ever after yt shall remayne in a marwelus perffaytt stay. And, how the Kyng off Scottes, by the adwyz off lyght counsell, doth order hem selff, your Grace shalt mour perseyff by my servaunt thys berer, to whom most lowly I bechech your Grace to gyff credens. In hast, the 16th day of Novembre, with the rude fyst off

Your humble and most bondon servauntt,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) Hy Northmbreland.

To my Lorde Legattes good Grace.

CC. Magnus *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleas it Your good Grace to be advertised, that having knowlege and intelligence frome oute of Scottelande, that by the open brutes and reapoortes made in thoos partes by George Douglas, and other by his procuring, it was oppenly spoken that the Kingges Highnes woolde not in anywise conclude nor take peax with his yong nephieu the King of Scottes, oonles that thErle of Anguse, the saide George, and Archebalde Douglas, were comprehended or provided for in the same; hering also by credible reapoorte that the yong King was soe farre perplexed and plonged in sorowe, upon unkyndenes taken, that the said Erle shulde be moore favourably accepted reputed and taken, thenne he was, with his dereste uncle, the Kingges said Highnes, braste oute of weping, that the teers came rennyng doune by his chekes, insomyche that the Lordes of his Counsaill were gretely mooved and stired at that matier; and, over this, being in doute what reapoorte the said Kingges Commissioners, after thaire from hennes departing, made at thaire repaire and commyng hoome; I thought good and convenient to write to the said King of Scottes, and to declare unto hym theffecte of the Kingges mooste gracious pleasure, comprised in thinstructions sent and committe unto me and to other my complices; wherby at large the said King shulde be induced, not oonly to conscider what the Kingges said Highnes hath doone for Hym in his mynorite,

[1] From the Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 123.

for

for the weall suretie and sauf garde of his person, but what avauntage His saide Highnes couth and mought have taken for redresse of suche displeasures, and many attemptates, as have bene doone and committed to his Realme and the subjectes of the same by the legies of Scottelande, contrary to the trieux and treatie of peax concluded betwene thayme; ne had bene the assured favour, moost loving affection, and perfite amyte, that the Kingges said Highnes doth bere to the said yong King as to his mooste dere and mooste intierly beloved brother and nephieu: as moore at large it doth appere by copy of my letter, with this, amongges other, incloosed, and thaunsuer[1] therunto annexed,

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[1] Caligula, B. VII. leaf 104.

" Richt traist and weilbelovit Clerk, We commend Ws hertlie unto zow. By ye tenoure of zouré " laite writingis send wnto Ws, datid at Berwyk ye 18 day of November instant, We tak perfyte " knawlege of zour gude and awfald mynd, with zoure contynuall laubouris and cuire till encres " and nwryse ye amite and hertlie favoure betuix our derrest uncle zour Soverane and Ws. And, " as We have cleirlie onderstand be ye gude reporte maid till Ws of zou be Maister Adame Ottir- " burne oure Advocate and Counsalour; quhairin nocht only ze do thing richt acceptable till God, " bot alsua schawis zour selff ane faithfull and trew servand to zour Soverane, and ane loving and " gret freind till Ws; quhairof We for oure parte gevis zow our maist hertlie thankis, nocht " dowtand bot ze sall constantlie perseveir in ye samyne. And, quhaire ze schaw in zour writingis, " be diverse resones and causis, ye perfyte luf and rotit kyndnes, wyth singulair affectioun, our " derrest uncle apone ane tendire zeyll hes at all tymes borne wnto Ws in our minorite, for oure " preservacioun fra monyfald dangeris, layand aparte all occasiones and avantagis moving Him to " ye contrary, in entent yat We, approchand till our perfyte aigis, suld schaw mutuell corrispon- " dence of lyke favour and kyndnes in yis behalf, ze sall weill knaw We have in remembrance syk " notable kyndnes of oure derrest uncle towarte Ws, quhairin wyth oute dowte He hes schawin " Him self ane noble and vertuus Prince, our all ye warld, and hes mair augmentit his honour and " renowne yairthro, yane be ony oyer ackis done in his tyme; and shall acquite ye samyn with " effect, as God gevis Ws graice; exhortand zou, and all oyer his wyse Counsalouris, apply zoure " haile study and cuyre, yat nane oyer cause nor invencioun ryse of new on his part, yat may " separate or abstract his lovable and accustumat favour and kyndnes fra Ws, We being now in " constant mynd, as We grow in aige, till beyre Ws in every behalf to ye plesour of oure derrest " uncle, in syk sorte yat He sall rejoise, and thynk every gude act and deid, done be Him till Ws " in our minorite, weill bestowit and collocat, as ressoune and ye naturall band of blude betuix " Ws requirith.

" As tuichand ye meting of ye Commissionaris of baith ye Realmes, quhais commissiones had " nocht baith lyk strynth, it wes onderstand till Ws and our Counsaile, yat yer wes nane oyer " thing to be done at yis zour meting bot till have tane peax for thre zeris, providing yat dew " redress wer maid on all sydis for attemptatis done in tyme bypast, according to ye diverse wri- " tingis laitlie past betuix our derrest uncle and Ws. Neveryeles at yis nixt meting, to be ye nynt " day of December nixt, oure Commissionaris sall have commissioun mair ample, and for peax taking " for fyve zeris, with instructiones in all thingis yat accorde for oure parte, for ye better affixing " and establisching of rest and tranquilite betuix baith ye Realmes; and in yis meyntyme We have " commandit all presoneris of Ingland, being in Scotland, onlauchfully takyne, to be fred, lyke as ze " sall persave at large be our saidis Commissionaris: traistand ze will cause be done for ye parte " of Ingland in semlable maner. Sua, peax standand betuix baith ye Realmes, We may and sall, " God willing, proced to ye scharpe and rygorouse pwnyssching of all transgressioune apone our

" Bordouris,

annexed, wherby it is declared that the said King of Scottes, making goodly aunsuer at large to my said letter, doth recognise and knowlege in full honourable maner the grete goodnes of the Kingges Highnes shewed, as is afore said, unto Hym in his said mynorite; under correction, not to be refused nor putte aparte, many thingges conscidered, for any person that never did service nor kept appointement, as duety in sondery wises required, naither to any the Kingges officers upon the Bordours, nor to any other having autorite to treate and commyn upon the Kinges causes. Howe be it, I shewed but my poore oppynnyon, and shall doe that thing, for asmyche as in me is, as shalbe commaunded unto me.

And hering that the Quene of Scottes was mooved of pitie towardes the said Erle of Anguse, I devised a letter to Her Grace[1] with other to the Archebusshop

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" Bordouris, quhilk settis dalie yair cuire and laubouris till intermell baith ye realmes; and sall " provyde syk remeid for dew redress in syk maner, yat, and We loise our Realme, and bruyk " our Crounne, yair salbe na cause of playnte be ressoune for ony thing langing till our parte.

" And fynalie, quhair ze wryte anent ye gentill mediacioun maid wnto Ws be oure derrest uncle " in favouris of Archibald sum tyme Erle of Angus, with his complicis, our rebellis, We suppone " zour self nor nane oyer will consider We may with our honour inclyne to tak ye saidis rebellis in " favouris at yis tyme, considerand at syk contemplacioun of our derrest uncle, and for oyer con- " sideraciones, be ye avise of our Counsaile We condiscendit to gif graice to ye saidis rebellis, " conforme to ye said Archibaldis desyr onder his hand wryte and signet; as mair larges our Com- " missionaris sall informe zow. Ye quhilkis rebellis, persisting in yer ewill mynd till perverte, and " it mycht ly in yer power wyth syk help as yai mycht sollist yerto, ye haile weill of Ws and our " Realme, hes playnlye refusit ye samyn. Quhairthrow We surelie beleif, yis beand weill considerit, " yair is na levand creatour, yat wald ye weill of Ws, will gif Ws consaile for our honour, till " inclyne foryer to ye desyris of ye saidis rebellis. Prayand zow, rycht traist and weilbelovit " Clerk, till amplie consydder yir our letters, and all poyntis above wrytyne, quhairby ze sall " cleirly onderstand We condiscend and applys Ws haile till all thing yat is for ye weill of baith " ye Realmes; and, sa far as We may with our honour, to ye plesure and desyr of our derrest " uncle; albeit oyer informatioun be maid till Hymme of Ws, quhilk We doute nocht bot ze wyth " zour wysdome will cause be oyer wayse considerit; prayand Eternall God have zou in His blissyt " governance. Wrytyn at our castell of Striveling, ye 24 day of November.

" (*Signed*) JAMES R."

(*Superscribed*)
Till our rycht traist and weilbelovit Clerk,
M. Thomas Magnus, Commissionair to
our derrest uncle ye King of Ingland,
&ca.

[1] Caligula, B. VII. leaf 106. Copy written by Magnus:

" After mooste due and mooste lowly recommendation unto Your good Grace. Pleas it the same " to wete, that your right dere and tender nephieu, the Dukes Grace of Richemonde and Somerset, " recommaundeth Hym unto Your said Grace in his right hartie and full humble maner, being ever " glad whenne He hereth of your good health and welfare; joying also myche at all tymes to have " knowlege of the prousperous estate of the right excellent Prince, the Kingges Grace youre " sonne.

" Madame,

Archebusshop of Glasco[1], the Busshop of Aburdyne, and Mr Adam Otter-

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" Madame, ymmediately after my commyng frome oute of Scottelande, it pleased the Kingges " Highnes your dereste broder, my Soveraine Lorde and Maister, to assigne me to attende upon " your saide right dere nephieu the Duke of Richemonde aforesaide, where contynually sethenne " I have geven myne attendaunce, and right litle have bene aboute the Kingges Highnes my " Maister.

" At this late diet hoolden at Barwik I was autorised, with other, by the King my Soveraine " Lorde and Maisters commission, to mete with the King youre sonnes Commissioners to treate " commen and conclude for all suche thingges as shulde tende and make for the fyrme enter- " teynnyng of assured good love and amyte, as nature requireth, with contynuall peax to be had " betwene thaym, thair realmes and subjectes, mooste propice, valable, and beneficiall for the same: " wherunto there canne noe Prince be better nor moore inclyned thenne is the Kingges Highnes " your dereste broder, for the tender zele and hartye affection that He bereth to the Kingges Grace " his dereste nephieu, your said sonne. I doubte not but your Grace is privea to all the pro- " cedingges, and specially to suche letters as of late have passed frome the Kingges Highnes my " Maister to the Kingges saide Grace your sonne; conteynnyng myche matier touching thErle of " Angus, whiche well and substauncially looked upon and regarded, doe make for the honour weall " and surety of youre saide sonne, in avoiding highe inconveniences that elles may chaunce withynne " his oune realme, to the discoraging of his noble men, and consequentely to the dangier and perell " of his oune person. For the preservation wherof, and avauncement to his high estate and dignety " royall, Your Grace knoweth right well, what grette cure study and diligence the King my Maister, " to his noe litle coste and charge, haith susteynned, as for that person whom His Highnes estemeth " for his dereste and mooste intierly beloved nephieu, with noe lesse favour and affection thenne " shulde procede frome a fader to his naturall sonne.

" Madame, I doubte not but Your Grace wolbe glad to procure that theffecte of the King my " Soveraine Lordes letters, proceding noone otherwise but upon mooste honourable and gentill " meane and mediation with good counsaill, shall not be retourned but to some good effecte and " purpoos; wherby the demonstration of mooste hartye kyndenes of the saide Kingges Grace youre " sonne may appere to his dereste uncle, to the noe litle pleasure and contentation of His Highnes; " all causes and matiers of diffidence, where never noon suche was nor shalbe, utterly putte aparte. " And fynally, I canne not persuade unto my selff, but that Youre Grace wolde be sory to witte or " see the saide Erle of Angus, being a noble man of Scottelande, and of the auncient blode of the " same, to be pursued to an utter distruction, oonles higher matiers of lese majesty shulde be had " ayeinste hym, thenne yet appere. And, as to suche causes as be objected and layd unto his " charge, your gracious meanes and favour being shewed for pyte, thay may be refourmed in some " esyer maner, as shall and may be thought good to the Kingges Grace youre saide sonne and his " full honourable Counsaill, the rather at the contemplation of his dereste uncle and your broder " the Kingges Highnes my Maister; whiche I assure Your Grace woll thankfully be accept and " taken, not for the saide Erles sake somyche, as that it wolde pleas the Kingges Grace youre " sonne to wey and ponder theffecte, in every behalve, of the King my Masters letters, as a mooste " kynde and moste loving broder and nephieu.

" And, as a poore man may, after my litle power I shall ever study and labour, that good " love, perfite amyte, assured reste, and tranquillite, may ever be betwene thaym and thair realmes, " with my service redy at all tymes to be shewed unto Your Grace accordingly. As knoweth " God, whoe evermore have Your saide good Grace in His tuition and governaunce. At Barwik, " the 18th daye of November."

[1] Caligula, B. VII. leaf 119. of the same date to Archbishop Dunbar.

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bourne; copies wherof, with aunsuers[1] to the same annexed, I sende also unto your said Grace.

Amongges

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[1] Caligula, B. VII., contains four of these answers; viz.,

November 24. James V., leaf 104. November 25. Otterburn, leaf 116.
25. Q. Margaret, ibid. 107. 26. Archbishop Dunbar, ibid. 120.

The Queen's answer is as follows:

" Richt traist and weilbelovit frend, We commend Ws to zow in our hertlie maner. We have " ressavit zoure writting datit at Bervik ye 18 day of November, mentioning in ye first the com- " mendatioun fra our gude nephew the Duke of Rechiemond and Somersett, quharof We in oure " maist tendre maner thankis our said cousing. We desire zow effectuuslie to have Ws recom- " mendit unto him, as We yat sall intertennye oure detfull kyndnes, as naturall affectioun aucht " towartis him, as We yat is rycht glaid of his gude prosperitie; praying God ye same " contineu.

" Secundlie, quhare zoure writting reportis yat, be commandment of ye Kingis Hienes oure " derrest broyir, ze remanit wicht oure cousing of Rechiemond sen zour departing last of yis " Realme, and at yis conventioun last affixt at Bervick ze war autorisit to meit commoun and " conclude in all sic thingis as suld tend for ye ferme intertening of assurit gude luif and amitie " as nature requirit, wicht continuall peax to be had betuix yame yair Realmis and subjectis, maist " wallable for ye same; to quhilk yair can na Prince be bettir inclynit yan is oure derrest broyir " for ye tendre zeill and hertlie affectioun He beris unto ye King our derrest son. We beleif nane " of zoure estait mair convenient to commoun in sic effaris, and now is ye maist speciall tyme " yat ye King oure broyeris gude mynd may be maid patent to oure derrest son, as eftir ye gude " addresment of yat zour Bordouris and zoure Commissionaris concludis; in fortificatioun of ye " quhilk We pray zow maist affectuuslie, and ye rather for our confort and consolatioun, and for " ye perseverance of loif and amitie betuix baitht ye realmis.

" Thridlie, concerning our knawlege of ye letters send be oure derrest broyir to ye King our " derrest son, We studie gretlie yarof. In thame apperis small affectioun for our saik. It is " nocht litill strange to ye King our derrest son and his Counsale, yat oure derrest broyir the " King had, and presentlie hes, so grett regard of my Lord Angus lese prosperitie, quhen We, " yat is his naturall sustir, sustenit grett dolour and grett wrangis, as weill bodelie as in oure " landis and gudis, His Grace havand na gude e yarto. Quhowbeit ressoun requirit mair con- " sideratioun in yat behalve. Quhair zoure said writting contenit oure procuratioun in favouris of " ye Erle of Angus, We mervell gretlie yarof, considering, sen his offensis maid to Ws, he nocht " applijt him to mak Ws gude case to continew gude Princes to him: quhilk had bene his hicht " honour, speciall dewitie, havand rememberance of ye grett honour We did untill him; the " quhilk for zoure understanding is eftir specifeit.

" In ye first, We, for ye tendre loif weilfaire of him and his house, movit of gude mynd " humanit Ws to solemnizit matrimony witht him; traisting yat he of his nobilitie suld nocht have " forzett yat We for him was exilit fra ye governament of yis Realme, ye maist part of oure gudis " perforse withthaldin, oure howsis and possessionis alwais restringeit fra oure use, and We " dissolait of remede; We nocht regarding yir inconvenientis, bot alwais gevand oure maist " speciall attendence to procure and labour ye said Erlis weill and suretie, first in yis Realme, and " yereftir in yat oure derrest broyeris realme off Ingland; yareftir, quhen it plesit ye Kingis " Hightnes to send convowe Ws in hight honorable maner, to oure said derrest broyeris grett " expensis, agane to yis Realme, within schort space yereftir ye said Erle behade him rycht " oncourteslie unto Ws, and also sufferit his frendis in lik maner, and continuallie sen ye said " tyme he and thai hes done persevere to oure displesour: and in speciall yir thre zeris bipast,

" nocht

Amongges other thingges it appereth, and by liklihood wolbe moore apparaunte at our next meting with the Commissioners of Scottelande, that, at the desire requeste and contemplation of the Kingges Highnes, the King of Scottes was content and pleased to receive and accept into his gracious favour the saide Erle, his broder, and uncle, upon thaire oune offers and submissions; copy wherof your said Grace sent unto me; and after, the said Erle revooked the same, as is alledged, to be proved by his oune hande writing.

As to the treatie of peax, the yeres for the same, deliverey of prisonners, and making of due redresse, with other towardenes for demonstration of good amitie, your Grace shall conceive all at large by the said aunsuers; but litle favour as yet I see that is born or geven to the said Erle of Angus, aither by spirituall or temporall persons; the saide Erle being a good honourable and an hardy man, as is afore said, and I suppoos of trouth, totally ordoured not

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" nocht havand na consideratioun of our personne honour nor weill, bot alwais putting all in " geuppart; quhilk war oure pietuouse and gret mervell to report; and attoure, wald nocht suffere " oure ane dochter to remane wicht Ws for our confort, quha wald nocht have bene disherest, scho " being wicht Ws.

" My gude and rycht traist frend Master Magnus, We dout nocht but zoure ressoun will mak " zow avise sadlie herupone, quhilkis foirsaidis of dett askis na favouris nor gude mynd. Zeit " nochtheless We, movit of pietie, and havand consideratioun of ye tyme present, nocht alanerlie " for ye weill of ye Erle of Angus, bot first for ye meritt of God, and to mak oppinlie knawin " yat We beire na rancour to ye said Erle, We have alwais to yis hour absentit oure evill report " of him or his frendis, in secret and plane audience, as God knawis; and in likmaner We have " supersedit executoriallis and schap process, quhilk We have on him tobe producit boith in " spirituall and temporall law. Als We have nocht procurit nor persewit nane of hes heretage " gudis nor na maner prehemense, yat pertenit to him or his frendis. And for Ws, We will " omitt all iyr towart ye said Erle and his frendis; and, in safer as We may, nocht displesand our " derrest son, and kepand oure dew part to yis Realme, We sall will na hurt to ye said Erle nor " his frendis; prayand God to send yame grace to mak ye King our derrest sone be so satisfeit " of yame, yat thai may recover his favouris, and leif under Him as his subjectis, and as yare " foirelderes hes done in tyme past.

" Item We have writtin diverse tymes to ye Kingis Higchnes oure derrest broyir, and hes " ressavit no maner response yerof, quhilk letters We beleif was for ye intertening of tendre loif " betuix oure derrest son and Him, boith yare Realmis, and uyir gude effaris to have followit. The " quhilkes for lese expeditioun of response, is now set apart and oure labouris sessit; and gif We " had ye Kingis Grace oure derrest broyir accepand and autorisand oure gude mynd, We wald " have bene werray glaid to have disponit Ws, as We have oft before in tymes bipast, to have " procurit it, yat mycht have bene to his plesour honour and weill of his Realme.

" We thank zow hertlie of zoure rememberance at yis tyme. Ze sall find Ws do for zow, gif " ze charge Ws in ony thing We may, tending to zour weill; praying God have zow in His keping. " At Edinburgh, yis 25 day of November.

(*Signed*) " Your frend,
" MARGARET R."

(*Superscribed*)
To oure rycht traist and weilbelovit Master Magnus,
Dene of Esteridingne &ca.

of hym self but by his frendes, and specially by the said George his broder; as is Archebalde by his wiff. Whiche twayne, by reapoorte, have brought thaym all to this trouble and busynes.

Sethenne the being here of the Commissioners of Scotlande, diverse and sondery grete attemptates have bene doone and committed upon these thEste Marches by the inhabitauntes of South Tivedaill, suppoosed booth in Einglande and Scottelande, favourers to thErle of Anguse, rather dispoosed to procure warre, thenne to have peax. Wherupon I wroote to the Chaunceler and Lordes of the Counsaill of Scottelande[1], my writing being well accept; as at large your Grace maye conceive the circumstaunce by copy of my letter, and retourne of thaire aunsuer.[2]

The Counsaill of Scottelande, being thus in comber trouble and busynes amongges thaym selves, have of late reduced, and brought ayeine unto thaym, thArchebusshop of Saint Andrewes. To what effecte or purpoos, or to whoos party he is mooste inclyned, as yet I knowe not, but I shalbe advertised in breve tyme.

The said Erle of Anguse, with his broder, and uncle, was here with me yesterday, and required to have had twoe or three hundreth men of the Bordours to have paste with hym into Scottelande, whenne he woolde call upon thaym. I shewed hym I had noe such autorite, and required hym to remember the goodly rewarde, that I deliverde for his use to his broder George; wherwith, wanting noe frendes in Scottelande, as he and all his alledge thay have, he mought soone have three or foure hundreth felowes at his commaundement, besides the other nigh aboute hym; being, whenne thay ar all to gader, not paste an hundreth or six scoore persons. I gave hym good and counfortable woordes, as I was commaunded by the Kingges instructions and youres, and fynally he and I counsailled what lowly sute was good for hym to use to the Kingges Grace his Soveraine and the Lordes of his Counsaill, for the weall of hym and his frendes. Wherupon he is determynned, afore the commyng hider of the Commissioners, to see what he canne doe by meanes of Freers or other like personnages; after my poore oppynnyon being to litle purpoos, but if it be upon the Kinges speciall requeste and mediation, whiche mooste specially woll prove upon our next meting here ayeine the 9th daye of the next moneth of December.

These be the causes occurraunt at this season in these partes. And being in truste to have aunsuer shortely of the former letters, I beseche your Grace,

[1] Caligula, B. VII. leaf 109. November 24.

[2] Ibid. leaf 110. November 26.

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as the same shall seme good for aunsuer to be made to any parte of these premisses, that it maye be had with good spede; and I shall cause the Commissioners of Scottelande to tary here as long as I canne, specially for that purpoos. And Almighty God evermoore have Your said Grace in His mooste blessed tuition and governaunce. At Barwik, the laste day of November.

Ymmediately upon the cloosing up of these my letters, arrived here your gracious letters, dated at Duresmes Place the 23^{ti} daye of this instaunt moneth; wherby I conceive the Kingges mooste gracious pleasure and youres, and shall apply me to the folowing and accomplisshement of the same as nigh as I can. The latter parte of your said gracious letters being matier of ymportaunce, I woll take upon me to experyment in Scotlande by my letters withynne these three or foure dayes, and shall devyse to kepe the same in good trayne and compas, booth for commyng to knowlege of the yong King, and of the Lordes of his Counsaill, &^{c}.

Your mooste humble preiste and bedeman,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) T. MAGNUS.

Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CCI. MAGNUS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your good Grace to be advertised, that in your laste full honourable letters it liked the same to advertise me of your pleasure, if I conceived any Parliament to be towarde aboute this tyme in Scottelande for sending of Ambassadours to thEmperour for treating of a mariage for the King of Scottes, howe in that case I shulde ordour me in effecte to disapointe the same by the beste wayes and meanes I couth devise; specially by inculking into thaire hedes there, that they shulde not be in dispaire of the mariage of my Lady Princes.

Trouth it is, that by a good season the gretteste Lordes of Scottelande have been assembled at Edinburgh, and have sent hoome thaire horses by occasion of thaire long aboode intended to be there. And, as afore I wroote unto your said Grace, thArchebusshop of Saint Andrewes is reduced and brought ayeine to the Courte of Scottelande, as I knowe of trouth not oonly

[1] Holograph. From the British Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 129.

for

for his counsaill to be had in these thaire discoordes variaunces and dissentions amongges thaym, but also to treate and commyn to provide mariage for the King thaire Soveraine. And for this purpoos, the said Parliament being putte over for this tyme, a good noumber of the Lordes, booth spirituall and temporall, be appointed to contynue at Edinburgh, and to kepe Cristenmas there with the King thaire maister.

Of late is arrived in Scottelande oone William Hamelton, whoom I knowe right well, the Kingges servaunte there, and oone of his Privea Chamber. He hath bene in Fraunce for three causes; oone to require mariage of the Frenshe Kinges doughter for the King of Scottes; the seconde to desire that the lege betwene Fraunce and Scottelande may be renewed ayeine; and the thirde, to moove the Frenshe King to be meanes to the Duke of Albeny, and to cause hym to deliver into the King of Scottes handes the castle of Dombar, with all the ordynaunce and munitions in the same.[1]

To the furste, aunsuer is made that the said doughter of Fraunce as yet is soe yong and tender of age, that it is not convenient to treate and commyn of mariage for her; naither the Frenshe King woll intermedell in that matier, till his said doughter shall comme to the yeres of better discretion.

To the seconde, the said King hath geven playn aunsuer that he woll not in any wise enter into any maner of commynnycation with the King of Scottes, or any other for Hym, touching the said lege, or any thing like therunto, without the advice consent and counsaill of his broder the King of Einglande.

To the thirde, the said Frenshe King alledgeth, he woolde be glad to doe pleasure to the said King of Scottes; but he canne not, nor maye, enfoorce the said Duke of Albeny, oonles it be of his oune free will and good mynde, aither to deliver frome hym the said castle of Dombar, or any parte of the said ordynaunce or munitions.

The aunsuer made in these three causes hath utterly amoved withdrawne and putte aparte the truste love and favour that Scotlande had to Fraunce; soe that nowe thay ar studying and compacing, what is beste for thaym to doe to wynne other frendes, and to conclude peax, frendeship and amyte with the same.

Withynne a litle after that thErle of Angus his broder and uncle were forfated, writing came frome oute of Flaunders to Archebalde Douglas the said uncle, suppoosed to be, as he was afore, the King his maisters Tresourer, and Provoste of Edinburgh; desiring hym of his favour, and to solicit, procure,

[1] There is in the State Paper Office a letter from James V. to Henry VIII., dated the 14th of January, professing to have sent Hamilton to France for the third cause only.

labour,

labour, and to be meanes that thEmperour mought have the mariage of the said yong King of Scottes, aither to a suster of his, or to a nere kynneswoman; and, for the practising and bringging to good purpoos of this matier, the said Archebalde Douglas shulde have had a grete somme of money.

As I am credibly infourmed, after the forfatour of the said Archebalde, and afore the commyng hoome of the said William Hamelton frome oute of Fraunce with the aunsuer afore said, this matier was mooved to the yong King and his Counsaill, soe that the same is in commynnycation amongges thaym, being procured by the Lady Margarete. The Lorde of Feere or Camfere in Flaunders, and the Maister of the Company of the Marchauntes of Scottelaunde in Middelburgh, or suche an other Scottishe man duelling there, is the principall mean and practiser of the saide matier.

Wherfore, having knowlege and advertismentes of these premisses in sondery wises, as is afore said, and that there hath bene intended a Parliament to be kept at Edinburgh the 18th day of January next commyng, as nigh as I couth, and by the beste wayes and meanes I couth devise, accoording to theffecte of your laste letters of instructions, I addressed a letter to Mr Adam Otterbourne after suche a soorte and maner as your Grace shall conceive by a copy therof, whiche nowe I sende to your said Grace[1], with a letter sent ayeine

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[1] Caligula, B. VII. leaf 121.

" Copy of a letter sent frome T. Magnus to Mr Adam Otterbourne.

" Myn oune good Mr Otterbourne, after mooste harty recommendation. If ye doe noote theffecte of " my letters written to the King your maister and other, I procure ever regarde and good respecte " to be geven to suche honour avauncement and proufite, as the Kingges Grace your maister may " atteyn unto, if His said Grace conscider the pleasure of his dereste uncle, the Kingges Highnes, " my Soveraine, whoome I write and noote ever as his higheste and mooste assured frende above " all other.

" Patrik Singclere of late was in Eingland, and in his commyng hoomewarde did speke with me, " and, as it appered, he was not the beste pleased with his aunsuer geven at the Courte of Eing- " lande in the King his maisters affayres. At that time I requyred him, after mooste humble " maner, to have recommaunded to the Kingges Grace your Soveraine, and advised hym to moove " the Kingges saide Grace in any wise to take noe doubte nor conceipt, for any cause, in the King, " his dereste uncle, my Maister; for I did conyecture, that by the favour of His saide Highnes, " grete thingges shulde succede to your saide Soveraine: whiche my writingges and woordes have " not paste but upon a speciall mistery.

" Maister Adam, ye ar that man that I truste, and doubte not but ye conscider I doe, for " asmyche as in me is, studye the increace of perfite love and assured amytie to be betwene these " twoe grete Princes, and thair Realmes; specially, for the tender love I bere to the good yong " King, your maister, whoe, after the Kingges saide Highnes my Soveraine Lorde, haith my poore " favour above all other Kingges, by occasion of knowlege and acquaintaunce; and doo noote " many thingges, whenne I here ye be aboute to wynne other farre foren frendes thenne Eingland,

" wherunto,

ayeine unto me from the King of Scottes written with his oune hande, committing credence to Mr Adam Otterbourne[1]; and at the same tyme the said King sent unto me a ring of goolde for a token.

The said Mr Adam shewed unto me, that the said yong King desired and praide me to contynue good and loving frende unto hym, and that I woolde moove the Kingges Highnes to be his good and mooste loving uncle, as he shalbe unto His said Highnes a good and a mooste loving nevieu; desiring in all his causes and affaires to have the good advice and counsaill of the Kingges said Highnes. And in like maner the said Maister Adam shewed that the said yong King required me to solicit your Grace for your loving favours to be

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" wherunto, as God haith dispoosed, ye shulde of nature be mooste inclyned. It is not uncertayn " unto youe, that, these thre yeres passed, there haith bene grete trouble variaunce discorde and " adversite, betwene the Poopes Holynes, thEmperour, the Frenshe King, and other Cristen " Princes; the King my Soveraine Lord, by occasion therof, not being in soe good reste quietenes " and tranquillite, as Is saide Highnes couth and mought have bene, if the same by suche contra- " rietes had not chaunced, whiche to many goodly actes haith bene grete lette hinderaunce and " ympechement, and some parte I am sure to the realme of Scotteland. Yet, nevertheles, as farre as I " conceive, ye nede not to be in disspaire for the mariage of the doughter and undouted heir apparent " of Einglande, if circumspectely the matier be well regarded and loked uppon. And, if ye induce " this to the knowlege of your Soveraine Lorde, and other the Lordes of his mooste discrete and " privea Counseill, I am content, soe the same be doone in secrete maner for my discharge, bycause " this matier procedeth of myne oune mere motion, withoute any autorite or commaundement in " that behalve; though some of thaym may chaunce to alledge, it is but the saing of an Einglishe " man, and yet a trewe bedeman, and well willer, as lawfully and reasonnably I may, to your saide " Soveraine Lorde.

" Compas not to farre, nor procure high travelles nor busynes, till ye see other occasions, and " shall have further experymentes in the premisses.

" Thus, as that man desiring the weale and tranquillite of these twoe realmes, I geve my poore " advertismentes, and thenke ye woll not pretermytte the pondering compassing and regarding of " soe high a cause as this is; soe propice and convenient for the advaunsing of your Soveraine " Lorde, by possibilite, to the increace of honour, grete proufite, and high renome. God disposeth " every good and perfite acte after His high pleasure, Whoe graunte the cause afore saide to come " to good effecte and purpoos, to the pleasure of booth the Princes, weale and proufite of thaire " realmes, and the subjectes of the same. At oure next meting ye shall knowe moore of my mynde. " Thus hartely fare ye well. At Barwik, the 5 daye of December."

[1] Caligula, B. VII. leaf 120, b. Holograph.

" Our awyn hartly luffit Clerk, We grait zow weill, and thankis zow with all our hert of ye gud " mynd ze beer at all tymis towart ye weyll of Ws and our Realm, quhilk We persaif be dyverys " experymentys, and thynk weyll We sall be kend yeron as tym requerys; prayand zow to persewer " in syk zour gud mynd for ye weyll baith of our derrest uncle and Ws, and of our Realmys: syk " as ye berryr Maister Adelm can schew zow, to quhom We pray zow gyf credense. Writyn with " our hand at Edinburgh, ye 6 day of Desember.

" Zour frynd,
" JAMES R."

(*Superscribed*)
Tyl our awin Clerk Master Thomas Magnus,
Arshdene of Estriden.

had

had and shewed towarde hym, wherof the said Mr Adam saith the said yong King is veray desirous, and therfore required me specially for the same.

I conceive by the said Mr Adam Otterbourne, that Scotlande is veraye desirous of the mariage of my Lady Princes, if thay mought atteyne therunto; and elles finally the yong King intendeth not to contracte mariage in any other place, but that he purpooseth to make privea to the same the Kingges Highnes his said uncle. And for this purpoos the said Mr Adam haith promysed me he shalbe a speciall labourer and procurer to the beste of his power; soe that, by the means afore said, I truste the Counsaill of Scottelande wolbe well advised, and not haisty, afore thay shall enter into any commynnycation with thEmperour, aither for mariage, or for any other intelligence.

Hering that thArchebusshop of Saint Andrewes was with the King his maister at Edinburgh, and that all the Counsaill repaired unto hym daily, booth fore noon and after, as thay used afore season, for the Kingges causes, and that also he was desirous to inquere for me, whenne my letters were deliverde to the Chaunceler, and other the Lordes of Scottelande, I thought it was convenient for me to write unto hym; and soe I did, after suche a maner as your Grace shall conceive by the copy of my letter [1], whiche nowe I sende unto the same, with thaunsuer made therunto [2]; wherynne it appereth that the said Archebusshop recommaundeth his prayer and service to the Kingges Highnes, and your said Grace.

As the Kingges said Highnes and your Grace shalbe content with theffecte and contynue of thindentures concluded aparte from the treaty of peax, touching Liddersdaill [3], good it shalbe, after my poore oppynnyon, your said Grace doe declare the Kingges high pleasure and youres to my Lorde of Northumberlande and the Lord Dacre, being Wardeyns of the Weste and Mydle Marches, to thentent thaire Leuetenauntes and other thaire officers may knowe howe to ordour thayme in that cause, in case due redresse and deliverey of prisonners be not made by the dayes and tyme appointed. And specially the advice and counsaill of Sir Christofer Dacre is to be had in that behalve, bycause he was privea to all the debating commynnyng and concluding of that matier.

I sende unto your Grace a booke, copy of the treaty of peax [4], as the

[1] On the 2d of December Magnus wrote to the Archbishop his congratulation on his recal. A copy is among the Miscellaneous Letters in the Chapter House, Vol. I.

[2] The same Volume contains a copy of the answer, dated 6 December.

[3] A copy, but not contemporary, is in the Harleian Collection, No. 289. leaf 14.

[4] Caligula, B. VII. leaf 123. The treaty, which is printed in Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 278., was concluded on the 14th of December by Magnus, Ughtred, and Tempest on the part of England, and Scott of Balwery, Otterburn, and Andrew Ker of Fernyhirst on the part of Scotland, for the term of five years.

same is paste verbatim from me and other my colleges to the Commissioners of Scottelande, that, as it shall pleas your Grace, the Kingges confirmation may procede accoordingly.

Acertaynnyng your said Grace, that ymmediately I departe frome hennes towardes my Lorde of Richemoundes Grace, intending to be with the same upon Cristenmas even, by the helpe of God, whoe evermoore have Your said Grace in His mooste blessed preservation. At Berwik, the 17th daye of December.[1]

Your mooste humble
preiste and bedeman,
(*Signed*) T. Magnus.

(*Superscribed*)
Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CCII. King James V. *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Richt Excellent, Richt Hie, and Mychty Prince, oure derrest Uncle, Broyer, and Confiderate, We recommend Ws richt hertlie wnto Zou. By ye tenour of zour letters, daitit at Bridewell ye 9 day of Decembere last, and credens of zour lovit Clerk and Counsalour Maistere Thomas Magnus, Archidiacone of Estriding, We persave Ze be in ane parte commovit of oure last writingis sende wnto Zou, bering daite at Edinburgh ye 20 day of October last; albeit We suppone, eftir ye sicht of yir presentis, and considering of our haile mynd in every behalf send wnto Zou be credence with zour said lovit clerk and Counsailour, Ze will stand content of our parte; exhorting Zou, derrest uncle, yat Ze pleise tak nane oyer consaite of Ws, bot yat We hald Zou fermelie oure best and maist assurit freind We have in ye warld, in quhome oure haile confidence and traist remanes in tyme of neid, according to ye naturall band of bluide betuix Ws, and as Ze have schawin Zow in deid in ye mony diverse and notable ackes be Zow done for our preservatioune, and weill of our Realme in owre minorite and less aige; and yat Ze will traist surelie, helping God, heirefter We sall schaw Zou mutuell favour and freindschipe as tyme occurris. And, gif We suld be of syk small ondarstanding and knawlege, to serse and seik ye wayis to brek ye kyndenes betuix Ws, and

[1] On the same day Magnus and his colleagues reported the result of their negotiations to Wolsey. Caligula, B. II. leaf 91.

[2] From the Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 293.

to

to cum with Zow wnto rupture, as Ze write, We do na lese yane to procure oure awne distruccioun and rwynne of oure Realme; quhilk God averte. And foryer, derrest uncle, quhair Ze write tuichand Archibald sum tyme Erle of Angus, and his complicis; it will pleise Zou consider yat, at zour diverse intercessiones, and for zour plesure alanerlie, We have done in yat mater incontrar our awne will and mynd, and mekelle foryer yane all ye warld suld have sollistit Ws to. For, notwythstanding ye greit and hevy crymes of lese majeste committit be him and his complicis, maire largelie yane as zit is cummyn to zour knawlege, aganes oure Persoun, ye greit attemptatis and transgressiones done apone our liegis and subjectis, tending to ye distructioun of ye commone weill of oure Realme; We grantit graice to him and his complicis, be avise of oure haile Counsaile, to be restorit to yair lyvis honouris and landis, as is cleirlie kend to zour said Counsaloure. Neveryeles ye said Archibald and his complicis, persisting in yair perversit and wykkit mynd towarte Ws, and our Realme, refusit ye samyn, myndyng to be ye instrument be yer wntrew reherse and sinister informatioun, to separat and brek ye favour and luf betuix Ws, and to bring baith oure Realmes and subjectis to besynes and trowble. Derrest uncle, ye premissis beand considerit, togidder with syk credence as We have committit to zour said Counsalour to schaw Zow[1], and knawand

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[1] Caligula, B. VIII. leaf 1.

" Thir ar ye speciale poyntis eftir insewyng, gevin by credens to Maister Thomas Magnus, " Archidiacone of Estriding, till schaw to our derrest uncle ye King of Ingland, &c.

" In ye first, it will pleis zou, and We pray zou hertlie, mak our maist luffyng commedationes " till our derrest uncle, desirand yat he tak [*na*] consait yat We in ony way wer displesit at ye " sending towarte Hym [*oure*] last writingis, ner wes never myndit yat ye rowtit kyndnes and " fa[*miliarite*] betuix Ws suld in ony sorte be violate or parit, bot rather daly in[*cresit*], and " mair till augment and encrese. Neveryeles We mervellit nocht liti[*ll yat*], for nay writing We " culd send, or affirmatioun We and our Consaile cu[*ld mak,*] our derrest uncle wald nocht con- " sider nor tak in heid yat Archibald sumtyme Erle of Angus and his complices hed commitit syk " crymes of lese majeste, as deservit yair forfaltour.

" Secundlie, We exhorte zou schaw our derrest uncle, at ye first cummyng of ye said Archibald " furth of France wythin our Realme, be ye wisdome of our derrest uncle and his wyse Counsaile, " our auctorite wes committit in our awne handis, and certane Lordis, of baith Spirituall and " and Temperall stait, maid Regentis, to await apone our service for ye better giding of our " Realme, and furth bering of our autorite; of ye quhilkis ye said Archibald wes constitute as ane " principall. Nocht wythstanding he, nocht beand contentit of fallowschip, and myndyt till per- " vert syk ordinans discretlie devisit be zou and zour wyse counsaile in his myshawyng in using " our auctoritie, amovit all oyer ye Regentis and Lordis fra our cumpany, excepe samony as " assistit till him in his ewill dedis, sua he tuik and hed Ws haile in his anerlie giding be ye spaice " of tua zeir or yerby. In ye quhilk tyme mony greit and dangerous aventouris hapnit baith to " Ws, and commone weill of our Realme, throw his abusing of our auctorite.

" Item, ye said Archibald, in yis tyme yat We estyme maist of all, disponit our Persoun, incontrar " our will, tua sindry tymes in ane zeir, to batell, quhair wer slane our tendir cousing ye Erle off

knawand perfytlie ye regard Ze have tane, and takkis at all tyme, till oure honour, surety of our Personne, and weill of oure Realme, We doute nocht bot

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" Lennox, ye Laird of Cesfurd, and diverse oyeris our noble men and liegis; throw ye quhilkis " battellis our haile Realme wes pute in syk trouble and besynes, yat it sall nocht facillie be put at " syc rewill and ordour as it wes of before.

" Item, We pray zou schaw, yat ane tyme ye said Archibald conspirit our awne slauchter, and " hed put ye samyn to executioun, and oyeris our Lordis of his assistans had consentit yerto; " quhilk salbe previt be noble men of our Realme.

" Item, in yis meyntyme ye thevis and brokyne men wer cherisit and auctorisit in yair ewill " dedis, withoute punysching for yer assisting to ye said Archibald, in syk maner yat yai have " waistit ane gret parte of our Realme, and ar multiplijt to syk nowmyr, and gaderit togidder syk " riches be yer thyft and robbery, yat yai will nocht facillie be distroyit; quhilkis committit apone " ye subjectis of Inglond on ye Bordouris mony greit and diverse attemptates to brek ye trewis " and peax and mak plane weir, wythout ony redres or reformatioun; quhair of our derrest uncle " hes bene planetous, and mevyt ye samyn to Ws, as his diverse writingis beris.

" Item, We pray zou schaw, quhow yat ye ilk tyme ye said Archibald abusit our auctorite, our " freindschip and amite with all oyer Princes and cuntreis wes parit and dekeyit, becaus ye " strangearis wer nocht cheresit as efferit, and at yer cummyng till our presens persavit Ws nocht " gidit as ane King, nor zit hed Lordis nor Counsalouris, and syk ordour about Ws as apertenit " to our estaite: quhairthrow ye brute and name rasit in oyer partis yerthrow hes done and dois " Ws daly gret displesour, considerand We have made be our self nay fit caus; and howpis, God " willing, in schort tyme till cause ye contrary be mair oppinlie knawin.

" Item, We pray zou schaw our derrest uncle yat yis ilk tyme ye seid Archibald constitute " and maid his eme our Thesaurer, and oyeris his kyne and freindis our officiaris, quhilk wes " rycht skaithfull till Ws, for all yat We suld have bene honorit throw and enrichit, wes applijt to " yer awin particular proffyt and oyse, and disponit at yer plesour, in sic maner yat never King " nor oyer Prince wes put to sic poynt of necessite, as We and our derest moyer wer baith put " to be ye cruell tyranny and mysgyding of ye said Archibald and his freindis.

" Item, we desyr ze schaw to our derrest uncle, quhen yis abusing of our auctoritie, mysgiding " of our Realme, wes ryplie considerit be ye ansiand Lordis of our Realme, yat, and it indurit ony " spaice withoute reformatioun, We mycht nocht ring, and yat our Realme behwvit of forse to " cum wnto rwyne; and yerfor at ye Fest of Paische last wes, We callit ye said Archibald and " his freindis secretlie befor Ws, and 5 or 6 persones of our wyse Counsaile, and schew yaim " quhat murmur wes of his gyding, and in quhat perplexite We and our Realme wer in throw yer " abusing of our auctorite; and prait yaim to reforme ye samyn plesandlie, quhilk beand done " yai suld stand in yer officis, and be favorit and cheresit wyth Ws above ony oyer Baroun wythin " our Realme, as We suld of ressoun. Bot heireftir, quhen ye said Archibald and his frendis " persavit Ws have sic materis in hed, quhilkis could nocht be haistelie reformit, disparit of yer " parte, and dredand ye punicioun of God and Ws for yer trespas, wer greitlie commovit, and in " verite devisit to put to ded diverse our familiaris, quhilkis as yai belevit hed put sic thingis in " our hed; and, yat yai mycht ye mair surelie cum to yer intent, devisit and fenzeit ane ost and " raid apone ye thevis and brokyn men, onder ye pretext and colour yerof to put doun our saidis " familiaris, and sic oyeris wyse Barones as willit ye weill of Ws and our Realme. We, beand " advertist heirof, wyth drew ourself till our castell of Striviling for saufty of our Persoun, and " yat We incurrit nocht mair subjectioun wnto ye tyme We send for our wyse Lordes and Barones " of all estatis, and be yer avise substantiuslie or ordourlie devisit ane conventioun to be in Edin- " burgh, for ye reformatioun of ye premisses, in ye maist quiet maner We culd; and, be ye faith of " ane Prince, never wes myndit to do furthur displesour to ye said Archibald and his freindis, yan

" till

bot Ze will nocht allanerlie abstrak zour favour and kyndnes fra ye said Archibald and his complicis, bot als yat Ze will awfaldlie concur with Ws, and feryer at zour power, ye repressing of syk malefactouris and transgressouris, as wald perturbe ye rest and tranquillite of baith ye Realmes; for ye better continuance of gude amite and luf betuix Ws, peax and quiet betuix oure Realmes and subjectis; as at greit linth We have schawin to zour said clerke and Counsaloure, to quhome We pray Zou gif ferme credence: quhilk hes gevynne Ws his gude counsaile in diverse our effaris, yat mekle concernys ye weill of Ws, and giding of our Realme; quhairof We tak perfyte knawlege. To quhome We have gevin gude audiance, wyth full credence, and hes maid him ansuer agane in every behalf, as We traist salbe to zour hertlie plessur. Assuring Zou, derrest uncle, We sall nocht declyne fra Zou till oney oyer

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" till have tane our auctorite and offices furth of yer handis, and lattyn yaim plesandlie leif " wythin our Realme apon yer awn, as our trew liegis; quhill yai rebellit oppinlie incontrar Ws, " and assemblit all yaim yat wald do for yaim, to have gevyn Ws plane battell, and stoppit Ws of " our seid diett, quhilk hed cum to effect, and our trew liegis, assistaris to yaim for yat tyme, had " tane yer parte aganes Ws.

" Item, We pray zow schaw our derrest uncle, yat We ar nocht gidit be privat persones, " and of small estait, as informatioun wes maid to him; bot at We tak and usis ye consaile of ye " maist auld and wisest Lordis and Barones wythin our Realme, of baith spiritualle and temperall " estaite, and sall nocht declyne yerfra.

" Item finalie, We pray zow schaw, quhat graice and appoyntement We offerit to ye said Archi- " bald and his freindis now laitlie, allanerlie at ye intercessioun of our derrest uncle, as ze may " schaw mair largelie be deligent laubouris maid in to yat mater by ye Minister of ye Freres Obser- " vantis, quhilk hes schawin to zou at greit laisour, and to schaw quhow contenandlie eftir our " graice offering to yaim, yai refusit ye samyn, and dyd Ws displeasour at our returnyng fra ye " sege of Tamtalloun, in murdering apone ye nycht ane noble man, ye capitane of our fut band, " and tuik away ane parte of our mwnitiones being with him. And foryer We pray zou schaw all " maner of circumstance yat ze have hard in yis mater; quhilk beand sene and ryplie considerit in " every behalf, We think our derrest uncle will consider We may nocht at yis tyme, wyth our " honour, and wyth oute greit skaith, conducend grant graice nor gif appointment to ye said Archi- " bald and his freindis: and gif We suld nocht first expelle yaim furth of our Realme clene, We suld " incur greit dishonour and skaith. Bot We pray zow afferme surelie in our name yat ye said " persones sall never get poyntment of Ws, nor graice, bot be ye laubouris and intercessioun of our " said derrest uncle, and be nane oyer Prince levand; and, peraventure, quhen yai ar expellit " furth of our Realme, Wa may yan, with our honour, heir gude wayis yan, yat We may nocht now " assent yerto. Praing zou have Ws hertlie recommendit to my Lord Cardinale, and schaw him " ye circumstance of yis mater, in every behalf, and yat We have maid yis generall neracioun " tuichand ye said Archibald and his freindis, yat yer ingratitude incontrar thair Prince may be " kend, quhilk gave in to yer handis ye haile gyding of our auctorite and Realme, quhilkis put yer " haile cuir to draw ye hertis of our haile pepill fra Ws be bandis of manrent, and largelie geving " of our proffittis, quhilk suld have causit greit inconvenientes, and yai had bene langer tholit in " auctorite.

(*Signed*) " James R."

The declaration of the Provincial of the Friars Observants, above alluded to, is in the Museum, Caligula, B. VII. leaf 79., and has been printed by Pinkerton, Vol. II. p. 483.

new

new frendschip, be ony maner of way, bot assist and annerd to Zou with all towartnes, as apertenith to Ws yat is zour deire nepho; as, be proceding of tyme, with ye graice of God, Ze sall have probable experiens; traisting in semblable maner to have zour favour and kyndenes sa helplie in all our effaris, alse weill for manteinance of our honour as ye weill of our Realme, yat We mistir nocht to seik nor procur freindschipe of oyeris by zour avise.

As tuichand ye rewill of ye Bordouris, We traist, God willing, till bring all till ane gude way, conforme to ye ordinance of ye Commissionares of baith ye Realmes, at yis last meting in Berwyk: and, as zour said Counsalour will schaw Zou, ye West Bordouris ar at ane gude poynte of gude ordour; thair is na greit complante of ye Middill Marches; and as to Liddisdaile, ye mater is in syk ane trane, yat, as We traist, noyer Ze nore zour officiaris salbe greitlie incumberit in tyme cummyng. Besekand Zou have ane parte of pacience, quhill We may mak dew reformatioun and stable ane gude ordour for ye zeutheid of ye Erle Bothvile, yat is Lord of ye land. And ye trouble, yat hes bene amangis oure lieges, hes bene impediment, yat yat cuntre hes bene mair mysgidit and oute of gude ordour, yan our oyer Bordouris; lyk as at greit linth zour said clerk and Counsalour will schaw Zou, quhilk hes consavit all ye effaris of ye Bordouris at greit laiser. The Est Marches ar brocht to sum towardnes; bot We doute parte of our liegis, and of zouris baith, in yai partis, cuire nocht mekill, suppois never wer ony redres maid, and will rather procure invenciones and mater to mwif ye weire, yane peax; as Ze will knaw be zour said Consalour; to quhome it will lyk Zow gif ferme credence.

Richt Excellent, Rycht Hie, and Mychty Prince, oure derrest Uncle, Broyer, and Confiderate, the Blisset Trinite mot ever conserve Zou in maist prosperous staite. Gevin onder our signet, at Edinburgh, ye thrid day of Februar.[1]

(*Signed*) Zo͡ lovyng Brother and Nepho,
JAMES R.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Richt Excellent, Rycht Hie, and Michty Prince, oure derrest Uncle, Broyer, and Confiderat, ye King of Inglond, &ca.

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[1] On the same day James wrote to Wolsey, thanking him for his good offices in promoting peace. Caligula, B. I. leaf 308.

CCIII. Queen Margaret *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Richt Excellent, Richt Hie, and Michty Prince, oure derrest Brothir, in oure maist tendre and hummile maner We commend Ws unto zoure Grace. Quhom pleise be advertisit We have commonit wicht Zoure Grace traist servitoure Master Magnus, of quhais report maid Ws perfitlie wnderstand ye richt special rememberance yat Zoure Grace had of Ws, and oure honour, at ye confirmeing of yis last peax takin betuix zoure Realme and yis: thankand Zoure Grace in oure maist hummile and effectuouse maner, nocht onlie regarding ye particular proffet yat followis yarupone till Ws, bot alswele ye gret honour yat Zoure Grace hes done to Ws tharthrow; quhilk schal rest in oure continuall rememberance. Ferder proceding in sic materis as ye said Master Magnus had charge, We informit him of all efferris being presentlie in yis Realme; of ye quhilk We beleif he wil informe Zoure Grace. Also We have schewin unto ye said Master Magnus diverse materis, tending, as We traist, to ye honour plesoure and wele of Zoure Grace and of zoure Realme, and in ane litill part concerning Ws, Zoure Grace loving and naturall sister; to ye quhilk We beseik Zour Grace gif attendence, and have consideratioun of ye samyn, weying every mater eftir ressoun and natural effectioun: quhilk on oure part nevir did nor schal ceise, howbeit yat sum personis, being yan oure small frendis, did report ye contrary to Zoure Grace, and did safer as was in yame to solist Zoure Grace to have litil regard of Ws, Zoure Grace naturall sister; thoucht We at al tymmes direckit oure hail mynd will and labouris to intertennye all maner of purpoise sounding to ye plesoure and intent of Zoure Grace, and to procure ye continual perseverance of tendre effectioun betuix Zoure Grace and zoure nephew, oure derrest sone, and peax and amitie betuix baitht ye Realmes: the quhilk We beleif Zoure Grace had perfit experience, quhen We war principall, nixt zoure nephew oure derrest sone, in autorite. Assuring Zoure Grace yat We schal nocht desist in tyme cumyng, eftir oure haill power, to assist procure and labour in all sic thingis, as may be applijt to Zoure Grace confort and plesoure. As mair at large We have declarit oure mynd in every puint to Zoure Grace servitoure Master Magnus, to be disclosit to Zoure Grace; traisting ye samyn schalbe thocht formell and expedient to zoure honour and

[1] From the Chapter House, Royal Letters, Vol. V. leaf 42. The same volume, leaf 18. contains a similar letter of the same date to Wolsey.

plesoure.

plesoure. Maist hummelie beseiking Zoure Grace to gif firme credence to Zoure Grace servitoure before mentionnat, as to Oure self; desiring richt specialie Zour Grace mynd in ample respons herof, quhilk may be to oure hie consolatioun. Rycht Excellent, Richt Hie, and Mychty Prince, We pray eternall God have Zoure Grace in His blessit tuicioun and gouverment. Writtin at Edinburgh, ye 5 day of Februare.

(*Signed*) Your Grace lufeng Systar,

MARGARET.

(*Superscribed*)

To the Richt Excellent, Richt Hie, and Mychty Prince, oure derrest Brothir, the Kingis Grace of Ingland.

CCIV. MAGNUS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your good Grace to be advertised that the 8th daye of this instaunte moneth I came hider frome oute of Scotlande, and founde here, newly repared hider, Thomas White, oone of the Kingges messengers, by whoome I received your gracious letters, dated at Westmynster the laste daye of January, with the ratification of the peax lately concluded betwene Einglande and Scottelande, and the ratification also of tharticles accoorded aparte by indenture. Wherupon, knowing your gracious pleasure, I addressed furth my letters to the King of Scottes, to his Chaunceler, and other of his Counsaill, and have geven knowlege and advertisment of the arrivall here of the said ratifications, and sent unto thaym my poore mynde, that the ratifications for thaire partye maye be ordoured after a like and semblable maner, as the Kingges be, and have geven infourmation of the same; being in truste that every thing putte in due fourme and ordour shalbe here frome oute of Scotlande somtyme the next wooke.

And albe it I was fully mynded and determynned to have repared streight unto the Kingges Highnes and your Grace with my depech from the King of Scottes; yet insomyche as the said ratifications muste enterchaungeably be deliverde, I tary here still, to see the plenary execution of that cause, and doe sende unto your said Grace, by the said Thomas White, all suche letters and writingges as doe come from the King of Scottes, and the Quenes Grace his moder, and my poore advertismentes with the same. Acer-

[1] From the Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 77.

taynnyng

taynnyng your said Grace, that after I shall have received the ratifications of the said peax from oute of Scotlande, I intende to come up, for the moore playne declaring of all matiers concernyng my late busynes had in Scotlande, and for other causes concernyng myn health.

Soe it is, that long afore this tyme I woolde have written unto your Grace, ne had bene sondery lettes, and that I couth have noe playn resolution nor certayntye of the matiers and causes committe unto my charge, worthye advertisment, till this season, to be sent unto your said Grace, by occasion of the King of Scottes long aboode and tarying from Edinburgh in sondery places, and the long assembling to gader of the Lordes of his Counsaill, whoe repared not thider till the 18th daye of January, prefixed and appointed for thair conveynnyng resoorting and assembling to gader; like as by my former letters I signefied unto your said Grace.

After the receipt of my sauf conduyt, I came to Edinburgh upon the 12th even in Cristenmas, the King of Scottes being thenne removed to Starling; and was well received and mette by the waye by Mr Adam Otterburn, the said Kingges Advocate and Counsaillour, and largely presented by the said towne of Edinburgh, booth with wyne, and waxe, and sondery other smaller presentes. The said King wroote to the said Mr Adam Otterbourne, and commaunded hym to see me to be well enterteyned till his commyng; and, by his speciall letters addressed unto me, desired me to take pacience for the meane season; shewing that, for his pleasure dispoorte and pastaume, he was removed into the contrey, and that His Grace woolde be at Edinburgh withynne eight or tenne dayes. Howe be it, His Grace came not till 14 dayes after; at whiche tyme the mooste parte of all the noble men of Scotlande were there present.

By reason that I was passing soe farre southwardes as Newcastle after concluding of the peax, and that upon the receipt of the Kingges mooste honourable letters and youres, I retourned soe sodainly bakk ayeine towardes Scottelande, sondery evill brutes and rumours were soone raised, booth upon the Bordours of Einglande and Scotlande, sounding that the Kingges Highnes was not content that peax was concluded, oonles that the Erle of Anguse had bene reconsiled to the grace favour and mercy of the King his maister, and that therfore I was countermaunded bak ayeine, aither to provyde for the said Erles reconsiliation, or to see and procure that the sealles, afore deliverde for the peax, shulde be made voide broken or annulled. By occasion of which rumour soe being spred abroode, diverse and sondery attemptates were committed upon the Bordours, moore by the party of Scotlande thenne of

 Einglande,

Einglande, contrary to all good rule and treaty of the said peax, by suche as were moore inclyned to have trouble busynes and warre, then reste quietnes and peax, to be betwene booth the realmes.

It was suppoosed this cause was not kept from the King of Scottes, but came to his knowlege, and, as was said, procured his longger tarying from Edinburgh upon my commyng thider. Howe be it, after my poore oppynnyon, I thenke the contrary was true, remembring his gentill procedingges after, in every behalve; oonles it were touching the said Erle of Angus causes, whiche be not pleasaunte to be mooved unto Hym, but where as reconsiliation mought well have taken effecte, moe displeasures contynually have folowed and bene committed on the said Erles party, as herafter shall ensewe.

The 19th daye of January the said King of Scottes came to Edinburgh, and the nexte daye after I had presence, and was accompanyed unto His Grace by the Busshop of Galawaye, and thAbbot of Arbrooth, being Privea Seall. And, after due salutation, and shewing that, for somyche as I was at the Bordours, and not farre from Edinburgh, the pleasure of the Kingges Highnes my Soveraine Lorde was, that, or and afore I shulde retourne southwardes, I shulde viset and see the prousperous estate of the said yong King, to thentent that therupon at my repaire and commyng into Einglande I mought make due reapoorte unto the Kingges Highnes his dereste uncle, not oonly touching the waxing and furnisshing of his noble personnage, but also of other his qualities and vertuous procedingges; and therupon deliverde the Kingges said mooste honourable letters and youres; whiche the said yong King received right joyously, and with good countenaunce, demaunding and inquiering for the prousperous estate and welfare of his dereste uncle the Kingges Highnes, and of your Grace. After the said letters were redde, and somdeall conscidered, by the said King and his Counsaill, His Grace, saying that I was right hartely welcome, desired me to have pacience for a daye or twayne, to thentent that he mought be the better advised of the effecte purpoorte and contynue of the said letters; and thenne His Grace shewed he wolde be gladde to here my credence at large.

Two dayes after, accompanyed as afore, I was sent foore to come unto the Kingges presence; at whiche tyme His Grace said to all his Lordes that, for somyche as I was his oolde acquayntaunce, he woolde use me famylierly; and soe caused me to passe with His said Grace into his Privea Chamber, noone other being present, but we twayne. And, after eftesoones demaunding of the good and prousperous health of the Kingges Highnes his dereste uncle, he desired me to shewe my credence.

Furste,

Furste, as afore, I shewed that my speciall sending and commyng was to viset and see his prousperous estate, and joyed myche of his waxing, sethenne my laste being with His said Grace.

Also, having knowlege what matiers were necessary to be mynistred to His said Grace by waye of credence, I shewed, it was the mynde and pleasure of the Kingges Highnes, my Soveraine Lorde, his dereste uncle, that I shulde moove hym in anywise to folowe the good advise and counsaill of his mooste honourable and mooste discrete sadde and sage Counsaillours; and with myche circumstaunce shewed, what surety the same shulde be to His Grace, and what grete honour and proufite therby mought ensewe, booth to hym self, and to all and every the good subjectes of his Realme and mayntenaunce of the same.

Also I shewed, howe it was reapoorted and sayd in Einglande, that a private light and yong Counsaill dooth moore rule aboute His Grace thenne doe the auncient and honourable Lordes of his Counsaill; and inferred therupon what grete and highe daungers mought ensewe in sondery wises. And at this poynte the said yong King said, he was myche bounden to his uncle for thies his good advertismentes and counsaill, and shewed unto me of his oune mynde that yong counsaill was the destruccion of the King of Denmarke[1], and that therfore He woolde have the better regarde unto Hym self to be advised counsailled and ruled by wise sadde and sage Counsaillours. And being glad to here this to procede of Hym self, I did lawde prayse and commende His Grace, and shewed unto Hym, that man was happy, whoome other mens daungers and perelles make wise; and therunto added the fall and distruccion of King James the 3de his graunte fader, in that tyme totally advised ruled and governed by a light and a yong Counsaill.

Also, hering that the Armestrongges of Liddersdaill reapoorted presumptuously that thay woolde not be ordoured, naither by the King of Scottes thair Soveraine Lorde, nor by the King of Einglande, but after suche maner as thaire faders have used afore thayme; I moved this to the said King of Scottes, shewing that withoute justice and due correccion to be had withynne His oune realme, He couth not contynue and reigne like a King, and therupon inferred, howe that the said Armestrongges avaunted thaym selves to be the destruction of twoe and fifty parisshe churches in Scotteland, besides the unlawfull and ungracious attemptates by thaym committed withynne Einglande. Wherfore the said King of Scottes stoode, and was bounden to make aunsuer. I therfore mooved the said yong King to appointe and have good officers upon

[1] Christiern II, who was dethroned in 1523.

his Bordours, as be geven to justice, making of redresse, and repressing of thefte; and therupon declared howe myche moore it was valable for Scotlande thenne for Englande.

I shewed also it was not possible that these twoe realmes couth or shulde contynue to gader in due ordour, but that gratitude and kyndenes, with justice, were shewed accoordingly; and soe induced howe ofte the Kingges Highnes had made intercession for thErle of Angus, suppoosing that, if the matier had bene of soe grete weight as is reapoorted, the same shulde have bene remitted at his requeste and contemplation. Howe be it, I said, it appered that the ofter the Kingges said Highnes had written in the favour of the said Erle, the moore extremyte had bene shewed ayeinste hym.

Also I declared that, if the said Erle had in any wise offended soe largely as was layd unto his charge, or not; yet nevertheles the Kingges Highnes had exhorted mooved and procured hym, by speciall letters, to ordour hym self in suchewise, as he mought obteyne mercy and grace of his Soveraine, and to take the same whenne he couth attayn therunto. And upon this pointe I mooved the said King of Scottes for some gentill and reasonnable waye to be taken with the said Erle of Angus, at the requeste of the Kingges Highnes, his dereste uncle.

As for having of justice withynne the realme of Scotlande, making of due redresse, and repressing of thefte, as is afore said, the said yong King said, that all these thingges were fortefied and maynteyned in suche wise by thErle of Angus, that it is not in his power to refourme the same; insomyche that the said Erle did geve soe many remissions and pardons to offenders, and thenne did bynde the same, being of all soortes, better and worse, to doe unto hym service, whenne he shulde call upon thaym; wherof warnyng was geven unto hym at diverse tymes for his refourmacion in that behalve, and that yet in anywise he woolde not folowe the same; soe that therby, the said yong King affermeth, his subjectes were soe farre and yet ar oute of drede of Hym as thaire Soveraine Lorde, that it is not possible, withoute helpe of his dereste uncle, to see refourmacion in that behalve. Howe be it, His Grace and his Counsaill shewe thaym selves clerely determynned to have better ordour, and have bounden thofficers of the Bordours of Scottelande to see the King thair Soveraine to be discharged ayeinste the Kingges Highnes our Soveraine Lorde and maister; and in like maner hath boundon thErle Bothwell, being Lorde of Liddersdaill, to subdue that contrey to justice, and for making of redresse, upon payn of forfetture of all his landes there; the same to be doon with all spede and diligence. Notwithstanding, the said yong King saith, that suche brutes rumours and avauntes ar made in Scottelande, that the said Erle of Angus

Angus and his frendes shalbe borne and maynteynned ayeinste Hym by the favour of Einglande, to thencoraging soe farre of the malefactours his subjectes, that right harde and defficill it is, haistely for Hym to reduce thaym to due obeysaunce, oonles the said Erle be otherwise subdued and corrected; as by the said Kingges letters, written at this tyme to the Kingges Highnes and your Grace, moore at large it doth appere.

And where I touched gratitude and kyndenes to be shewed, with the further circumstaunce as is afore said, for reconsiliation of the said Erle of Angus and of his frendes; the said yong King shewed, that at the requeste and intercession of his dereste uncle the Kingges Highnes, he was content to accept thaym to mercy, graunting unto thaym thaire lyves landes and honours; whiche thay refused after suche maner as your Grace shall conceive, not oonly by the King of Scottes said letters, but also by instructions to be shewed by me, assigned by his oune hande, and also by a memoriall made by the Mynistre or Provinciall of the Freers Observauntes in Edinburgh subscribed in like maner by his hande, he being mediatour and intercessour betwene the said yong King and his Counsaill, and the said Erle of Anguse: whiche instructions and writingges I sende nowe unto your said Grace.

The said yong King sheweth also that His Grace, perceiving that the said Erle of Anguse and his frendes did soore incrooche upon his autorite royall, oppressing and avauncing whoom thay wolde at thaire pleasures, withoute autorite geven unto thaym, but as thay did usurpe and take the same at thaire oune handes, mooved in good and gentill maner the said Erle to remove and lye upon his oune landes, shewing that he woolde be unto hym good and gracious Lorde, soe doing. Howe be it, the said King and his Counsaill doe saye, that the said Erle did geve good woordes, but in effecte he contynued in every behalve after his accustumed maner, conspiring further matier thenne he was forfetted for; as appereth by the Kingges said writingges. But assuredly the said King sheweth Hym self soe farre in drede and despaire of the said Erle and his frendes, that I canne not by any meanes or persuasions induce His Grace to accept the said Erle to his mercy and gracious favour; the said King shewing that he shall not contynue withynne his realme but soore ayeinste his will, the rather by cause His Grace and his Counsaill doe afferme, that the said Erle did disappointe the geving up of the castle of Temptalon contrary to his promesse, and also did murdre and sleye his servaunte Davy Fawconer, and did spoile a grete and a rich ship, and also haith doone myche hurte of late with brennyng of corne, not using hym self humbly as a subjecte, but comparing soe highly to the displeasure of his Soveraine Lorde and his Counsaill. And mooste specially the said yong King fyndeth

Hym

Hym greved that thErle of Anguse hath by his wrong surmyses procured, for somyche as in hym is, displeasure betwene His Grace and his dereste uncle the Kingges Highnes. These be the thingges, with sondery other moe thenne I canne write, wherwith the said King of Scottes doth fynde Hym greved with the said Erle of Anguse and his frendes. Whoos Grace fynally concludith, that, as it is accoorded by the article, concluded aparte from the treaty of peax, the said Erle shalbe received in Einglande, if soe it stande with the Kingges gracious pleasure; adding therunto, that the said Erle shall never come in Scottelande by meanes of any person, oonles it be at the the requeste and intercession of the Kingges Highnes his said dereste uncle.

Perceiving the King of Scottes to persever and contynue after this maner, I was at diverse and sondery tymes with thArchebusshop of Glasco, Chaunceler, thArchebusshop of Saint Andrewes, the Busshop of Aburdyne, thErle of Arren, thErle of Argile, Sir William Scotte, and Mr Adam Otterbourne, with sondery other booth spirituall and temporall; and by all the wayes and meanes I couth devise or persuade, I couth fynde noe remedy for the said Erle of Anguse, not somyche as to have any his frendes to come ynne and to make offer for his reconsiliation. And, as I was required and mooved frome the said Erle of Anguse, I offerde to the said King, to be geven to his said Grace for reconsiliation of the said Erle and his frendes, twoe thowsande pownde; whiche in anywise woolde not be regarded accepted nor taken.

And conceiving noone other remedy to be had for thErle of Anguse, I reduced to the King of Scottes remembraunce, what gentilnes the Kingges Highnes my Soveraine Lorde did shewe unto Hym in making a goodly aunsuer to suche sharpe woordes and sentences as have bene comprised in his former letters, not charging His Grace, but remitting the errour to the devisour of the same; and advised His said Grace that in this his growing towardes the yeres of perfeccion and knowlege, to remembre the excellent merites of his dereste uncle, and howe noone other but His Highnes hath bene the special preservour of His Grace in his mynoritye from grete and extreme daungiers and perelles, and the oonly bringger of Hym to his libertye and estate royall.

To this the saide yong King saide, it shulde never come nor arise on his partye to doe that thing that shulde be to the displeasure of his dereste uncle, but that he calleth to remembraunce and woll not forgete, but recognise, the manyfoolde benefites gratitudes and goodnesses shewed as afore; and therof maketh mention at large by his letters sent unto the Kingges Highnes at this season.

Upon

Upon this commynnycacion I required the said yong King of Scottes, insomyche as I was that poor man that did bere good love and favour for the ferme enterteynnyng of peax and perfite amyte to be betwene booth the realmes, and had ofte and many tymes for the same taken upon me payne and travell, that therfore it woolde pleas His Grace to be content to permitte suffer and licence me to be playn unto His Grace in discloosing to the same some parte of myne oune mynde, proceding withoute any other autorite. And therupon I inferred and said, I couth not a litle marveill, howe prone and redy His Grace was, as is said in Einglande, to harken and lene unto newe intelligences with suche as perchaunce maye be the King his derest uncles enemyes, or at the leiste his suspecte and feynned frendes. And soe I touched his sutes devices wayes and meanes, procured to the Lady Margaret in Flaunders, as was said, to have in mariage the Douagier of Hungary, being the Emperours suster; and declared further that, if it were his oune mynde soe to doe, I did not also a litle merveill of the same, seing that in suche a case His Grace woolde procede or attempt without the advise counsaill or consent of his dereste uncle; conscidering that the said Quene is farre elder and hath many moe yeres thenne His Grace hath, with small proufites and dependences, but trouble daungier and busynes, with hoope of helpe and releiff to be geven by thEmperour, being a farre frende to truste unto, having many moe thingges on hande and in charge thenne he is able to rule and governe.

I induced also, what hurtes daungears and damages mought ensewe to the said yong Kingges Grace, if in anywise he declyned frome the pleasure and favour of his dereste uncle; and, accoording to myne instructions, shewed it was a redy waye and meane to sende into Scotlande the Duke of Albeny, to take upon hym the rule and governaunce, not oonly of the Kingges Person till he shall come to moe yeres of perfection, but also of his realme for the better ordouring of the same. And also I shewed unto the saide King that, albe it there mought chaunce some busynes to be betwene the Kingges Highnes my Soveraine Lorde and the Frenshe King on the oone party, and thEmperour on thoder; yet I conscidered right well, that the same couth not contynue for any season, but that there shulde in breve tyme good reste and peax be had amongges thaym, and that thenne by all likelihoode, if the said yong King of Scottes shulde declyne or take any suche waye as is afore said with thEmperour, the wise counsaill of Einglande and Fraunce woolde not faill to provide that he shulde be utterly putte aparte and lefte aloone, to his extreme daungier and perell, if it soe shulde chaunce.

After these premysses were purpoosed with myche moore circumstaunce, hit

hit was harde for the said yong King to make aunsuer to the same. Nevertheles He saide He was not mynded in anywise to seche any newe frendes, but, as nature required, wolde clerely geve Hym to have his hooll truste and hoope in his dereste uncle, in whoom he did putte his hoolle confidence, and never intended any other; albe it speciall motions had bene made and moved unto Hym, not upon his oune serching, but by the procuring of other. And upon this poynte conceiving the said yong King to be perplexed, and desiring Him to have some other thing to reason in his mynde and conjectour upon, I shewed unto His Grace I merveiled mooste specially that His said Grace, by thadvice of his Counsaill, did noone otherwise folowe upon the mariage of my Lady Princes, remembring as farre as ever I conceived, His Grace had noe desperate aunsuer in that behalve, aither by his Ambassadours or otherwise.

Upon shewing of this matier, His Grace said unto me, that his Counsaill had infourmyd Hym that my Lady Princes was promysed to the Duke of Orliaunce sonne to the Frenshe King, whiche was the occasion that He called noe moore quykly upon that matier. Howe be it His Grace said, He woolde by thadvice of his Counsaill use and ordour Hym self otherwise to his said dereste uncle, specially by sending moore famylierly thenne He hath doon to his said Highnes; alledging there is noe mariage in the worlde that He is soe desirous upon, as of the same. Saying also, there shulde be noe thing in his Realme, aither men or other, but the same shulde be at the requeste of his dereste uncle, and desired me of my poore favour and good reapoorte. Wherynne I canne doe noone other, but shewe that the same shuld be to the gretteste counfort that couth come to Scottelande; whiche I doe not conceive oonly by the said Kingges Grace, but also by the Quene of Scottes his moder, and by his mooste honourable and mooste discrete Counsaillours, with whoom I have had conference and commynnycation at large, and am sure that naither the said yong King nor his Counsaill be mynded to leane to any other party, aither for mariage, or any other intelligence, oonles it be by thadvice of the Kingges mooste gracious Highnes. And for the further surety in that behalve, the said Quenes Grace, thArchebushop of Saint Andrewes, Sir William Scotte Lorde of Balwery, and Mr Adam Otterbourne have firmely promysed unto me, that noe commynnycacion shalbe had with noe outewarde realmes, till that the Kingges said Highnes and your Grace shalbe made privea to the same: and mooste assuredly I truste to the woordes and promyse made unto me by the said King of Scottes, and doubte not that in any wise thay woll declyne to the contrary; soe that for this cause there is noe doubte to be made for the partie of Scottelande. And as for further circumstaunces,

circumstaunces, I shall shewe the same, whenne I shall repaire to the Kingges Highnes and to your Grace.

I have not at any tyme founde the Quene of Scottes moore inclyned to the devotion of Einglande, or to the pleasure of her dereste broder the Kingges Highnes, thenne Her Grace is at this season; desiring noone other thing, but unitye concoorde and amitye to contynue betwene booth the Kingges and thaire realmes; and being in right good favour, as nature requireth, with the Kingges Grace her sonne, she is clerely geven to the avauncement furtheraunce and setting forwarde of the same.

I have seen letters, that of late came frome oute of Flaunders; wherby it is mentionned that thEmperour shall have in a redynes, by the 15th daye of this instaunte moneth, twoe hundreth shippes of warre, and that, besides the same, there ar a good noumbre of shippes in a redynes in Flaunders to be conveied to the said Emperour with gonnes, powder, shotte of stoone, and yron; whiche newes doe comme from John Moffit, Conservatour of the nation of Scottelaunde in Flaunders, and practiser of the mariage for the King of Scottes, and for the intelligence betwene hym and the said Emperour.

At this present and instaunte tyme thErle of Angus doth brenne, and doth many displeasures to the subjectes of Scottelande: and in like maner thErle Bothwell, autorised Lieutenaunte of Lowdyan, doth procure labour and woorke all the displeasures he canne, to amove the said Erle of Anguse from oute of thoos partes; insomyche that I couth not passe betwene Edinburgh and Berwike withoute suspicion of daungier, but also, as it chaunced, to the extreme perell booth of me and of my servauntes; avoided moore by grace and fortune, thenne otherwise. Wherynne I am well assured thErle of Anguse, nor noone of his, were in defaulte, and that the King of Scottes wolbe highly displeased with the same. Howe be it, I see not in any wise that the saide Erle maye contynue, but that he is at an utter extremyte, trusting noone otherwise but to the favour and grace of the Kingges Highnes; for elles there is towardes hym noone other remedy, as appereth by the latter ende of the instructions, committe unto me by the said King of Scottes: whiche I doubte not but the Kingges said Highnes and your Grace woll conscider in effecte, as the same purpoorteth. And thus, Almighty God have Youe, my good and gracious Lorde, in His mooste blessed preservation. At Barwik, the 13th daye of February.

Your mooste humble
preiste and bedeman,
(*Signed*) T. MAGNUS.

(*Superscribed*)
Unto my Lorde Legates good Grace.

CCV. Angus *to* Wolsey.[1]

My Lord. In my maist lauly maner I recommend my humill service unto zour Grace, quhilk plesit I have send this present portatour to the Kingis Hienes and zour Grace, amply instructit with my mynd, as he will informe zow. Sa scherply I am persewit, and the treux sa extremly takin in my contrar, that I ma nocht weill remane within this realme. As forthir the said latour can mair largely mak manifest unto zour Grace. Maist humbly beseking the same to stand my gud lorde, and furthir my effaris now in necessite, and to giff audience and credence to ye said berar, as to my selff. And, giff thar be ony steid or service my simpilnes ma do to the pleaser of zour Grace, yt salbe reddy at command. As knawis God, quha conserve Zour Grace eternaly. Writtin at Prestoun, the 18 day of Maij, 1529.

Zour Graces servitour at all powar,

(*Superscribed*) To my Lord Cardinalis Grace, &ca. (*Signed*) Ard Erl of Angus.

CCVI. King James V. *to* King Henry VIII.[2]

Richt Excellent, Richt Hie, and Michty Prince, oure derrest Bruther and Confederate, We recommend Ws unto Zow in oure maist hertlie maner. Signifying ye samyn yat following ye gude and lovable counsaill gevin be Zou unto Ws be zoure traist Counsaloure Maister Thomas Magnus Archdene of Estridene, as ye maist hertlie uncle to ye tender nevo, We have tane greit laubouris and cure apon Ws in proper Persoun by ye continuale deligence [*maid*] be oure officiaris, to reduce ye brokin men of oure Bordouris till ane quiet and gude ordoure, for ye bettir continuance of amyte and gude pece betuix oure subjectis and Realmes. Albeit ye samyn wes veray difficill, considerand ye saidis transgressouris and brokin men hes bene, yis lang tyme bipast, cherisit mantenit and defendit be yame yat abusit oure autorite in ye mony [*greit*] and diverse enormiteis and offensis committit continualie apoun

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. I. leaf 5.

[2] From the Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 310. A little damaged by fire.

the

the trew liegis of baith oure Realmes; and, as We beleiff, z[*our*] officiaris of zoure Bordouris will testify ye samyn, and yat gude reull and pece hes bene weill kepit oure all o[*ure*] Bordouris on oure syde sen ye takin of ye last trewis, and inlikewys oure officiaris hes schewin Ws yat days of m[*eting*] with redres is weill keipit in all partis on zoure syde, except zoure Eist Bordoure fornent ye Merse, quhair Ma[*ister*] Leisence[1], capitane of Norame, hes ye cure under zoure Wardane ye Erle of Northumberland, quhilk hes kepit [*na m*]aner of days of meting with oure Wardanis, nor maid redres sen ye last pece takin, he being oft and diverse tymis requirit yerto, bot assistis planelie till oure rebellis and brokin men within zoure Realme, in committing of herschip[*pis and*] slauchteris upon oure liegis and subjectis; tending yerthrow be ye persuasioun of ye saidis rebellis to be ye occasioun and [*instr*]ument, and it micht be in his power, to bring Ws unto rupture and oure Realmes to besynes; like as mair amplie zou[*r said*] Counsaloure can geif gude informatioun, quhilk hes riply consavit ye effaris of baith oure Bordouris in every behalff [*at his*] last being in Berwik. Heirfor, derrest uncle, We exhort Zow in oure maist effectuis maner yat Ze will caus reformatioun [*to be maid*] of ye premisses, and yat dais of meting with oure officiaris be appoyntit and kepit for redrese deulie to be maid o[*n zoure*] syde, like as We sall caus be done for oure part, conforme to ye peax, quhairthrow gude rest and tranquillite may be h[*ad twixt*] baith oure subjectis, in ye greit encressing of ye commoun weill of baith oure Realmes. Prayand Zow, derrest un[*cle, have*] in remembrance yat We have oft and diverse tymes send oure writingis to Zow for redres to be maid till Robert [*Bertoun of*] Over Bertoun, oure Thesaurer, of ye greit skaith and dampnage done till him of lang tyme bypast be ye [*liegis*] of Zoure Realme, without ony redres maid to him as zit. Rycht Excellent, Richt Hie, and Michty Prince, oure derrest Un[*cle, Bruth*]er, and Confederate, ye Blissit Trinite have Zou ever in maist prosperius governance. Gevin under oure Signet at Jed[*worth, ye*] 22 day of Junij and of oure regne ye 16 zeire.

(*Signed*) Zo[ur] lovyng brother and nepho,

JAMES R.

(*Superscribed*)

To the Richt Excellent, Richt Hie, and Michty Prince, oure derrest Uncle, Bruther and confederat, ye King of Ingland, &ca.

[1] Roger Lassells.

CCVII. OTTERBURN *to* MAGNUS.[1]

My Lord. Eftir all hartlie recommendatioun. It will pleise zour Lordschip till be advertist, yat I have ressavit zour gude and freyndfull wryttinges yis 25 day of Junij, and has causit ye messingere of Bervyk have presens of my Soverane and Maister ye 26 day of ye samyn moneth.

My Lord, as to ye proport of zour wryttingis, I sall ansuer zow trewlie without dissimilacioun or colour, in every poynt, as ye matter standis in deid.

Suth it is, yat yare was certane contractis maid betuix ye toune of Burgese, yan stapill of yis realme, and ye merchandis of Scotland, attorisat be oure Soverin Lorde King James ye First, quham God assolze, and ye Archduke of Burgunze, till indure for the space of ane hundreth zeris; and now the said contracttis ar expirit. Quharfor it was thocht expedient and necessar yat syk contractis wer renewit for ane uyer hundreth zeris, conforme to ye first contract; quhilkis contractis twichis na thing ye Princes nor yare Realmes, bot anerly the hant and expedicioun of merchandyse, and previlegis concernyng our natioun. Yis mater suld nocht be displesand noyer to France nor Ingland, considering yar is na allians of realmys nor Princes, bot anerly for the commoun weill of merchandis, quhilk is necessar and proffitabill, and na freynd aucht to be displesit yarat, bot rather hertlie content. For, gif we suld allnterly oversee oure awin weill eise and tranquilite, I wait nocht quha suld remembir yaron.

As to the mariage of our Soverane Lord with ye Queyne of Ungary, in verite yar is na thing done in yat behalf.[2] I dout nocht bot ze have hard,

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[1] Holograph. From the Museum, Caligula, B. III. leaf 298.

[2] The King of France felt a suspicion on this head, for on the 28th of June 1529 he wrote from Coussy to James V., dissuading him from making any alliance or treaty, for marriage or otherwise, to the prejudice of the amity subsisting between them. This letter is in Caligula, B. VII. leaf 132.; and in the next leaf is a contemporary copy, in a French hand, of a letter of the 10th of May from James to the Duke of Albany, in which He communicates to him that overtures have been made to Him by the Emperor and the King of Hungary to marry one of their sisters or nieces with a large dowry and annual revenue, and that He is pressed by his States and Council to listen to the proposal; observes that He and Albany are the only two of their House, and both childless; and permits him, if he deems it expedient, to impart the matter privately to the King of France. Boleyn and Stokesley, who were about September in the same year sent on a mission to the French Court, were instructed to tamper with Francis I. respecting Albany's voyage to Scotland, and to throw impediments in the way of an alliance between James V. and the Emperor.

how

how yat ane gentilman of Hannago was send heire be ye King of Ungary, desyring help aganis ye Turk. Yis gentill man movit the said mariage, without ony autorite commission or credence, bot as proceding of his awin voluntarie jugyne. And, because it was thocht necessary for the weill of the saidis merchandis, yat ye previlegis and sort of yare repair in Flandris suld be renewit efter ye auld contractis maid obefore, and yat Maistir Johnne Campbell, now Schir Johnne, was gavand yarfor, and to be send in yai partis to yat effect; and amangis uyer materis it was gevin him in charge to heire gif ony desyre or motioun ware maid tuiching oure said Soverane Lordis mariage, and to report quhat was said or proponit in yat behalf. Bot I assure yow in my lawte, he has noyer commissioun autorite nor credence in yat mater. And strange it war till ony man to presume the contrarie, considering yat na wyse counsall wald committ sa greit ane cause as the mariage of ane Prince, bindin of alliance with Princes and realmes in apperand tinsall of auld freyndes, to syk ane sobir personage as the said Schir Johnne Campbell.[1] My Lord, I assure zow in my lawte and honeste, yis is ye verite in every behalf, nocht douting bot, quhen ever our Maister proceidis to syk actis as his mariage, He will advertise his uncle, desyring his help and counsaill yareyntill. And as to me I never fenzeit with zow in ony mater. Thankand zow hertlie of the saulfconduct send to Maister Johnne Chesholme, zour gude freynd and servand, and to me.

My Lord, I pray zour Lordschip command me, quhat I can or may do to zour Lordschipis plesour, and I salbe reddy to ye uttermest of my power, saiffand my Soveranis displesour. Praying zow alsua to recommend my lauly service to my Lord Duke of Northfok, and put me in remembrance to His Grace. And Almychty God conserf zow in prosperite. Of Edinburgh, yis 26 day of Junij, be zour traist freynd and servitour,

(*Signed*) Aõ. Ott[illegible]burn.

(*Superscribed*)
To ane richt honorable Clerk, Maistir Thomas Magnus, Archdiacon of Estriden, and Counsalour to the Kingis Hienes of Ingland, &c. &ca.

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[1] It appears from the Harleian MS. 4637, that the original treaty was continued by an ordonnance made at Mechlin on the 13th of April 1529, in consequence of Sir John Campbell's mission, and finally ratified by the Emperor on the 24th of July 1531.

CCVIII. King James V. *to* Magnus.[1]

Richt traist and weilbelovit Clerk, We recommend Ws hertlie unto zou; and, considering sik letters as ze haif laitlie send unto Ws, of ye dait of London ye 15 day of Junij instant, We tak perfit knawlege of ye gud mynd ze be of towart Ws in encressing all natural kyndnes luf and favour betuix our derrest uncle and Ws, pece and rest betuix our Realmys and liegis, quharof for our part We gif zou our maist speciall thankis. Bot, as quhar ze bring till our rememberans in zour letters certane poyntis of our last credens committit on to zou to schaw our derrest Uncle, dredand our inconstance yarin, throu ane brute and informatioun maid of Ws, We mervel nocht litill yat ze suld in ony sort gif credence to sik brut, or untrew informatioun, quharthrou our honour may be emparit be ony syk onkindlie behaving Ws towart our said derrest uncle. And as quhar ze desir to be acertyned be Ws in writ, quhat thing of treucht ze may report anent ye saidis poynctis of our credence; werely ze may report every poynt of our letters and credens send with zou toward our said derrest uncle, to be observit and kepit constantlie be Ws, God willing, sua yat ze sall incur na reproche yarthrou, nor zit zour credens to be defacit.

And as anent ye passage of Maister Johne Campbell in Flanderis, it is nocht to beleif yat in ony sort We wald haif send to contracte ony allyans by ye advertisment of our derrest uncle, considerand sik letters and credens We send wyth zou in yat mater. And, gif We suld haif wyerwise done, We suld have committit yat mater to men of greter reputacioun thane ye said Maister Johine. His passag in Flanderis at yis tyme wes till renew ane ald band betuix ye merchandis of our Realme and of Flanderis, quhilk has endurit yir hundreth zeris bipast, and expiris yis instant zeir. And gif of aventour ony allians or wyer bandis, yane wer of ald, beis desirit, think weil our derrest uncle salbe advertist of ye samyne, and his avise and counsel desirit tobe had yarin, conforme to our mynd send laitlie wyth zou, and We intend till haif Ws sua yat, quhay ever rasit sic brut and maid sik informatioun of Ws, sall haif of our derrest uncle lese credence in tyme tocum. And God preserve zou ever. Of Peblis, ye 29 day of Junij.

(*Signed*) James R.

(*Superscribed*)
To ane rycht venerable Clerk Maister Thomas
Magnus, Archidene of Ester Riding.

[1] From the Museum, Caligula, B. III. leaf 56.

CCIX. STRANGWAYS *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEYS ytt Zur Grace to be advertysyd. So ytt ys, yatt Mr Karlylle the harold hath declaryd to me, be credens from zur Grace, thatt I shall kepe styll with me yn my howys my Lade Margarett, dowhtter to the Erlle of Angus, and ferther thatt I schuld tak gud heyd and attendans to be sueyr of hyr, and zytt thatt sche myhtt hawe as mych lybertte and recreacion, and rather mor, then sche hath hade. Pleys ytt zur Grace, evyn acordyng to the saym zur commandementt nowe sentt to me be the sayd harrold, ryghtt so I hawe usyd hyr befor the sayd commandementt come to me; for I ways warnyd thatt, wythowytt I towyk gud heyd, and lukyd surly to hyr, sche wold be stollyn, and withdrawyn yn to Scottlande. Wych cawsyd me to tak the more labor for hyr suer kepyng, and zytt I knawe weyll sche ways never meryer, nor better plesyd and contentt, then sche ys nowe, as sche oftyme repeattes. My Lord of Angus, att the fyrst bryngyng of hyr to me, desyryd me that I wuld tak hyr to my howys, and he wold conttentt me both for hyr and hyr gentyl woman, with sych folkes as schuld awaytt apon hyr dayly, or resortt to hyr. And I schewyd agayn to my sayd Lorde, thatt for somych thatt I understod thatt zur Grace ways godfather to hyr, and seyng thatt my sayd Lord of Angus ways nott provydyd off a convenyent plays for hyr to be yn, I ways contentt to tak hyr, and to do hyr the best servys myhytt ly yn my power, to sych tyme as I knewe zur Graces plesuer. And, seyns the commyng to Berwyke of the sayd harrolde, I have schewyd my Lord of Angus thatt zur expres commandementt to me ways, be sayd harrolde, thatt I schuld reteyn and kepe my sayd Lade styll, and entterteyn hyr as weyll as myhytt be yn me: wych commandement I declaryd to my sayd Lord of Angus. Wherwith he ways werre glayd and joyus, that zur Grace had hyr yn sych rememberans. And ytt lyke zur Grace, I hawe had my sayd Lade, and hyr gentylwoman, and a man servantt, with other of ther frendes and servanttes att certen tymes, and for the most partte my sayd Lord of Angus hyr father, nowe be the spays of thre monthys, wythowytt ane maner of costes to my sayd Lord or aney of tham. And watt zur Grace schall ferther command me yn this matter or aney other, I schall be rede to accomplyche the saym, with the grace of God. For yn gud fayth I nather hawe nor never wyll hawe other mayster bott only zur Grace; and be my

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. XI. Part I. No. 193.

gud

gud wyll I schall never be so long from zur Grace, as I hawe beyn. And thus the Holy Gost preserve Zur Grace from all maner of perell or danger. From Berwyke, the 26 day of July.

Be zur fathfull and most
howmble servantt,
(*Signed*) THOMAS STRANGWAYS.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Legattes Grace be this delyvered.

CCX. NORTHUMBERLAND *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEACE it Youre good Grace to be advertysed that on Thursday the 26th day of this present moneth of August, by Carlill harrold at armys to the Kynges Highnes, I have receyved youre Graces most honorable letters, datyd at youre maner of Tyttonanger the 14th day of this present month of August. Perceyvyng by the same the Kinges Highnes pleasure and youre Graces is, that lovyngly and favorably I, with all other my officers and servauntes in thees parties, shall enterteyne thErle of Angwishe, for such considerations as is expressed in your Graces said letters; and according to the same at the Kynges towne of Newcastell uppon Tyne, at the repare of the said Erle northward, I enterteynyd hym in as amyable and loving wyse as I could devyse, all the gentilmen of Northumberland beyng present with me assemblyd at that tyme, aswell for thadmynistration of justice, as for the good ordre and stay to be takyn of the Bordores; wherin I have soo endevored my self, that I trust shalbe to the contentation of the Kinges Highnes and youre Grace, as ye shall persave at my repare unto the same. Moreover I have mocyoned thErle of Angwyshe, that such Scotyshemen his frendis as doth repare into this realme for refuge, lyinge apon the Bordores, doo kepe good rule, ner make noo roburies ner spoiles within the realme of Scotland, seyng that by the vertue of the trews last takyn betwene boith the realmes, I am charged to make redres for all such attemptates commytted by any such adherentes or frendes of the said Erle, enhabityng in England; which to doo in tyme comyng he haith assuredly promysed, desyring of me asmych favour for such offences as haith tofore bene commytted by his said adherentes, as I conveniently may shew unto hym. Alsoo, as Appulby, the Kynges Highnes messenger, shewid unto me

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. VIII. Part I. No. 124.

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at his retorn from Scotland, the Kyng of Scottes comaundet hym to shewe unto me He was desyrous that conventions and metyng shuld be haid uppon the Bordures for redres of offences commyttyd opon the same. Notwithstanding, the Scottes of late haith rather bene enclyned to discencion, and mayntenance of offenders, then thexecution of any good justice or redres opon the Bordores; by thoccasion wherof syndry great attemptates haith lately bene comytted by theyme uppon the Kyng oure Soverayne Lordis subjectes, as yet beyng not redressed. For the reformation wherof I have aswell apoynted with my Vicewarden, Lieutenauntes, Deputies, and other myn officers, as all other gentilmen, inhabitantes nye the said Bordores, that dayes of trewe shalbe kept opon every Marche frome tyme to tyme without long delayes; and dewe admynistration of justice to be doone opon my parte, soo that lyke may be haid agayne of the Scottes. The successe wherof as I shall perceyve during myne abode here, I shall declare unto youre Grace at my commyng unto the same. As knowith Oure Lord, whoo preserve Youre good Grace in long lyf, with asmych increace of honour as your noble hert can desyre. Wryten at the Kynges towne of Newcastell uppon Tyne, the 29th day of August.

Your most bondon servaunt,

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates good Grace.

(*Signed*) H. NORTHMBRELAND.

CCXI. KING JAMES V. *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

RYCHT Excellent, Rycht Hie, and Michty Prince, our maist dere Uncle and Broyer, We recommend Ws unto Zou in our maist hertlie maner. Plesithe Zou onderstand yat, nochtwythstanding ye gud and luffing letters send be Zou laitlie unto Ws wyth Dingwel ane of our [*offici*]aris of armis, for gud redrese to be had on ye Bordouris, contenyng zour lovable and entier mynd for ye conservatioun of [*perfi*]tt amite and favor betuix Ws, ye continewance of pece and rest betuix baith ye Realmes, ye liegis and subjectis of ye [*samy*]ne; nothir will zour Wardanis, nor yar Lieutenentis of ye Eist Bordouris, mak ony metting wyth effect for redrese, bot h[*as nami*]t mony and kepis nane, and daylie sufferis and permittis our rebellis, accumpanyt wyth part of zour subjectis,

[1] From the Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 26. Damaged by fire.

t[*o ma*]k slauchter, birnyng of grangis, heirschippis, wyth sindrie wyer intollerable attemptatis apoun our trew liegis, expr[*eslie in*]contrar ye verteu of trewis; tending yarby to perturbe and brek ye amite and favour betuix Ws, ye pece and r[*est betuix*] our liegis, and finallie to bring baith our Realmes to besines. And, for our part, as zit We have wyth g[*ret diff*]iculte constrenit our subjectis abstene fra committing of semblable attemptatis and grevous enormiteis apoun zour [*subjec*]tis; quhilk is nocht possible to be resistit wythout haiste remeid be fundin. Tharfor, derrest uncle and broyer, We exh[*orte Zou*] have consideratioun of ye premisses, and suffir nocht sik false tratouris of smal reputatioun to be instrument to seper[*ate frie*]ndlie favour of blud betuix sic twa Princis, nor to led yir Realmes till trouble and weir. And ye rather, derrest unc[*le, conside*]ring ye mony gret actis Ze have done for ye weil of Ws and our Realme in tymis bipast, quhilkis daylie [*mair an*]d mair, as We grow in aige cummis till our remembrance, confermand and ruttand towart Zou our hertlie [*lufe and*] kindnes, as dett by ye natural knot of blud betuix Ws, as wyth ye help of God salbe oppinlie kend throu ex be procese of tyme; and, as We suppoun, Ze tak knawlege be sik writtingis and credence send be Ws to Zou w[*ith zour*] lovitt clerk and Counsalour Maister Thomas Magnus, Archidene of Estriden, and as Ze sal knaw presentlie be sik [*crede*]nce in writ be ye berar David Wod, our familiar servitour, to quhome it will lik Zou giff credence. Rycht Ex[*cellent,*] Rycht Hie, and Mychty Prince, our derrest Uncle and Broyer, We pray God have Zou in His tuicioun. Gevin ondre our Signet, at Drumfres, ye fift day of Novembre, and of our regime the 17 zeire.

(*Signed*) Zo[illegible] lovyng brother and nepho,
JAMES R.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Rycht Excellent, Rycht Hie, and Mychty Prince, our derrest Uncle and Broyer, ye Kinge of Ingland.

CCXII. NORTHUMBERLAND *to* KING JAMES V.

RIGHT Excellent, Right High, and Myghty Prince. Pleasithe it Youre Grace to be advertysed that, contrary unto the leage and treaty of peax concludet betwixt the Kinges Majesty my Soveraigne Lord and You, uppon Friday being the 19th day of this instant dyverse of youre subjectes of Liddersdaill, to the nombre of one hundreth men and above, by opyn forrey, on the

the day light, at 12 of the cloke at none, invadet this the Kinges Highnes realme of England at a place called Byrkshawes, and there seased all the cataill that was of the inhabitantes nye and adjoininge. Wheroppon one of my servauntes called Nicholas Rydley, withe other, dyd folowe, as trewe men ought to doo, there owne goodes; and by an embushement of the said malifacters and ruptures of the peax, not onely he and 18 more were taken, and led as prisoners into Liddersdaill within the Realme of Scotland, and there soo holden, but alsoo 4 of his servauntes, the King my Soveraigne Lordes subjectes, cruelly and in most detestable maner, after that they were taken, slayne. Which without Your Grace woll see that it be hastely remedit and redrese maide therfor, I can not se, besides that I must advertise the Kinges Highnes my Maister therof, seying it is under my charg, bott that it wolebe great encoraigement for other inconvenyence to ensewe toward the rupture of the peax betwixt the Kinges Highnes my Soveraign Lord ande You, which shall be moost to my discumforth, concidering the nye proximytie of betwixt Your Grace and me. Besuching You, that I may knowe your pleasour in the premisses in breif tyme; for, seing the crualtie of the act now laitly done in so haynus wise, it is very hard for me to stay the countrey under my charg for not doing the semblable. Whiche consydered, I eftsonnes desyre Your Grace that the premisses may be so lokyd unto and redressed, that I have no ferther caus of complaynt for justice not to be mynystard of your part; bott that it may appere unto the Kinges Highnes my Soveraign Lord, ye tender and love, the perseverauns and procedinges of justice, and to hate, chastice, and ponnysh them, which be myndid and knowen clerly geven to the contrary. And thus desyring Your Grace to gyf further credence to my servaunt this berer, Right Excellent, Right High, and Mightie Prince, Our Lord have You in His keping. Wrytten at my mannour of Topclif, the 25 day of November.

(*Signed*) H. Northm̃b̃.

CCXIII. King James V. *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Richt Excellent, Richt High, and Mychtie Prince, oure derrest Uncle and Brother, We recommend Ws unto Zou in oure maist hartlie maneire. By the ressait of sick writingis We have laitlie receyvit fra Schir Thomas Clifford

[1] From the Museum, Caligula, B. VII. leaf 155.

zoure servant, and undertandin of his credence, We tak perfite knawlege of the entiere lufe and favour Ze beire towart Ws, willing always oure honoure and wele. And, as to the redresses of attemptatis apoune the Bordouris, it is the thing We desire maist ardentlie, and to be putt till effect, for the conserving of the amitie and kyndnes betuix Ws oure Realmys and subjectis, and hais tharefore tane laitlie sick ways of oure officiaris and inhabitantis oure Bordouris, that justice indifferentlie in yat behalfe sall nocht be delayt for oure part; assurand Zow in sick delay oure liegis and subjectis tholis ye scaith and dammage. And yarefore We pray Zou, derrest uncle, that the officiaris of zour Bordouris be appliable yaireto in semblable maneire.

Ferder the said Schir Thomas hais schewine Ws largelie tuiching zoure effectuous desire for reconciliatioune of Archibald sumtyme Erle of Angus, allegeand be oure other letters past fra Ws, of before condicioune and sumpart graunt maid be Ws. Derrest uncle, Ze bere in memoure the diverse and mony writingis and instructionis We have send to Zou, contenyng the just procese and ordoure of forfaltoure led be Ws and our Thre Estatis apoune the said sumtyme Erle of Angus, his brother, and eyme, for sick hevy and grete crymes yai committit aganis Ws, and in speciale with zoure Counsaloure Maister Thomas Magnus Archdene of Estridenne; quhay left na persuasioune undonne that mycht have solistit Ws thaire to. Quharethrou Ze havand regard till oure wele rest and honoure, conforme till oure asperance and confidence in Zou oure derrest uncle, We think Ze suld nocht be facillie inducit to mak sa stark mediacioune in yat mater; sen it is the thing that tendis maist aganis oure seurtie. And yarefore, as We and oure Estatis understandis, it ryndis till the grete apperand hurt of oure honoure and wele, and remembris wele We nevir as zit grauntit to the reconciliatioune of ye said Archibald, nowther be writingis nor word, as We have schewine at large to the said Schir Thomas zoure servant. Richt Excellent, Richt High, and Michty Prince, and derrest Brother and Uncle, We pray God Almychti have Zou in His keping. Gevin under oure Signet, at Edinburgh, the secund day of Decembre, and of oure regime the sevintene zeir.[1]

(*Signed*) Zo lovyng brother and nepho,

JAMES R.

(*Superscribed*)

To the Richt Excellent, Richt High, and Mighty Prince, oure derrest Brother and Uncle, the King of Ingland.

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[1] In the same Vol. leaf 154, is a letter from the Archbishop of Glasgow to Henry VIII., of the same date, and on the same subjects as the above, referring the reconciliation to his Sovereign, it being a matter of grace, and consisting in his will.

CCXIV. Decre of Concorde by the Commissioners of bayth the Realmez.[1]

At Karlylle, the 7th day of September, the yere of our Lorde God a thowsand fyve hundreth and 31 yeres, it is appoyntyd and agreed betwyx the Commissioneres of Englond, that is to say, Sir Thomas Clyfford Knyght, Captayn of the towne and castell of Berwyck upon Twyde, Sir Richard Tempest Knyght, Sir Rauf Ellerker Knyght, Sir Thomas Wharton Knyght, Cuthbert Radclyff Esquier, on that partie; and the Commissioneres of Scotland, that is to sey, William Scott of Balwerey, John Cambell of Lundy, Knyghtes, Robert Charteres of Empsfeld, and Thomas Scott of Pitgorno, on that oder partie, enempst the makyng of reformacion and redress of attemptates committyd by the leiges of their Realmez of the West Merchiez, Lyddersdale, and Tweydale, to procede in this wise as foloith, that is to say: All the billes yevyn by the Scottishmen, or to be yevyn, ayenest Englyshmen for eny mayner of attemptates committyd by eny Englyshmen dwellyng of West Merchiez, shall now presently be tryed at Karlylle, and mayde fowle or clene be on assise or assysez, as the use of the Borders is, and the deliverance of the same shall supersedith delayd and continewyd, unto the tyme that all billes gyffen or to be gyffen by the liegez of Englond upon any Scottyshmen dwellyng of the West Borderes, or at Lyddersdale, or Twydale, at the commyng of the Commissioners unto Drumfrese, be sembeally made fowle or clene; and yerafter a day or dayez to be sett by the Commissioneres of bothe the Realmez for the realmez, for the delivere makyng of all billes on ather syde that be is fyled. And, yff it fortuneth that the tryall of the Englyshmens bylles to be made in Drumfrese at the commyng of the Commissioneres to Drumfrese to faill in the deffaulth of the Scottes Commissioners or Warden, all the fylyng of the Scottes billes now to be at Karlyle shalbe of none avale force nor effect; provydyd that the billes of Scotland be gyffen in to the Warden of England by the 12th day inclusive of September, and the billes of Englond be gyffen in to the Warden of Scotland, or Wardens, by the 17 day

[1] From the Museum, Caligula, B. VII. leaf 164. The same volume contains (leaves 175, 169, 174, 167, 165) proceedings of the 2d and 3d of October under this decree, and a proclamation of the latter day for keeping good order on the Borders. After which the Commissioners of the two Realmes separated, not being able to agree, whether a tract of land, called Canoby, was part of the Debateable ground, or belonged in severalty to the English or to the Scottish territory.

inclusive

inclusive of September. And for suerty of the same, bayth the seydes Commissioneres haith subscrybyd this present contract enterchangeably. And further it is agreed by the seydes Commissioners that all attemptates committyd by eny inhabytant of the Merchiez of ather Realme sith the 27 day of August, at wiche tyme the seydes Commissioneres dyd set forwardes to sit apon the seyd commissions, shall furst and with all dilygence be redressyd, and ondatynges to be hayde by the Wardens Lyeutenaunttes and Deputes upon knawlege from one of theym to oderes, to be gyffen for the same, and plegez to be redeliveryd therfor accordyngly to the custome of the Borderes.

CCXV. Northumberland *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Pleasith it Your moost gracious Highnes to be advertised, that certeyn Scottes men passing thrughe this Your Highnes Realme, without any pasport or saveconduyt or any collour therof, in their going toward Scotland, was apprehendit ande taken by my servaunt at Alnewike, and there serchid; and upon oon Davy Pander, Scottesman, was founde ande taken certeyn letters, the which I do sende unto Your Highnes herin cloosed. Ande, after I hadde red the saide letters, perceyving credence to be gyven to the saide Pandre, I caused the saide Pander to be examyned, who confessed his credence to be, that of certeyn the peace was fully concludit bitwen the Emperour and the Scottes Kyng for oon hundereth yeres, ande that the Quene of Hoongry wold in no wyse mary the Scottes King; but thEmperour ande She did both intreat for mariage bitwen the eldest doughter of the Kyng of Denmarke[2] and the saide Scottes Kyng; who ys nece to the Emperour; ande also that thEmperour woll in all convenyent haste sende certeyn ordynaunce and powder with other artillery to the Scottes Kyng for a present; ande that thEmperour ys nowe departid unto Almayn for the puttyng dowen of the Duke of Saxony, and oon Langraeff de Hessen, ande an other called Margrave de Husboith, who doth take parte with the Luteriens agaynst thEmperour. Yf which insurrections hadd not bene, thEmperour hadd sent a secret servaunt of his, instructed with his full mynde, to the Kyng of Scottes; the whiche secressez

[1] From the Museum, Caligula, B. VII. leaf 157. It is catalogued in 1534, but the events detailed in it relative to Germany fix it in 1531.

[2] Dorothy, who in 1532 married Frederick II. Elector Palatine.

the

the saide Davy Pander saide, unto hym was unknowen; but Lyndsey, the Scottes harrold, was appoynted to bryng the same with hym from thEmperour to the Scottes Kyng.

And, accordyng to my fourmer letters unto Your moost noble Grace, I caused myne officers to mete with the Lieutenauntes of the Borders of Scotland, to intercomon of and uppon the odious attemptates commytted and done at Your Highnes towen of Lowlyn, aswell for redelyveraunce of your subgietes, that was taken there and kept prisoners in Scotland contrary to the leigg ande truys, as for makyng of redresse of the said attemptates and goodes, that the said Scottes men tooke at the said forrey of Lowlyn. Where, for the parte of Scotland, at Rydyngburn of the Eist Marchiez, met Dan Car of Fernyhirst, Wat Car of Cesford, George Car, Dan Car of Greynhed, Dan Car of Grayden, ande Launce Car, who maid presyse aunswer that they wold make no redresse therof; and so departid ande cryed furth the truys; and the Scottes restith not, but nyghtly ar steelyng within this Your Highnes. Moost humbly besechyng Your Highnes that I may knowe Your Graces pleasour, howe I shall order me in all the premissez, the which, accordyng to my moost bounden dutie, I shall indevour my self to accomplyshe. And, as I may further atteigne unto the knowlege of any secresses of Scotland, I shall not faill semblably to advertys Your Highnes from tyme to tyme with all convenyency; and shall dayly pray to Allmighty God for the preservation of Your royall estate longe to indure with asmoch increas of honour as Your moost noble hart can desire. The 29th day of Septembre.

Your most humble subject,

[1]

(*Superscribed*)

To the Kynges moost gracious Highnes.

CCXVI. King James V. *to* King Henry VIII.[2]

Richt Excellent, Richt Hie, and Mychty Prince, our derrest Brothir and Uncle, We commend Ws unto Zou in our maist hertlie maner, gevand Zou to wit yat apoun ye morne eftir ye departing of zour servand Miles Forest fra Ws wyth our ansure to zour writtingis send with him, our Commissionaris

[1] The name has been cut off by the bookbinder.

[2] From the Museum, Caligula, B. VII. leaf 448.

returnit

returnit fra our Bordouris to Edinburgh, quhar We and our Counsal has herd all yat is done be yame. And, because yar haiste departing, and nocht passing consequentlie to ye laif of ye Bordouris for making and taking of redrese as efferis, consistis in materis movit be zour Wardanis and officiaris, apoun will, to perturbe all gud wayis, thane apoun any fundment of ressoun, and, as We beleif, nothir of zour mynd nor zour weill avisit Counsal; We have send unto Zou our familiar servand Thomas Scot, Gentilman of our House, wyth directionis, as We think, als weill necessair as expedient, because he was ane of our Commissionaris at yis tyme, and cane oppin and to declair ye maner of all: quhame to We pray Zou, derrest uncle, to gif credence, and to considder weill and wey digestlie be zour self ye haill effect of it, yat he has fra Ws in command, baith be writ[1] and word to ex[*plane*] and schaw unto Zou, sua yat nothir Ze nor We have ony scruple or dout nocht to have sikker and trew confidence, ilkane [*to uth*]ar, conforme to our mony writtingis passit of befor declarand our myndis; and yat Ze will send Ws zour gudlie ansure in every behalf, wyth our said servand.

Richt Excellent, Richt Hie, and Mychty Prince, our derrest Brothir and Uncle, We pray God evirlesting have Zou in keping. Gevin onder our Signet, at our castel of Stirling, the 18 day of Octobre, and of our regime the 19 zeir.

(*Signed*) Yo[ur] lovyng brother and nepho,

JAMES REX.

(*Superscribed*)

To the Richt Excellent, Richt Hie, and Michty Prince, our derrest Brothir and Uncle, the King of Ingland, &[ca].

CCXVII. KING HENRY VIII. *to* KING JAMES V.[2]

RIGHT Excellent, Right Highe, and Mighty Prince, &[c]. And where as in your letters sent by your servaunt Thomas Scott, Gentleman of your House, Ye write unto Us of the recesse ande departing of our and your Commissioners without any redresse made uppon the Bordures, the default and blame wherof ye ascribe and impute to our Wardens and officers, having, as Ye wryte, wyll

1 The written articles do not appear to be extant.

2 From the Museum, Caligula, B. VII. leaf 161., written by Wriothesley, and indorsed in a contemporary hand, "A minute of the Kinges Highnes to the King of Scottes, 15. 9. 1531."

and

and mynde rather to perturbe al good wayes thenne otherwise: signifieng also unto Us, howe, for further declaration of your good entent and intentyon, Ye send unto Us the said Thomas Scott with credence, whiche Ye desire Us to considre and waye accordingly. Derest brother and nephieu, having receyved of You so many good letters hertofore, always sounding in wordes to the best purpose, wherin also Ye have noted unto Us, as Ye nowe do, the untowardnes of our said Wardyns and officers, and having also, for tryall of the trueth by all wayes and meanes possible, made inquisition and serche, whither Ye have been abused in the reaportes and relacyons made unto Youe of our said Wardens and officers, or elles We deceyved in our opinion trust and confidence conceyved of the same; We, always desirous not oonly to knowe the treuth Ourself, and to direct and ordre our procedinges accordingly, but also at this tyme and in thiese matiers specially, that Ye might semblably have knowlege of the same, be right glad of the arryval of the said Thomas Scott, and chiefly for that he was oone of the Comyssioners on the Bordures for Youe at this tyme. Signifying unto Youe, for answer to your said letters, that as, by testimonye of all our Commyssioners examyned in the presence of your said servaunt, it apperethe playnlye, that, in the recesse made by our and your Comyssioners, neyther the hastines therof, want of redresse, or slaknes, maye be imputed justly to our Wardens or officers, wherof oone, the Erle of Northumberland, was all togither absent; so as in that pointe and the other, our Wardain was clerely discharged from blame, by al our said Comyssioners depositions made in the presence of your said servaunt, and avoyed before him in suche assured and substancyal maner, they being foure in nombre, men of honnorable honnour and reputation, nothing favoring the Lord Dacres, ne otherwise mynded in this behaulf, but as ther duetie to Us and inclynation to treuthe dothe constrayne them, as We cannot but gyve credite to their sayenges, and beleve them in that behaulf. Wherfor We, not perceyving any cause why We shuld mistrust the relation of our said Commissioners, and they making the same soo constantly in presence of your said servaunt, al circumstance of the tale and also ther qualites considered, be enforced to bileve them herin: considering specially, howe our said Commissioners doo, not oonly for confirmation of ther sayeng, bringe wordes and asseverations, but also shewe such matier, as doth prove and declare the manifest lightlywode of ther affirmations; as in our answer to your instructions, and credence sent by your said servaunt, which We shal sende unto Youe by a servaunt of ours, We shall declare more lenght; We must nedes thinke that We evidently see that Ye, good brother, be not instructed and informed of the truth in this matier: wherunto being, as Ye wryte, of your disposition inclined,

inclined, it is the more lamentable case that Ye shulde be by any man abused in the knowleage of that Ye specially love and desire, and that al Princes ought to regarde and folowe: as We shal further, in answer to your credence, declare unto Youe by our servaunt.

CCXVIII. King Henry VIII. *to* Carlisle, Herald.[1]

Aunswer.

First, after the Kinges Highnes harty commendations to his good brother and nephieu, the said C. shall say that for aunswer to such articles of credence as by Thomas Scot gentylman was delyvered in wryting to the Kinges said Highnes, he is specially sent unto the said King of Scottes, and hath in charge to make answer unto the same articles particulerly, as foloweth.

To the first article; the Kinges Highnes wel remembrith and considerith the labours and diligence taken in his owne person by the King of Scottes for punishement of the transgressours upon the Borders. And, lyke as His Highnes rejoysith and taketh pleasure in al his nephieus good actes, soo His Grace cannot but be sory to understande of any lak or default that shuld blemish or deface them, or any thing left on done that shuld make perfite the same. And, if the said King of Scottes, in punishing the transgressours upon the Bordors, had caused restitution to be made to His Graces subgettes, who had suffred the gret hurte by the same, thenne had his proceding therin been perfite, and shuld have bene to the Kinges Highnes as an actual declaration of the love He hath to justice. Wheras, the restitution not doone to our subgettes, it apperith He oonly mynded therin the commodite and benefite of his Realme, and the profite of Him self, more thenne thexecution of justice; soo as of thende and effecte We must necessaryly judge the begynning to have proceded. And therfore, whenne nowe We see likewise that of al the ardent letters requestes and desires made by the said King of Scottes for meating of our and his Commissioners, with soo many good and conformable wordes and sentences, noo frute hath succeded according therunto, and redresse soo often tymes in wordes spoken and wryten of, nowe in the tyme of dedes, taketh

[1] From the Museum, Caligula, B. VII. leaf 185., an original minute, written by Wriothesley, and corrected by Crumwell. It is indorsed, "A mynute of the aunswer sent by Carleil made to Thomas "Scottes credence."

noone

noone effecte, and the lak therof, not being on our partye, is nevertheles imputed unto Us; the laude commendation and prayse of the good signes and profers, with the rejoyse We shuld take in the same, is in thende and declaration of the thing, clerely faded and vanished awaye, and in the lieu of praysing and commending of his good letters and wryting, eyther thinke that wer not tobe thought of a Prince, or elles lament and sorowe the malice of men, who hath noo more respecte to ther Prince, thenne to make Him ther instrument for defence and mayntenaunce of al ther sayinges and doinges, be they true or otherwise. And this is a factione of men most detestable; who as they may easyly and facilly circumvent the King of Scottes, being in tendre age and not having thexperience of the worlde, soo coulde they not, if any wer soo disposed, compasse with vanites and fables the Kinges Highnes, being his high wisdom exercised and experte in the tryal of such dispositions and affections. Wherfor the said Carliel shal saye, howe that tale, reaported to the said King of Scottes to have been spoken by any of the Kinges Highnes subgettes, is divised and contryved and facioned in the same forge, that other diverse have been, concerning the lak of redresse; as We shal herafter declare unto Him.

As to the second article; wher the King of Scottes desireth the Kinges Highnes to remembre his writinges conteyning continual complaint of His Graces Wardens; the saide Carelel shal saye, the King hath soo wel remembred those his letters, and somoch regarded them, as wryten from a King whom it wer to be supposed noo man durst abuse with fables, that His Grace hath the more diligently enquired of the deamenour of his said Wardens and officers; and, like as hertofore His Grace coulde finde them in noo such defaulte, as was noted unto Him by the said King of Scottes letters; soo, having seen and serched the botom of the matier, wherin they be noted at this tyme, and howe innocent and inculpable they be therin, wel perceyveth howe the pretended defaultes at this tyme and hertofore, hath consisted in vayne and contryved reaportes made unto the said King of Scottes, and not in ther desertes, as the said King shal by that that foloweth clerely perceyve. In which matier the certain truth of the behavour of the Lord Dacres and his brother Sir Christofer, and the maner of proceding of the Kinges Highnes Commissioners, as is affermed, in the presence of the said Thomas Scot, concerning the contention for Canabe, beganne first, and proceded in this wise. Whenne the bylles of complaynt wer delyvered to the cysars, amonge whiche wer thees of Canabe, the cysars of themself first founde the said Canabe to be, as it is, Debatable grounde, and therupon rejected the bylles of ther complayntes. Wherunto the Lord Dacres ne his brother was not called, but oonly

upon question and altercacion made therof by your Commissioners pretending the same to be the londe of Scotlande, where as in dede it is Debatable grounde. And albeit the Lord Dacres, for preservation of the Kinges Highnes right in the said Canabe, to have the same, as it is, continue Debatable grounde, shulde and ought, in discharge of his duetie, if al other had hold there peace, have intromedled, and first proponed shewed and informed the Commissioners of the said Canabe, and not to permitte and suffre the right to perish by his silence; yet, as al the Kinges Highnes Commissioners hath avowed and deposed in the presence of the said Thomas Scot, the Lord Dacres, ne Sir Christofer his brother, wer not soo diligent therin as they ought to have been, ne did not first make that allegation as hath been pretended to the King of Scottes. And this the said Carlel shal saye oonly for declaration of the truth, which is always worthy knowlege. For elles, the matier of Canabe being, as it is, soo evident for the Kinges Highnes parte, who sooever first spake of it deserveth most thankes, and who soever hath informed the King of Scottes that it is soo clerely parte of his Realme, shewith himself clerely unworthy to be in credite or truste. For first, the site of the grounde of Canabe, as apperith in platte, is such, as who soever shal loke upon it, shal perceyve and see that al such, as shal geve evidence upon the vieu and sight of the grounde, must saye the said Canabe to be Debatable grounde. And if men shal consider the persons dwelling upon the grounde of Canabe, what they doo, and howe they be used, there shal appere good matier why to judge Canabe of the lond of Englond, or at the lest, Debatable, and not merely, ne clerely, apperteyning to the King of Scottes. First, they dwelling in Canabe pay a marke a yere to the castel of Carleil; which is soo openly knowen as the said Thomas Scot doth not denye it. The payment is annual, and alotted to the Kinges castel; which proveth playnly that the lande of Canabe is not Scotlande, and who soever will not assent unto that, yet he must nedes saye that, by reason of that payment, the right of the King of Scottes, if He had any, is by such payment not a litel shadowed and derked, considering that noone other land of England doth make any like payment to any castel of Scotland. Soo as he, that hath informed the King of Scottes, howe there is nothing more clere thenne that the londe of Canabe is of Scotlande, might have doon better service in telling the truth as We have rehersed, and shewed rather the King of Scottes, that is matier in deade, howe the inhabitauntes of Canabe pay this yerely rent to Carel castel, howe the same inhabitauntes have fre accesse to Carelel merket at ther libertie, without interruption; which noo lieges of Scotland have permitted unto them. And this truth, which dependeth not upon imagination, but is soo open as nothing is more

more clerer, and declareth playnly that, though the King of Scottes shuld have a right in Canabe, which He hath not, yet hath He not soo clere a right as nothing is more clerer: and, what sooever right He hath, yet canne He not be said to have possession therof, these matiers being true, that be before rehersed, which Thomas Scot cannot denye. Wherfore it semeth straunge that whenne al thiese matiers bifore wryten, soo notoriously true, soo playnely prove for the Kinges parte, and nothing neyther alleged imagined ne invented that canne be knowen to make a lightlywode of the Kinge of Scottes pretended right, saving oonly an indenture, wherunto shalbe answered by and by, that to engendre a contention to delaye the redresse, it shuld be soo precisely affermed, howe nothing is more clear thenne that the Kinges of Scottes have broked and enjoyed the said land of Canabe as any parte of the realme of Scotland. And as for the indenture of redresse, shewed for the party of Scotland to prove the title of Canabe [1], as it proveth not that, but soundeth to the contrary, soo dooth it utterly unprove the doynges of the Commissioners of Scotland at this tyme, as shalbe herafter declared. The indenture sheweth of a redresse made for the partie of England to the Prior of Canabe, and in the ende of the same indenture is a clause of proviso, that the said redresse shal not be prejudicial the limites and boundes of both the Realmes. If the lond of Canabe had that tyme had been thought clerely Scotland, it had been a folish proviso to have been thought upon, and voyde; for, Canaby being Scotland ground, the redresse was duely made, and such a proviso neded not for the parte of England; and for the party of Scotland was soo hurteful, as it had madnes for them to devise or consent to a proviso which shuld oonly serve to make a question in Canabe, which they toke to be clerely the Scottes grounde. If Canabe had been thenne Scotlande, the redresse coulde not have been prejudicial, neyther to England nor Scotland; but the proviso sheweth and declarith, in that excludith prejudice to ensue by that acte of redresse, howe the said Canabe was thenne taken for debatable; and for conservation of possession therof was the said proviso made. Soo as, the said indenture throwly considered and wayed, is an autentique evidence agreed unto by the Scottes parte, howe the said Canabe hath not been possessed by the Scottes Kinges, as any parte of the land of Scotland. And for any other

[1] Caligula, B. VII. leaf 163. is a copy, attested by the Scottish and English Commissioners, of an indenture for the redress of trespasses committed by Englishmen on the lands belonging to Canoby Priory, dated at Coldstream, 25 March 1494. The English Commissioners were Sir Thomas Clyfford, Sir Richard Tempest, Sir Ralph Ellerker, Sir Thomas Wharton, and Cuthbert Ratcliff, Esq. The Scots were Sir William Scott of Balwery, John Campbell of Lundy, Robert Charteris of Amisfield, and Thomas Scott of Pitgorno.

redresses

redresses to have been to them of Canabe for the English parte, as it is spoken of in general wordes, soo in particularites cannot be shewed; by reason wherof the Kinges Highnes, for answer to the said King of Scottes, must retourne and replie al the wordes wryten by the same King of Scottes against the Lord Dacres and his brother Sir Christofer to his officers and ministres, and say, that bicause they eyther wil not or be not of power to make redresse for want of obedience, they doo contrive these matiers, and care not what they reaporte, ne what occasion they geve to Us to thinke unkindenes, and such imagination to be conceyved, as thought the Kinges Highnes wold usurpe the litel portion of Canabe from the King of Scottes in derogation of his right, if it soo wer; whom noo opportunite coulde attempte hitherto to desire in harte the realme, but hath always laboured for the conservation of the said King of Scottes personne, and tendered the in his mynde, declared by dedes, the preservation of that hol realme to the said King of Scottes use, as He nowe enjoyeth the same.

And as to the thirde article, conteyning the cause of the recesse of the Commissioners, which is pretended on the parte of Scotland to have been made for conservation of ther Kinges pretended title in Canabe; whenne the said King of Scottes and his Counsaill shal understande that is truth as hath been here declared in the presence of the said Thomas Scot, the Kinges Highnes doubteth not but He wil thinke otherwise thenne is nowe wryten in the said credence. Considering the Kinges Highnes Commissioners (as they have affermed in the presence of the said Thomas Scot, and the same Thomas agreed it to be trewe) upon the stikking made by the Commissioners of Scotlande to have Canabe taken for Scottishe grounde, made offre, for exchuyng of that pretence, to put in suspence and delaye asmany billes of the Englishe parte as shuld contreavayle those of Canabe; soo as it shulde be noo prejudice to the title of the King of Scottes, if he had any, but the same to be left to a further debating to be had bitwen the Princes, and the Commissioners to procede for redresse of the rest. Which offre, being soo reasonable, made by the Kinges Highnes Commissioners, was not taken of the partie of Scotland; and, why it was not taken there, must be a nother cause imagined, thenne this which is nowe oonly alleged, that is to saye, bycause they wold not hurte the possession of ther master in the said Canabe. For they might have lerned of the indenture they brought in, and taken it for an example both that Princes Commissioners, mynding the due execution of justice whenne there is good cause or redresse, to mixte with that, the question of title, but to procede to the restitution as they thenne did, and also that the right of title may be preserved by proviso, as it was in that indenture; wherunto

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tended the offer of the Kinges Commissioners, being contented to put over and delay asmany billes for England as they of Canabe extended unto, which had theffecte of a restitution in recompense, and to put over the question of Canabe to the further examination to be made by the Princes special Commissioners. Wheras the King of Scottes Commissioners, keping nothing of that they had agreed unto in wryting, evermore said they wold have Canabe determyned the grounde of Scotlande, or elles doo nothing; alleging thenne, for defence of ther unreasonablenesse, that they had receyved letters from the Counsail of Scotland, commaunding them soo to doo and saye. And nowe it is alleged, for a cause of the recesse of the Commissioners, that was noo juste cause, but a pretense and colour, and yet that pretense and colour was clerely taken awaye by the most indifferent offre made by the Commissioners of England bifore rehersed. Soo as, these thinges being trewe, as they be soo evidently trewe that the said Scot cannot denye any parte therof, there remayneth neyther cause ner pretense of recesse of the partie of Scotland, but oonly bicause the request made by the Commissioners of Scotland concerning Canabe, being soo unreasonable, as the knewe well the Kinges Commissioners wold not agree unto, was refused. Wherfor the Kinges Highnes, considering the premisses, and perceyving that upon letters and requestes soo honnorable and conformable sent from the King of Scottes to the Kinges Highnes, as is mentioned in the said credence, ensueth and folowith soo untowarde an effecte and overthwarte handeling, where reasonable offres be refused and al procedeth of wil; His Grace evidently seeth afore his yes a gret and notable defaulte, which indifferently may be ascribed to the King of Scottes, or his Consail, or both; and soomoch is it encreased, whenne it is, without not oonly cause but also colour of matier, imputed to the Kinges Highnes and his Counsail and officers, noting the Kinges Highnes to be facile of credence, and his Counsaill and officers to be factious and disposed to yl wayes. Which wordes be tedious to here, whenne they be spoken not without good grounde and cause, and be somoch the more to be exchued whenne ther is nothing to susteyne them. It is a gret defaulte in a Prince to be facile of credence, or to be noted to have sedicious counsailours and officers. The oone procedith of wante of gravite, which is the chief qualite required in a Prince; the other, if the most parte of the Counsailours be of such il sorte, is comenly an argument and token of the disposition of the Prince, of whose choyse and election they be; and like alwaye desiryth like, and vertue or vice in a Prince takith pleasure and delight, where they meet personages of qualites and condicions agreable to the same. Wherfor the Kinges Highnes is right sory to wnderstande and see the King of Scottes his good nephieu not oonly soo yl served

served in thexecution of his commissions, but also in divising of his messages sent unto Us by the said Thomas Scot, whom We Counsail hath harde, and also harde in presence of the said Thomas Scot, his Commissioners, being foure men of notable honnour and approved fidelite, afferming the contrary of that was by Him spoken and avowed to the said Thomas Scot, which ther affirmations they confirmed with the apparaunce of the matier. They brought forth, for declaration of ther procedinges with the Commissioners of Scotlande, wrytinges signed with ther handes of Scotland, and shewed in what parte they wer not observed. They shewed ther offre concernyng Canabe, by which, as is bifore wryten, the King of Scottes title, if he had any, shuld not have been towched, ner possession eyther. They shewed also howe often tymes they wer disapointed of the cysars, appointed and agreed upon by the Commissioners for the partie of Scotlande. They shewed furthermore howe, whenne theye perceyved in Thomas Scot and summe of the Commissioners a countenaunce and demonstration of good wil to doo thinges reasonable, and according to ther agrementes passed by wryting, that there was noo obedience shewed. And al these matiers were declared to the Kinges Counsail in presence of the said Thomas Scot, and affirmed there soo substancially and ernestly as ought to suffise and satisfye any mannes conscience inclined to bileve truth.

And as concerning the fourth article;

To the fift article; if any such enormite hath been committed in Cornewel it shalbe reformed, and that is al canne be sayde; and likewise of the merchaundes, if any be deteyned, justice shalbe ministred. And for that purpose wer the Commissioners sent to the Bordres, and for that purpose was the most indifferent and reasonable offre made by Commissioners of England concerning Cannabe to surcese, and suspende the contencion therof without prejudice of the King of Scottes; which could not have place. Wherfor the Kinges Highnes hath in noo point or article made demonstration or semblaunce of brech of peace, and hath hitherto suffred, and put over with pacience, many thinges which His Grace coulde not have soo quietly passed, had it not been for consideracion and respecte of the tendre age of the said King of Scottes: nothing doubting but yeres and experience shal bring him to more perfite knowlege of the Kinges Highnes goodnes and proceedinges with him, and remembre them accordingly. The Kinges Highnes hath harde the wordes spoken to Forest, by the mouth of the said Kinge of Scottes, whiche wer of very good sorte, and worthy to be liked. But the dedes of the Commissioners officers and servauntes be clene contrary to the wordes of the master and ruler, which causith the wordes, soo watered with contrary dedes of the ministres, to have smal tast or savour. Which the Kinges

Kinges Highnes is moch desirous to se reformed, and yet trustith, if the Kinge of Scottes wil folowe his advise, shal succede accordingly.

To the sixt article, towching the Ambassadours to be sent for conclusion of peace, it dependith upon the Kinge of Scottes deliberation, with the advise of his Counsaill, to doo what shal be to them thought best; and whether He wil sende them bifore his Realme ordered, or after the same doone, He is at his libertye, ne that point any thing canne hast or prik forward the Kinges Highnes; whose Grace is moved to make redresse on the Borders, not to please the King of Scottes, not to provoke him therby the soner to sende Ambassadours to conclude a peace, but oonly for the love of justice, and, discharging his office to his poore subgettes in those parties, to se them lyve in quyetnesse and rest. And, for this respecte, like as His Grace hath sent Commissioners, soo He wil send again: and like as His Grace, neyther by suggestion of any persone ne otherwise, hath been content to geve herkenyng to such matier as shuld by any man to let the good purpose of redresse; soo His Grace, seying and perceyving the matier of Cannabe to have such good reasons and groundes for his parte as it hath, and nothing shewed for the King of Scottes parte, but an indenture, which indifferently examined maketh against Him, or at the lest, by tenour of the same indentour, cannot make with Him, being therin provided that that acte of redresse thenne made shal not be prejudicial, soo as it cannot nowe be noo evidence against the Kinges title; these thinges considered by the Kinges Highnes, His Grace cannot with honour condescende to that request, to set aparte the title of Canabe, but is nevertheles content with the offre made by his Commissioners bifore wryten, that is to say, to suspende that matier, as was by them divised, untyl such tyme as it may be at more lenght debated examyned and discussed.

Finally, to make conclusion of answer to al the said credence, the Kinges Highnes wold as gladly thinke honnour of his good nephieu the King of Scottes, as any man lyving wold of a Prince and his kynnesman. And, if His Highnes had not in tymes past conceyved hope that He shuld fynde Hym of that sorte, His Highnes wold not have proceded as He hath doone; which nedeth noo rehersal. But this the said King of Scottes and his Counsail must of their wisdomes consider, that to altre and change the thoughtes of men, deades have moch more strenght and efficacy thenne wordes; and what sooever upon good wordes is bileved or trusted, is by contrary deades clerely removed and taken away. Wherfore the King of Scottes nedith not desire the Kinges Highnes in that behaulf, but oonly soo regarde to procedinges of His Counsail and servauntes, as they maye agre and be conformable to his wordes.

And this the Kinges Highnes desireth the said King of Scottes to doo; wherupon shal ensue the rest and quiet of the Bordre, with many other good frutes and effectes. And of this mynde, the said Carlel shal say, be conformably al the Kinges Counsail; wherby apperith theye be not unfrendes to the King of Scottes, but desire and wold be glad to see a perfite agrement and concorde bitwen the good sentences of his letters and yl doinges of His officers, wherof they be al sory. And this a playn and trewe answer to al the said credence.

CCXIX. Articles Credencialles, geven by the Kinges Highnes to his trusty Servaunt Carlile, Heralde at Armes, for answer unto the credence lately declared unto His Grace by Thomas Scot gentilman, on the behalf of the Right High and Myghty Prince the Kinges derest Brother and Nephieu the King of Scottes.[1]

(*Signed*) Henry R.

First, after most harty recommendations made on the Kinges behalf to his derest brother and nephieu the King of Scottes, and the letters of His Majestie presented and delyvered unto his said derest brother and nephieu, the said Carlile shall say, that, albeit the Kinges Highnes hath by mouthe made playne and full answer to the said Thomas Scot in all poyntes and articles of his credence, which His Grace supposeth veraily the same Thomas woll, as he hath right discretly declared his said credence, so make semblable reaport of thanswer; yet, nevertheles, seing that one part of the said credence consisteth in lake of reaporte made to the Kinges said derest brother of fourmer answer geven by the Kinges Highnes to the other sent from the said King of Scottes, His Grace therfore hath thought convenient to sende His said servaunt for more ample explanation of every thing concerning the said answer, whiche the said Carlile shall declare in fourme folowing: that is to say;

Where as, for the first article, the said Thomas Scot declaring the endevour of the King his Maister for the punyshement of the rebelles, desyreth, like as He did a fore by his servaunt Patrik Saynt Clere, that the

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[1] From the Museum, Caligula, B. VIII. leaf 8. This paper is catalogued in 1534, but is fixed by the preceding papers to belong to the month of November 1531.

Kinges

Kinges Highnes for his parte shuld cause his officers and subjectes not to receipte his rebelles, as them of Lyddesdale, Annanderdale, Estdale, Ewisdale, and Wouthopdale; wherunto He hath had no answer, gretely to his lett and impediment in componing of his good purposes in that behalf, specially in Lyddesdale. As to this article the said Carlile shall saye, that the Kinges Highnes, upon the former requisition of his said good brother and nephieu, gave straicte and expresse commandement unto his Wardenys and officers, in nowise to receipt any such rebelles, as they wold avoyde the daunger therof at their uttermost perilles; whiche commandement the Kinges Highnes trusteth they have bothe sens and afore observed. And, if they have don the contrary, they shall answer to it according to justice. In whiche mater, if the Kinges said good brother were not bifore this ascertayned of the Kinges answer made to the said Patrik Saintclere conforme to his purpose, the defaulte was not in the Kinges Highnes, seing the same was playnely shewed unto hym, as is abovesaid.

Secondely, the said the said Thomas Scot declared in effect that, where as the said King, at the Kinges Highnes desyre, gave order for sending of his Commissioners to the West Borders, thErle of Northumberland sent to Hym complaynyng of certain attemptates don on the Est Borders; desyring that a metyng myght be had there for reformation therof: wherwith He was also content, and sent to hym to appoynte the daye: whiche the said Erle wold not do, but wrote agayn, shewyng howe the Kinges Highnes had writen for his Commyssioners first to mete on the West Borders, whiche he wolde not breke; by reason of whiche writing, and the plage to gider, that mater was put in suspence. As herunto the said Carlile shall say, that trouthe it is, forasmuche as the Kinges Highnes understode many grete maters necessary to have redresse of on the West Borders, His Grace in his instructions to his Wardeyns ordeyned and appoynted the first metyng to be on the West Borders, where of truthe most nede was. Byfore knowlege of whiche ordre, it myght be that the Erle of Northumberland, as becommed hym to do, made complaynt of the attemptates done on the Est Borders, desyring a meting to be had for reformation therof; and yet, upon receipt of the Kinges said instruction, conformed hym self to the tenour of the same; that is to say, that the first meting shuld be on the West Borders. And if, either by plage or otherwise, there have ben dilay in making redresse on the Scotishe partie, the Kinges Grace trusteth that his said good brother, shewing effectes conformable to the wordes, woll see it done withoute any further tracte, as to reason dothe apparteyne.

Thyrdely, the said Thoms Scot shewed, that, the Kinges said good brother

and nephieu, sitting with his counsail of Lordes at Peplis for reformation of the said maters, according to the Kinges Highnes desire; certain Englyshemen of Gillesland and Tyndale, under the rule of the said Erle and Lorde Dacres, to the number of 500 men, accompayned with his rebelles of Lyddesdale, the penultime day of August, brunt in Tivedale, and toke the Lord of Botlough, being under sureties, and other his frendes: whiche, as the said Erle wrote, he had commaunded the contrary, and complayned of a farray to be ryddyn by the Kinges said subjectes on Tyndall and Berwike bondes; wherof nothing of juste complaynte was founde agenst the said King and his officers, being many grete heriships committed upon the said Kinges lieges: the said Erle making many exceptions of Berwik, Tyndale, and of the Erle of Angwish, not to answer in general for redresse, but for monethes and shorte spaces, so that it can not be perceyved the said Erle is aggreable for any good ways to be had bitwene the Kinges Highnes and hym for keping of good peax, but purposes to breke the same, as appereth by his doynges. To this the said Carlile shall say, that as to the rydyng of the Kinges subjectes, in the company of the Scottes, at the taking of the Lord of Botlough, the Kinges Grace hath not ben advertised tyll this tyme of any suche thing. Howe be it, if it can be so founde and proved, His Grace is expressly mynded and determyned that redresse shalbe made therin according to justice. And as to that is alleged that for the Erle of Northumberland is not myndeth to do justice; albeit the Kinges Highnes hath not hitherto founde in hym but all good promptitude and entier zeale therunto, yet for the doubte that his said good brother and nephieu putted therin, the Kinges Grace hath appoynted Commyssyoners, wherof the said Erle is non, to cause redresse to be made; and, if the said Erle can be founde coulpable or remysse for his parte, order shalbe taken for reformation therof according to right.

Fourthely, the said Thomas Scot declared, that the rebelles of Ryddesdale and other places, to whome He woll graunte no pardon, or those that dare not abyde in Scotland, be suffred frely to come to Carlile and other open market places and fayres, so that no good order can be perfourmed touching suche persons in Scotland. Wherunto the said Carlyle shall make answer, that if any of the Kinges Wardeyns or officers ordre them selfes herin otherwise then they owe or shuld do, His Grace, upon knowlege therof, woll not fayle to see reformation therof according to right, the tenour of the treaties, the lawes, and usages of the Borders.

Fyvetly, the said Thomas Scot declared in effect that it is to be consydered what sharpnes the said King of Scottes hathe used against the principall offenders, to cause refourmation of attemptates, expownyng his owne person,

person, and howe grevous it is to Hym to see the same his travayle nevertheles desperate; which is contrary to the treatye, forasmoche as the said rebelles be so favored in Englond. As to this, there hath ben, in thanswer of the fourmer article, mater sufficient to be said herunto, except that the Kinges loving advice and opynyon is, that his said good brother expownyng his person, or otherwise travaylyng for the reformation of attemptates, do always substancially regard where the principall let and defaulte is, in the non ensuyng of any good effect therin, and the same to ascribe and arrecte to those that be coulpable, not to those, who neither in violation of the treatie or otherwise wolde, or, God willyng, can be founde defective. And then it is not to be doubted, but that the intente so moche desyred on the Kinges behalf for quiete on the Borders shall succede and ensue.

Sixtely, the said Thomas Scot desyreth that it woll please the Kinges Highnes to remember the many writinges sent by his said brother the King of Scottes, to withdrawe his rebell Douglas and his complices from the Borders, onely for the removyng of the instrument wherby occasion of breche myght ensue; which being removed, the myndes of the Kynges Wardeyns wold be more appliable to norrishe love and kindnes. To this article the said Carlile shall say, answer was made, that being it lefull for the Kinges Grace by the last treatie to suffre thErle of Angwishe and other to remayne in this Realme, whiche thing was by the Kinges Highnes set forthe, onely upon trust that, at the Kinges mediation, and for many other good respectes sounding to the honour and weale of the Kinges said brother and his Realme, the said Erle might have bene reconciled to the favour of the said King of Scottes; it was thought unto the Kinges Highnes more mete and convenyent, and like to sounde better to the contentement of his said brother, and more mete to avoyde all jalousy and wrongfull suspicion that myght be conceyved of the said Erle, to have hym resident nere to the Borders, where he myght more facilly make poursute to the said King of Scottes, then to bring hym either aboutes the Kinges most royal Persone, or in to any other place of the Realme, where it shuld seme he had ben any thing supported or anymate agenst his King. So that herin the Kinges Highnes not onely hathe not digressed from the treatie, but also for his parte hath ordred the said Erle of Angwish directely to the veray meanyng and intention of the said treatie, whiche was so to be fashioned as he myght most facilly be reconciled. Howe be it, if his presence so nere hath ben any thing displeasant to the Kinges said good brother; His Grace, findyng loving kindnes in the same his brother, and justice to have ben administred, myght and wold the better have ben contented to have shewed any reasonable kindnes on this side. But, seing howe His Grace,

for

for no requisition made, coulde obtayne either kindnes or administration of justice, it hath ben thought convenient, and is, to see the successes of the meting of thise Commyssioners, byfore any further thing be done in this behalf.

Sevently, the said Thomas Scot shewed, that the King his maister desyreth the Kinges Highnes to put remedy in the premisses, and to take awaye all suspicion of appering unkindnes, and to assiste the said Kinges playn mynde and doinges to cause the Kinges Highnes Wardeyns to kepe their diettes and metinges substancially, and not to favoure the rebelles, and to assay what good may ensue upon the removing of the said Erle of Anguish, his brother, frendes, and others; so it may be knowne to all realmes that the Kinges Highnes dothe lyke a kynd uncle, and to suffer no man be evyll jugyne and counsaile to invite any discorde &c., so that it geve not to His Highnes the name of an unkynd uncle. As herunto, seing that all the particularites of this article be sufficiently honorably and lovyngly answered here byfore, there shall nede no further accumulation of wordes, save onely to put the Kinges said brother in remembraunce, and to exhorte Hym, like a wise yong Prince, to loke upon the Kinges dedes toward hym, and well to perpende and considre, whyther they have tended to kindnes or not: addyng therunto the sorte and facion, howe his said brother and nephieu and His realme have demeaned themself agayn toward His Highnes; whiche thinges well poundered by wise men, it shalbe facile to perceyve, whither to the Kinges Highnes can be arrected any lest scrupule or sperke of the name of an unkynd uncle, or whither rather the said King of Scottes, laying apart thexcuses of mynorite and les age, myght be suspected with the name of an unkynde nephieu: wherin shall nede no further rehersaill, seing that the Kinges veray trust is, that, like as his said derest nephieu increaseth and groweth in yeres of knowlege and wisedom, soe He woll and shall more and more perceyve see and better discerne the Kinges many and many gratitudes passed. The recapitulation wherof shuld rather sounde to exprobation then otherwise; and therfore His Grace leveth it to the jugement of other.

Further more, the said Thomas Scot, at an other tyme apart, declared unto the Kinges Highnes, howe there is a contract and band bytwixt the Frenshe King and his derest brother and nephieu the King of Scottes, made by his cousin the Duke of Albany, anentis his mariage; and, to absolve the same, or at the lest to have a fynal answer, his said nephieu hath sent his Secretarie[1], with a commyssion to the said Duke of Albanye, to traite and

[1] It is stated in the "Diurnal" that James Hay, Bishop of Ross, and Thomas Erskine, Secretary, were on the 26th of March 1531 sent Ambassadors to France, for treating of marriage between James V. and Francis I.'s daughter.

common

common upon the said marriage with Ma Dame Magdalene doughter to the said Frenshe King, after the continent of the said contract, or elles with the Duches of Urbyn, if the same may be sene and convenyently done. And nowe his said Secretary retourned from Fraunce with the Frenshe Kinges answer, shewing the les age and mynorite of his said doughter. Wherupon the said King of Scottes hath sent the said Duke of Albany to the Popes Holynes, for traityng of his mariage with the said Duches; praying the Kinges Highnes his uncle to be unto Hym of suche mynde and favour in this mater, as necessitude of blude requireth. As to this article the Kinges Highnes trusteth, that his said good brother and nephieu, by the experience of the dedes passed, can well perceyve the provite and goodnes of the Kinges mynde always to further avaunce and set forth his said nephieu, in the overtures and mocyons to Hym made for his mariage, in place convenable; like as His Grace is yet of the same mynde, and can be contented at all tymes to put his helpe and furtheraunce to the setting forthe of the mariage with the Duches of Urbin, mencyoned in the said article, to the best that may be devised.

Fynally, the said Thomas Scot exponed, howe the treux nowe lately taken bytuixt bothe the Realmes and subjectes, at two sundry tymes, were commont of byfore, and concluded, to theffect that Ambassadours shuld be sent for taking and concluding of longer peax, perpetuall, or for many yeres; wherto no farther regard nor attention hath ben had, thorough negligence of them as had the gydyng of the Kinges said nephieu and his Realme in his les yeres. Nevertheles, if it pleaseth the Kinges Highnes that such condicions of peax be provided commoned and concluded, his said nephieu shall addresse Hym self unto Hym therto, as He shall fynde His Highnes inclined. Wherunto was answered, that veraily at the conclusion of the last treux it was consydred that, forasmuche as the Kinges said brother and nephieu, byfore the expiring of the terme therof, shuld be of full and lawfull age, the yeres of the treux shuld be the moo; to thintent that in the meane tyme Ambassadours myght be sent, for conclusion of a longer peax, perpetual, or for many yeres. In whiche mynde the Kinges Highnes yet persisteth, being right well contented, whan so ever any suche Ambassadours shalbe sent, favorably and lovyngly to here them, common and conclude suche longer peax, perpetual, or for many yeres, as by bothe parties shalbe thought good; not mynding upon any suggestion nor to varye or declyne from his said good brother and nephieu, but intending like a vertuous Prince to lyve with Hym, if no occasion on his parte be geven to the contrary, in all love and kindnes, as to the proximite of their blude and vicinite of regions doth apparteyne.

(*Signed*) HENRY R.

CCXX. King James V. *to* Bute, Pursuivant.

Articulis credentialis, gevin to our weilbelovit servand Robert Hert, callit Bute Pursevant, ane of our officiaris of armes, to be schewin in our behalf to our derrest Brother and Uncle ye King of Ingland.

In ye first, efter yat our hertlie commendatioun be maid to our said derrest Brother and Uncle, ze sall schaw to Him, yat We tak sic hope and beleiff of his gud and tendre writingis laitlie send on to Ws be his traist servand Carlil, ane of his officiaris of armes, yat for na informatioun maid to Him be ony persoun He will nocht beleiff uther thing of Ws, bot We ar of yat mynd and will to keip wyth Him amite frendschip and kindnes. And yerfor ze sall pray our said derrest uncle, yat He will consider how We ar to Him ye nerrest man levand of blud in kinglie degre, and quhame, nixt his awin barnis, He suld luyff trete and manteyine above all utheris; and how, perfitt luyff amite and kindnes standing betuix Ws, as requiris our proximite of blud, We ar ye man yat may be to Him maist necessair and helplie in all his grete effaris, and sall do yerfor mair thane ony uther in quhame He belevis, as sic lik He may do for Ws: and heirfor yat our said derrest uncle will tak sic consideratioun, yat He nor We sall nocht thoil, be ony maner of way throu informatioun or suggestioun of ony personis, cause or suspitioun of unkindnes to ryse betuix Ws, bot yat ye samyne may be in aimable and frendlie maner remedit, without hurt of ony our honouris. And for our part, We sall do sua, yat giff our said derrest uncle be planteouse of ony Scottisman for ony crime or falt committit agains Him or his Realme be ony our subjectis, ye samyne salbe deulie redressit and reformit, or ellis We sal deliver ye faltour at our said derrest unclis desir, he doand to Ws in semlable maner.

Secundlie, quhair yar is ane difference and debait laitlie rissin betuix Ws, contrarie to ye opinion of Ws and all our liegis, for ye denying of redrese of our said derrest unclis part to be maid for attemptatis committit be Inglismen apoun ye inhabitantis of Canabe; ze sall pray our said derrest uncle to consider our resonable ansuer maid in yat behalf in our principall writingis send on to Him wyth zou, and say, yat giff ony man wald mak clame to ony landis, yat ar haldin owris be lang possessioun or uyer wise, it is nocht our said derrest unclis part to mak to Ws ony truble or molestatioun yerintill, bot suld rather defend Ws at all power, and suld continew wyth Us in sic amite favor

favor and kindnes as He has done in our mair tendre zeris. And quhat our said derrest uncle will devise, nocht hurtand his honour nor ouris, for ye pacifying and mesing of yis debait and all uyeris, He sall find Ws of gud afauld and unfenzete mynd yarto, and our deid all wayis corrispondent to our wordis, helpand God Almychty.

Finalie ze sall desir our said derrest uncles frendlie ansuer in all yir forsaidis.

CCXXI. Articulis, responsivis to the aunsueris send on to Us fra oure derrest brother and uncle the Kyng of Ingland wyth his servand Carlil, ane of his haraldis of armes, maide to the credence send be Ws on to oure said derrest brother and uncle, be oure traist servand Scot, to be pounderat and weyt be Hym, to ye effect yat peax rest and concord may stand betwixt Us, oure Realmes, and subjectis.[1]

In the furst, quhair oure said derrest uncle ansueris to the furst article of the instructionis and credence send be Us to Hym with our said servand, and purgis his Wardanis and officers fra all defalt, yat We allege upon yame in laik of justice doyng and makyn of redrese, and by the examynation of His Commyssioners findis ye mare to be and appere of an other sort then has bene reportit on to Us: We assure to our said derrest Uncle yat We can fynd na maner of defalte to be on oure partie, nor uther failze to be in our Wardanis and officeris, yan We wryt presentlye to oure said derrest uncle wyth his said servand Carlil. And bycause ye tarye of gud redrese to be made in all gudlye maner, conforme baith to our said derrest uncles desyre and ours, for all attemptates and faltis commyttit be yam of baith the realmes, ilk an aganis others, standis at this tym in the mater of Canaby, as We writ abefore wyth our said servand Thomas Scot to our said derrest uncle, quhay in the secund article of his ansueris adducis certane ressonis quhy his Wardanis and officeris did ther dewtie to deny redrese for Canaby; We ansuer to thai ressonis as followis:

And furst, not standand in contentatione, quheyer the Lord Dacre and Schir Cristopher Dacre movit ye first pley of Canaby or nocht, sene our said

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[1] From the Museum, Caligula, B. VII. leaf 170.

derrest uncle will nane other ways onderstand in this mater, notyelese yis pley was movit on the Inglis sid, for stop of redrese makyne, bycause our Wardanis askit redrese for Canaby, and it was ansuerit that the samyne was Debatable; howbeit it ys and has bene of ye severall and propir ground of Scotland past memore of man, and never pley movit yarto quhill now, and We and our Predicessouris in contynuall possession yarof, quharby ye relatione of na antiane personis of ressoun may nor suld nocht mak ye samyne Debatable, or gif occasioun to our said derest uncle to pretend ony title yarto. And, quhatever his Commissionaris has drawin in plait, and schawin to Hym, it can nocht preif ye saidis landis of Canaby to be debatable; for be the samyn ressoun ony our liegis may draw and depaynet ony part of Ingland to be of our Realme. And, albeit it ys schawin yat ye inhabitantis of Canaby pais an annuel rent to the castell of Carlil, We, nor our Predicessours, never knewe yairof, nor nane subject, be sic use, may do ony prejudice to his Prince or Lord. And, gif the saidis landis suld be debatable, na annuel aight to be pait of them, nothir to our uncle, nor Us. And sua, sene our uncle may nocht clame yam to be of the severale landis of Ingland, force it ys to graunt theym to be severale of oure Realme; for, and yai were debatable, na man ought to have wyth in yame stob nor staik, and it is leissum baith of auld and new, be all tretis of peax in that caise, yat ony of ye realmes mycht herie spulze and birne ony inhabitantis of ye samyne with out makyne of ony redrese. Howbeit ye contrary has bene usit by redrese makynne be the Commissionaris Wardanis and officeris of Ingland to the inhabitantis of Canaby, as to the leigis of Scotland; and never questioun nor debate movit herto abefore. Att our great wrang it were, yat, gyf ye resorting of ye inhabitantis of Canaby to ye faris and mercatis of Carlil suld preif ye samyne debatable, for ye samyne ressoun ye resorting of all them, yat ar brokyn men of Leddisdale Eskdaile Ewisdaill and Annerdaill, to ye said toun of Carlil, to faris and mercatis, suld make ye saidis landis debatable. And to fortifie yir forsaidis, quhair it is allegit be oure said derrest uncle, yat ye redrese made for Canaby contenit in the endent mentionat in our fyrst articles and credence was made be cause ye gudis drivyne at yat tyme fylit other partis of Scotland; yis ressoun strenchis maist our rycht, because na redrese ought to be made for ony gudis takyng furthe of ony debatable landis, throu quhat ever ground yai be drawin. For on it, yat may be lefullye done, na perell nor skaith is to ensew. And further We beleve nocht yat oure derrest uncle will afferme it to be ane sufficient cause to mak Canaby ground debatable, because of the testificatioune of certane anciane men of yat cuntre, apoune a pretendit record, of the quhilk ye copye ys send on to Us; for nathing is mare repugnant to ressoun then to say

say be sic depositiounis ony man, Prince or othir, may fall fra his rycht and possessioune, or yat questioun suld be movit yarupone. For We think it wald be great mater of scorne aganis Us, and We, be ye depositionis of quhatsumever Lordis Baronis Knychtis or Gentilmen, wald clame any landis of Ingland adjacent to oure Realme, to be debatable or severall to Us, quhair our derrest uncle and his predicessours, Kingis of Ingland, has brokit ye samyne uthir ways of lang tyme bigane. And, above all othir thingis, we can nocht litill mervel, quharfor it suld be allegit yat the indentur, producit be our Commissioners before our said derrest uncles Commissioners, and ye copie yarof sent wyth of said servand Thomas Scot and schawin to our said derrest uncle, quhilk He allegis to make aganis Us be ye clause proviso; for na jugyne may induce yat clause to preve bot it was ordinit be ye Commissioners of Ingland yat redress was made to Scotismen for Canaby, wyth out reservatioun or conditioune, and that clause proviso disprovis and providis alanerlie for ye fische garthe and other speciall poinctes in it contenit, to an othir meting of ye Commissioners of baith ye Realmes at Lomabane Stane: and to infer ye consequence contenit in our said derrest unclis ansuere, is ane devynyng wythout ony ground to seik inconvenient as apperis. And attour, sene ye said endentur was made, We can preif be sufficient levand persons, knychtis and gentilmen, yat redrese has bene made be the officers of Ingland, sene ye makyne of ye said indentur, to ye inhabitantis of Canaby, Scotis men, for attemptatis committit upone ye said ground, baith ye sclaughters and othir ways, and sua to mak ane collectioun, it beand of verite yat Canaby at all tymes is and has bene ane biggit toun, ye inhabitantis therof beand and haldand stob and staik apone ye ground of ye samyne, and redrese beand made for the part of Ingland for ye attemptates commyttit aganis ye inhabitantis yerof, and ye said endentur verifying ye samyne, and ye saidis inhabitantis, baith in temperall and spirituall jurisdictionis, obeyand and ansuerand to Us and to ye Archebischop of Glasgw in all thingis and dueties as apperteynes, na man can say bot yai ar our leigis, and ye landis of Canaby of ye severall ground of Scotland, and redrese suld be made to yam for ye part of Ingland for all attemptates, alse well as to ony otheris our leigis. And be ye samyne maner We answere to it, yat oure said derrest uncle alleges incontrary ye clame of ye Lord Maxvel for birnyng and spulze commytting be Inglismen apoun ye ground of Hoilhouse, quhilkis of ye landis of Canaby.

And in schort to make, and, without lang circumstaunce of wordis, sa cleir an mater, We cane nocht imput ony blame or defalt to our Commissioners, yat procedit na further to redrese makyne, on our uthir Bordouris, quhill it were understanding gyf restitutioune suld be made for Canaby, or nocht; for in

that bihalf yai did yar lautifull dewte on to Us, levand na thing in suspence or pley, yat is prejudiciall to Us. For be ye suspending of ye mater of Canaby occasioune suld have bene gevyn to oure said derrest unclis officeris, at an other tyme, to allege als mekill of ye ground of Scotland to be debatable, and siclik to leif yat in suspence, as suld happin yaim to thraw ye mater, be occasioun of tyme, to yar owin cause or profectt; quhilk na gud and equall man suld think to be done. And forthir, sene We grauntitt ye furst metting of our Commissioners to begyne upon ye West Borders for reformatioune of all attemptatis, at ye deasire and plesour of our said derrest uncle, and his mony letters send to Us yerupoune, sua yat na falt suld be founding on our part, bot yat rest peax and amite suld stand inviolablie observit and kept betwixt Us, according to our proximite of blude, conforme to baith our promittis and consentis, quhilkis our wrytingis send on every sid will testifie; all yat appertenes to be done for the makyne of redrese on yai West Bordours suld be furst completit, as may be thocht resonable be ye Commissioners of baith ye Realmes: and fra thyne na tarrie nor stop salbe in Us nor in oure officers, bot redrese salbe made out throu all our Bordours accordingly; our said derrest uncle and his officers doand in semlable maner to Us.

Finalie We sall do na less for our part in the furthsettyng of justice, and doing all yat accordis to Us, conforme to ye tretis, than oure said derrest uncle declaris to do for his part in his ansuer to the sext article of our credence, and sall do all yat We have writtin of before, and speciallie anentis the sending of Ambassatours, in dewe tyme and sessoun of zeir, for langar peax, according to ye trette. And quhat ever oure uncle meyne by his wordis, yat He woll nocht, for letting or avaunting yarof, doo uthirwise na ma sound to justice, it is not our desire to sollist our derrest uncle to uthir purpose, bot at justice be evermaire observit, and sall ay procure ye samyne as We may, and thankis our said derrest Uncle yat he myndis and thinkis on Us as He ought to doo; as in his finall ansuere mair planelie purportis: quhilk He doand, and all faltis amendit and correctit for the part of Ingland, as He sall nocht upoun ressoun fynd othirwise on our part, peax rest and justice salbe kepit and done betwixt Us, our Realmes and subjectis, to ye inestimable weill of Us baith, and the perfytt pleasour of God Almychty.

CXXII. Northumberland *to* King Henry VIII.

Pleasith it Yowr most gracius Highnes too be advertisid, that, sens my last letters unto Your most noble Grace, I have, accordyng unto the most dred commaundment of Yowr Highnes by yowr most gracyus letters, hastyd a meting betweyn the Erle Bothwell and me, with thattaynment of asmoche knowlege as I cowth gytt by myne espiall of the newes of Scotland; and for the said metynge I cowth not brynge to pas unto Thursday beyng the 21th day of this month. At which tyme the sayd Erle Bothwell, in the nyght, accompanyd with myne espiall, and other thre, as to say, David Hebborn, Robart Ellwold of the Armytage, and Nicholes Rotherford, cam unto me to Dillston within two myles of Hexham, where I had communycation with hym at lenkith, in every article conteynyd in yowr most gracius letters.

And, as concernynge the first, I inquerid the occasyons and groundes of his displeasowr toward the Kyng of Scottes; to which the said Erle aunsswerid, that the givyng of his landes unto the Carres of Tyvidale frome hym and his heires for ever by the said Kyng, who wold in no wyse suffre hym have his lawes for recoverynge of the same agayn accordyng unto right, and allso kepyng hym half a yere in prison within the castell of Eddynburghe, there porposyng without caws to have pot hym to dethe, yf his freyndes had not beyn bound in twenty thowsand pound to entre the said Erle, when so ever the said Scottes Kyng shuld commaund hym; and moreover that he is fully and credibly enformed by the Lordes of the Counsail of Scotland (beyng his freindes) that, yf He may have the said Erle and his collegges to gether in Eddinburgh, He woll not faill to pot thame all to execution, and doth suffre the said Erle but onely unto the tyme that He may apprehend hym and his adheres, together with many other occasions, which he thynkith more playnly hereafter to declare unto Yowr Highnes.[1]

And towchynge the second article in your most gracius letters, as to knowe what he wold do for revengynge his displeasure, or releyvinge of his hart and stomak agaynst the Scottes Kynge; the said Erle dothe fermely

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[1] Caligula, B. V. leaf 216. contains a statement, signed "Erle Bothwell," dated at Dillston, 21 December 1531, which seems to have been the groundwork of the letter in the text. He mentions, as an additional reason for relying on Henry's goodness, that James had put himself in league with the Emperor, the Kings of France and Denmark, and ODonell of Ireland, contrary to the love which He ought naturally to have borne to his uncle.

promes

promes (Yowr Highnes being his good and gracius Prince, and helpinge hym to his right, settyng hym forward and avauncyng hym, as his servys may deserve hereafter to be done in the realm of Scotland) shall not onely serve Your most noble Grace in yowr warres agaynst Scotland trewly, with a thowsand gentlemen and sex thowsand comons, but allso becom Yowr Highnes trewe subject and legeman.

And thirdly, to knowe what liklihode of good effect shall ensewe hereof, the said Erle doth say, remembryng the banysshment of thErle of Angwishe, the wrongfull disheneryting of thErle of Crawforthe, the sore imprisonment of the Erle of Argile, the litle exstymation of thErle of Murrey, and the Lord Maxwell, the symple regardyng of Sir Jamys Hamyllton for his good and paynfull servys, he pottes no dowbtes, with his own powr and thErle of Angwish (seyng all thees nobles hartes affore rehersed be withdrawen frome the Kyng of Scottes), to crown Your Grace in the town of Eddinburgh within breif tyme.

And fowrtly, concernyng what pledges he woll lay in unto Yowr Grace that he shall parsist and contynewe in this his affore rehersed enterpryse, the said Erle doth aunsswer, that Your Highnes aidyng and assistyng hym as is afforesaid, and begynnyng warr with the realme of Scotland, he shall lay in suche pledges unto Yowr most noble Grace, as shalbe thought by Yowr Highnes meete and convenyent therefore. Assuryng Yowr Highnes, that the said Erle Bothwell is of parsonage, wit, lernyng, and maners, of his yeres, as toward and as goodly a gentleman as ever I sawe in my lyf, and to my symple undrestandynge he is veray meete to serve Your Highnes in any thing that shalbe yowr most gracius pleasure to commaund hym withall. And allso at his beynge with me declared that, whan Carlisle was last at Eddynburghe, there was a secret Ambassatour[1] with the Scottes Kynge, being a Scottes man born, frome the Emperour, who had long communycation with the said Scottes Kyng allone in his Privey Chambre. And, after the said Ambassators departure frome Hym at that tyme, the Scottes Kyng, comyng owt to his utter chambre, found the Chaunceler of Scotland and the said Erle Bothwell communyng with David Wod, Willy Wod, and Henry Kemp, (to which thre the said Kyng hath geven the Erle of Crawforthes landes, whome He disheneryt, bicaws that the said Erle did entre his landes, comyng owt of his nownage, withowt the condescend of the Kyng his father, he beyng bound to the contrary) said unto his Chaunceler and the Erle Bothwel, " My Lordes, " howe moch ar Wee bounden unto the Emperour, that in the mater con-

[1] Peter van Rosenberg. See p. 607.

" cernyng

" cernyng owr style, which so long He hath set abowt for owr honour, that " shalbe by Hym discussed, or Ester day, and that We may lawfully wryte Our " sellf Prince of England, and Duke of York?" to which the Chaunceler said, " I pray God I may see the day that the Pope conferme the same"; to whome the said Scottes Kyng aunsswerid, " Let the Emperour allone for " owr porposes hardly."

Allso, as I persave by the said Erle Bothwell and myne espiall, that two Flemyshe shippes of Christofers Kyng of Denmark, nowe in his goyng unto Norway, where He is landid, by tempest was dryven in to the havyn of Aberdeyn, and the masters landid, and went to Eddinburgh to se the Scottes Kyng, who interteyned thame veray well, and wolld have had thame reteyned with Hym for his warres, which in no wise thay wold, but departid agayn in to Flaundars; and at there departyng the said Scottes King gave thame in reward thre hondrethe crownes. Allso the Scottes Kyng doth kepe his Crystynmas at Eddinburgh, where be with Hym all his Lordes spirituall and temperall, and is determyned too send Ambassators, unto the Emperour the Bisshop of Roos and the Secretory, and to the Frensh Kyng the Abbot of Driburgh and Adam Otterborn, nowe at Candlemas.

Assuryng Yowr Grace that the Scottes dothe mynystre no justice of there part at the days of trewx, but delaes Yowr Highnes subjectes frome day too day.

And allso most humbly I besich Your Highnes too be good and gracyus Lord unto your servant Humfrey Lysle, who nowe, in reprehencyon of one of the most notable offendars of England, did manfully ventre hym sellf, and apprehendid the said parson called Hob Elwold; who nowe, at my beinge at Dillston, was pot to execution according unto yowr lawes and his demerites; which is a mervelus great quyetnes unto all Yowr Highnes poor subjectes apon the water of Tyne; most humbly besichynge Yowr Highnes to gyve ferme credens unto my servaunt Thomas Wharton. And, as I shall forther attayn to knowlege, I shall not faill to advertyse Yowr most noble Grace, accordynge unto my most boundon dewty. As Owr Lord knowith, to whome I shall daily pray for the preservation of Yowr Highnes with as long lyf and asmych encreas of honor as yowr most noble hart can desyre. At Your Highnes town of Newcastell, the 27th day of Decembre.

Your most humble subject
and lowly servaunt,
(*Signed*) H. NORTHMBRELAND.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges most gracius Highnes.

CCXXIII. King Henry VIII. *to* King James V.[1]

Richt Excellent, Right Hiegh, and Mighty Prince, our derest Brother and Nephieue, in our moost harty maner We commende Us unto Youe. And have receyved aswell your letters of the 12th of January, desiring our saulf-conduyct for the saulf conveyaunce of your twoo Ambassadours which Ye doo now sende into Fraunce, the which saulfconduyct Ye shall receyve herewith, as also your formour letters of the 11th of January, wherein ye grevously complayne the injuryes and wronges which Ye afferme to be doone to your subgets by our right trusty and right welbeloved cousyn and counsaillour thErle of Northumberland, Warden of our East and Middel Marches, desiring to be advertised, whether the said injuries be committed with our consent and knowleage, or otherwyse; alledging theim manifestly to tende to the rupture of the peax and the violation of the amitye heretofor contracted betwene Us.

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[1] From the Lansdowne MSS. in the Museum, No. 255. leaf 355. A contemporary copy. This letter was sent to Carlisle, herald, with the following directions, from Norfolk:

" In myn hartie maner I commende me unto you; and sende unto you herewith the Kinges " letters to the King of Scottes directed. After the recepte wherof the Kinges pleasure is, that ye " shal delyver the same to the saide King of Scottes with convenient diligence, desiring of Hym at " the same tyme (after the reding of the saide letters) licence to declare suche charge as is to you " by the Kinges saide Highnes committed.

" At whiche tyme ye shal declare unto Hym, on the Kinges behalf, (shewing that ye have the " same amonges other thinges from His Highnes to you committed by letters) that His Grace " entierly desireth and prayeth Hym, lyke as His Highnes sundry tymes heretofore hath doon, to " shewe Hym self more gracious and benevolent to thErle of Angwishe then He hitherto doith; " uttering for that purpose suche thinges as ye shal thinke mooste mete and for the tyme propice.

" Also ye shall shewe unto the saide King of Scottes, howe that the Kinges Highnes hath ap- " pointed that thErle of Northumberlande and the Lorde Dacres, His Graces Wardeyns of his " Marches foranempste Scotlande, shall, upon their repaire into the northe contre, whiche (God " willing) shalbe shortely after the breking up of this present Parliament, sende unto the saide " King of Scottes, for a daye betwixte Hym and them to be appointed, for the Commissioners of " either partie to mete for redresse and reformation to be had of thoffences and trespasses by the " subgiettes on the Borders of bothe the Realmes committed. After whiche declaracion (receiving " of the saide King of Scottes an answere therof) the Kinges pleasure is, that taking your congie " and licence of Hym to departe, ye shal make your repaire unto His Graces presence with con- " venient diligence as shall apperteigne. And thus fare you wel. From Worcestre Place, the 7th " daye of Marche.

" Your frend,
(*Signed*) " T. Norffolk."

(*Superscribed*)
To my welbiloved Carliel, Harrold at Armes,
reseant with the King of Scottes.

Derrest

Derest nephieue, truthe it is that in lyke maner as at all tymes hertofor, uppon the arryvall of any of your letters addressed to Us, conteynyng complaintes of any of our officers or subgiets for thenterprising of any such act as might tende to the violation of the peace betwene Us, We, nothing more desiring thenne the continuaunce of the said peax, have evidently declared our good mynde in the diligent examynation and tryall of the truthe, with effectuall execution of justice; and that, not oonly frome your beginnyng touching the preservation of your Person and dignitye in the tyme of your minorytie and tender age, whiche We doubte not but Ye know and doo right well remembre and consider, accompting Us therin to have in every pointe accomplisshed thoffice of a perfaict frende; but also have so fermely continued our frendship towardes Youe sith that tyme, as We coulde never be induced uppon any grounde or occasion (notwithstanding the manifold injuryes doon by sundry your subjectes to ours, with open daye foreys made in to our Realme, and that by some of your Wardens, whose office were rather to endevour theimselfes to the continuaunce of amitye betwene Us, thenne to ministre any suche occasion of the contrary, manifestly on your behaulf tending to the breaking of the said peace) to conceyve or thinke otherwyse of Youe, thenne of our assured frende; ever imputing the wante of redresse and the entreprising of suche evyll attemptates, as have ben on your partye committed, to the negligence of your officers, and to be doone contrary to your mynde and desire; being in your letters many tymes, to our great rejoyse and confort, expressed unto Us: so at this tyme, no lesse mynding thobservation of the said amitye and peax thenne We have doon hertofor, and as the proximitye of our blood requireth, We have called our said Warden befor Us and our Counsaill, uppon the receipt of your said letters, and have examined the truth, how and aftre what sorte your said subgiets and their goodes were deteyned. And first, wher as Ye asscrybe unto our said Wardens charge the arresting of a ship at our port of Tynmouth, We signifye unto Youe that, having aswell examined our said Warden as other notable personnages therupon, We fynde that the marchauntes, your said subgietes, being in the said ship, incontinently uppon their arrivall at our said porte, beganne to make portsale of suche marchaundises as theye brought with them, not making our custumers privye therunto; by reason wherof, by the lawes and statutes of our Realme, forasmuche as our custumes due for the said marchaundises were not payd, aswell the said goodes being sold, as thother remayning unsold, were to Us forfaicted. Uppon which ground and title the said ship was arrested.

And as touching the deteyning of your subjectes at Warkworth, which

ye impute also to our said Wardens defaulte, Ye shall for truth understande, that they were not by him nor by his meanes arrested, but by the Sherief of our countye of Northumberland; which, perceyving them to passe through our Realme without our saulfconduyt, thought he could not (his duetye doon towardes Us) suffre them so to passe, ne that the treatye of peax passed betwene Us wold mainteyne theim in that behaulf, and hath therin excused our said Warden frome blame. All which notwithstanding, and albeit We know right well your mynde is none otherwyse but that your subgietes reparing to this our Realme shuld (being here) observe and kepe, as reason requireth, the lawes and custumes of the same, as We wold in lyke maner our subgiets resorting to your Realme shuld observe the semblable there; to thintent Ye shall perceyve in Us, in dedes, no lesse conformitye to the continuaunce and encreace of love amitye and concorde betwene Us, thenne We have expressed in wordes, not mynding so to deale with your said subgiets, as in this case We might with justice, and without offencion of the said peace passed betwene Us; We have not oonly gyven commaundement, aswell for the delyverey of your said subgiets, being with the Sherief, as also for the deliverey of their goodes at Tynmouth, which We doubt not but Ye shall perceyve to take effect, or the receipt of these our letters; but also have sent at this tyme unto Youe our trusty servaunt Carleill, oone of our herauldes of armes, instructed of our further mynde, with our frendly advyse touching redresse to be made indifferently on the Bordures. To whome We moost hartely praye Youe, derest brother and nephieue, to gyve faith and credence, and with suche wysdome and dexteritye to ponder theffect aswell of these our letters, as of the said credence to be declared by our said servaunt Carleill unto Youe, as therby maye ensue perfaict love amitye and peace betwixt Us, to the pleasour of Almighty God, the wealth of our subgiets, and the tranquillitie of both our Realmes.

And wher as, derest brother and nephieue, your officers of your towne of Aberden have lately, uppon suspicion of piracy, arrested oone of our subgiets called John Horwell, marchaunt of Newport in our Isle of Wight, his fellowes ship and goodes, which John his fellowes ship and goodes Ye wryte Ye wold at altymes have ben contented to deliver uppon advertisement from Us in that behaulf; Ye shall understande We have syns aswell examined the said Horwell, being escaped syth that tyme out of your pryson, as sundry other, of the truthe of that matier; which We certainly knowe. And therfor, derest Brother and Nephieue, We desire and praye Youe that Ye cause the ship wherin the said Horwell was taken, and the goodes being in the same

at

at his arryvall, to be delivered to our trusty and welbeloved servaunt Sir Thomas Clifford, Captayne of our towne of Berwyck, or to such other as shall resorte unto Youe in his name for that pourpose, to thintent We maye take suche ordre with theim as shall stonde with equitye and justice.

Right Excellent, Right Hiegh, and Mighty Prince, our derest Brother and Nephieu, We beseche Almighty God have Youe in His blessed keping. Yeven under our Signet, at our manour of Westminster, the Secund daye of March, the 23th yere of our Reigne.

CCXXIV. Instruccions, gyven by the KINGES Hieghnes to his trusty and welbeloved servaunt CARLEILL, oon of His Graces Heraulde of Armes, whome His Hieghnes at this tyme sendeth to his good brother and nephieu the King of Scottes for the pourposes ensuyng.

(*Signed*) HENRY R.

FIRST, the said Carleill, taking with him all suche instruccions and letters of credence as be prepared for his depeache, shall withall convenient spede and celeritye addresse himself to the King of Scottes Courte; wher, gyving advertisement of his comming, and havyng accesse to his presence, shall aftre delyverey of the Kinges Hieghnes said letters of credence, with His Graces moost harty commendations, saye, that the Kinges Hieghnes, having receyved the said King of Scottes letters bering date the 11th of January, conteyning aswell sundry complaintes against thErle of Northumberland, Warden of His Graces East and Middel Marches, for suche injuryes as was pretended to be by him doon to diverse the subgiets of Scotland, as also manifestly declaring his said good Brothers mynde good will and fervent zeale to the continuaunce of peax and thencreace of love amitye and frendship betwene His Hieghnes and the said King, desiring in his said letters to be advertised of the Kinges Hieghnes minde entent and inclination of the semblable continuaunce of peax and concorde betwene Theim, their Realmes and subgietes, and whether such injuryes as wer doon to his saide subgiets did procede of His Hieghnes consent, or whether theye were doone contrary to His Graces minde and pleasour; albeit it appereth evidently, as in thaunswer made to the said letters is declared, the said subgiets of Scotland wer muche culpable for that theye did not observe the lawes and custumes of this His Graces Realme of England in making portsale of their marchaun-

dises, the custumers not being made pryvye therin, ne the custume due for the same payd, and passing through this His Graces Realme without His Hieghnes saulfeconduycte, by reason wherof they were interrupted in their journeye homewardes and their ship arrested; yet His Hieghnes moost hieghly rejoysing in the towardnes and good conformitye of his said good brother and nephieu to the continuaunce of peax and thadministracion of justice expressed in his said letters, for declaracion of His Hieghnes mynde to the semblable, hath not oonly caused to be delivered his good brothers said subgiets with their said ship and goodes, but also, being desirous to remove all suche occasions as might heraftre engendre betwixt His Grace and his said good brother any matier of discorde and variaunce, hath at this tyme, besides theffectuall demonstration of His Graces minde and desire to the continuaunce of the said peax and amitye, in the deliveraunce of his good nephieus said subgiets ship and goodes, sent unto his said good brother his said servaunt Carleill, specially for thise two pourposes ensuying.

First, wheras, uppon the late departure of His Hieghnes and his said good brothers Commissioners, appointed to have sene redresse made to the subgiets of both Realmes for attemptates committed on the Bordures, ther was an other tyme appointed, whenne they shuld eftsones have met for further examination debating and finisshing of that matier, which said daye of this later appointement also hath been frustrated and not observed; forasmuch as, synnes that appointement taken and made betwene the Kinges Hieghnes and the said King of Scottes Commissioners, the Kinges Hieghnes hath receyved frome the said King of Scottes, by thandes of His Hieghnes said servaunt Carleill, an aunswer so precise and resolute in the matier of Canabe, geving therby His Hieghnes to understande, how in making of redresse the said King of Scottes mynde and utter determination is to have restitution made for the billes of Canabe, as though the same were the mere grounde of Scotland: the Kinges Hieghnes, considering that His Grace could not with his honour, havyng so evydent matier and prouf apparaunt for the justification of suche allegacions as were made by His Hieghnes Commissioners declaring the grounde of Canabe to be debatable, without further examinacion, departe frome the same, and agree to the said King of Scottes requestes; and that, onles His Hieghnes wold so doo, the said King of Scottes appered not thenne inclined to procede to any other redresse, pretending a suspense of the matyers of Canabe to be veray prejudiciall unto him. For these causes and consideracions the Kinges Hieghnes hath rather thought good to use and exercise the wysedome and good advyse of His Graces Commissioners in the necessary affaires of His Hieghnes Parliament, thenne to gyve theim licence to observe suche

suche dayes of meting as they had made with the said Commissioners of Scotland, wherof shulde have ensued no frute or effecte. And therfor the Kinges Hieghnes request and desire is, that his said good brother, by thadvyse of his Counsaill, for advoyding of suche inconveniences as maye for lacke of redresse ensue to bothe their Realmes, wold now appoint for his parte an other certayn tyme, when the said Commissioners of both Realmes shuld mete again on the Bordures, for redres of all attemptates according to the first appointement taken betwene theim in that behaulf; so as on neyther party be founde any delaye or cavillation to let the proceding of justice; but that, as his good brother protesteth himself in wordes to be most desyrous of thadministration therof, and as the Kinges Hieghnes in dede cannot conceyve other opinion of him, whatsoever is shewed unto His Grace sounding to the contrary, so in dedes it maye procede and be administred betwene ther subgiets indifferently, with due redresse for such evyll attemptates as have ben committed on the said Bordures, to the rest and tranquillitye of the true subgiets of both Realmes, and the punysshement of transgressours and malefactours accordingly.

Secundly, wher as at the said last meting the said departure of the Commissioners was made without proceding to redresse, as at thappointement therof was entended, by reason that the Commissioners of Scotlande made clayme to the grounde of Canabe; the Kinges Hieghnes, in lyke maner as His Grace having suche substaunciall proves brought forth for His Graces parte, declaring the said grounde to be mere Englishe or at the lest debatable grounde, as His Grace cannot with his honour relinquishe his title therin; so His Grace being, as he hath declared, moost desirous of the continuance of love amitye and concorde betwene Him and his said nephieu, and to remove all maner doubtes that might insurge, and at the meting of their said Commissioners be occasion of breaking of, without any good frute or effect succeding, the said Carleill shall saye that an other principall cause of His Graces sending him at this tyme is to move, and frendely in His Hieghnes name desyre and praye his said good brother, that, forasmuche as, at the said last meting of their said Commissioners on the Bordures, their departure without redresse was chiefly pretended by reason of the said variaunce of Canabe, it may therfor lyke Him that at this other meting to be now appointed, the title of the said Canabe notwithstanding, the said Commissioners maye procede according to justice to the making of the said redres on eyther partye, and that in the meane tyme other Commissioners maye be chosen and aucthorised for bothe Realmes to treate conclude and finally betwene His Hieghnes and his said good brother the title of the said Canabe; whose determination therin as the Kinges Hieghnes for his parte shall right well

well accept and be content withall, whether it make with Him or against Him; so His Hieghnes doubteth not but his said good brother, perceyving his playnesse and frendely desires, and offre by the said Carleill now made unto Him, will not oonly be right glad to condescende herunto, but also abide for his parte suche ordre and direction as shalbe finally taken therin, with no lesse good will and mynde thenne the Kinges Hieghnes requireth the same of Him; wherby shalbe avoyded all stryf and contention that might peradventure ensue by the delaye of redresse on eyther partye, and therof succede betwene the Kinges Hieghnes and his said good brother and nephieu peace love and assured amitye, to the pleasour of God, the great wealth and benefyte of bothe Realmes and subgiets.

And finally, wher as the Kinges Hieghnes good brothers officers of his towne of Aberden have late arested oone of His Graces subgiets called John Horwell, with his fellowes ship and goodes, uppon suspicion of piracye, whiche said Horwel is syns escaped out of pryson ther, and hath ben befor His Hieghnes Counsail examined of that matier, the trueth wherof His Grace hath throughly tryed out; the said Carleill shall, in His Hieghnes name, sollicite his said good brother for the deliveraunce of the ship and goodes, wherin the said Horwell was taken, to the Kinges trusty and welbeloved servaunt Sir Thomas Clifford, captayn of His Graces towne of Berwyck, or unto such other as the said Sir Thomas shall sende unto His Hieghnes good brother for that pourpose, according to His Graces letters at this tyme addressed unto his said good brother in that behaulf.

CCXXV. Clyfford *to* Norfolk.[1]

Pleasith it Youre Grace to be advertisede, that immediatlie after my departour of lait from your Grace unto the King oure Soverane his town of Barwike, for reformation of such attemptates as, in myn absence, for defawlt of meatinges and daies of treux uppon ye Bordours, was commyt, I dide send unto thofficers of Scotelande foranempt me, to have met and conveynide, to thintent that just and due redrese should have succedit. For which I wolde with deligence have endevoured my self to have accomplished upon my partie.

[1] From the Museum, Caligula, B. III. leaf 271.

And,

And, for bycaus the saide officers wold in no wies be content to appoynt observe nor kepe eny meatinge to have bene hade for redrese to have procedit, oneles hollie and every tyme within the severell grounde of Scotelande, noght condiscendinge, aftre one meating had in Scotelande, to have met at ye next tyme in Englonde; in consideration yerof giffing respect to thantique custums (to the contrary thair oppynions) befor uside, for somuch the saide officers of Scotelande alledgide yair Soverains specialle commaundement and his Counceils, giffin unto theym for the same; I dide move, and by my writing admonest and declayre unto Carlill the Kinge our Soverains herrawld, than beinge with the Counceill of Scotelande, requiering hym, upon his motion and reaport maide hirof unto ye Kinge and Counceill of Scotelande, to advertise me with convenyency of their mynde therin. To whom, as the saide Carlill reaportide unto me, their determinat aunswer was, fully affermyng ye formour commaundement yevin unto thair officers anempt the same, accordinglie as by thair officers bifore alledgid. Which considered, and that also, without meatinges hade for reformation of attemptetes and oppressing of offendours, ye Bordours of this the Kinges Realme can in no wies be stayd, bot that, by long contenewance therof, many inconveniences shall unto the sam incure; would it pleas youre Grace that in this behalf I might be advertised of your pleasoure: and I shall, Gode willing, prepair and endevour my self, to the uttermost of my power, for the preservation of the Kinges Graces Bordours heir in goode ordour rewll and quietnes in the meane tyme.

And, wher as I am also by the saide Carlill the herrawld advertised that it is the Kinges pleasour I shall resave a shipe furth of Scoteland of one John Orweils, with certane goodes; in as much as I was not advertised therof by His Hieghnes, your Grace, nor noone of the Counceill, at my lait being with youe; wolde it pleas the same that I might knaw your pleasour, aftre what maner I should resave the saide shipe and goodes, and I shall theraftre use my self in every behalf accordinglie.

Further, like it your Grace this instant day thAmbassadour of thEmperours, called Mounsieur Petre de Rosunbor, and with hym Carlill the Kinge oure Soverains herrawld, is passide through this the Kinges town towerdes the Kinges Hieghnes; wherof I thought my duetie was no les bot too advertis your Grace therof with deligence. As knawith the Hollie Trinitie, who ever preserve Your Grace. At ye Kinge our Soverains castell of Barwike, this 23ti day of May,

By yours, with my service,

(*Signed*) THOMAS CLYFFORD.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde of Norffolkes Grace.

CCXXVI. Lord Dacre *to* King Henry VIII.

Pleas it Your Highnes to be advertised, that the 9th daye of this instaunt moneth I received a letter frome the King of Scottes, by thandes of Robert Charters Larde of Hempisfeilde, whiche principall letter I do send unto Your Highnes herin inclosed, with the copie of suche aunswer as I have made again of the said letter unto the said King of Scottes.[1]

The said King of Scottes came in hunting the penult day of May into a waist grounde called Crammell in Meggottes landes, within 30 miles of thes West Bordoures, with a small company in nomber of 300 personnes, and had but small gaine. The common brute and voice was to have made a roode upon the Debatable grounde and Liddisdale men, nowe being at the sheles frome their winter houses; upon the whiche brute the Parsonne of Awyke, one Pate Whitelowe, two gentilmen of the Hebborns, being kynnesmen unto thErle Bothwile, cam unto the castell of thArmetage in Liddisdale, to the kepers there, to holde the said castell to the behove of the said Erle, in salvegarde frome the said King, incace He had commen thidder.

The furst daye of June the said King retorned frome the said hunting unto Peblis, and ther remayned unto the 3de daye of this moneth, and so departed towardes Edenburghe.

The Quenes Grace of Scotlande came downe the same tyme to the castell of Newark, for the keping of a forrest court of Etrik of her conjunct feoffament, and demaunded of the Larde of Buccleughe the keyes of the said castell, who wold innowise deliver the same unto Her Grace, unto suche tyme he knewe the Kinges pleasour. And so Her Grace did send a complaint upon hym to the King, and therupon the King commaunded hym to deliver theim unto Her Grace. And so she haith delivered the said keyes to the Lorde of Meffen. Ther is in company with Her Grace 60 horsemen and

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[1] Neither of these letters appears to be extant, but the purport of them may be collected from the following passage in a previous letter of the 29th of May from Dacre to Henry VIII.; viz.

"Also pleas it Your Highnes the Larde of Hempisfelde haithe bene here with me in secrete "maner, in message by mouth speking, and no maner of writing, frome the King of Scottes his "maister. Theffect of his said message was this; furst, to se whedder I wold june with the Lorde "Maxwell for the distroying of thinhabitauntes of the Debatable grounde, like as I did certefye "Your Grace therof at aftur Crystmas last; secoundlie, yf that I wolde be contented to make "promise to hold thinhabitauntes of Liddisdale out of the boundes of myne office and charge under "Your Highnes, in cace the King his maister cam downe to serche theim. Wherin I wolde make "none aunswer, to I knew further your moost gracious pleasure."

24 rynners

24 rynners of foote. And so frome thens She passed to the abbay of Driburghe, and intendes to come unto Caldstreme, and frome thens to Edenburghe.

Pleas it Your Highnes, according to your moost gracious commaundement to me geven foranempt thinhabitauntes of Liddisdale, thay have had and haith a speciall assuraunce unto 14 dayes aftur Midsomer, and further shalhave according to the deasire of George Douglas, unto I knowe the pleasure of Your said Highnes. The said George Dowglas did move me that, incace the King of Scottes had commen forwardes in his roode upon thinhabitauntes of Liddisdale, that I wold receipt theim and their goodes within this your West Wardanry being under my charge, the tyme of the abiding of the King of Scottes ther; whiche I durst not doo for the breche of the pece. Wherin it woll pleas Your Highnes I may knowe your highe pleasure howe I shall ordour my self in that behalve in tyme commyng. And the Holy Goste preserve Your Highnes. At Nawarde, the 16 daye of June.

Your humble servaunt,

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Highnes my Soverain Lorde.

(*Signed*) Willm̃ Dacre.

CCXXVII. King Henry VIII. *to* [Clyfford.[1]]

Trustie and welbiloved, We grete youe well. And have receaved and seen the contentes of your letters, mencioning how the officers of the Borders of Scotelande anempste your rewle refuse to mete in soche wise as hathe been accustomed, and wyll agree to no meeting, onles ye repaire to them in the grounde of Scoteland at all tymes; of whiche article We write at this season to the King of Scottes, as by the copie of our letters unto Hym, whiche ye shall receave herwith, ye shall perceave; taking their refusall herin, and unreasonable request, to be grounded upon so high and hawtie pride, as, all thowgh We wold, We ought not, and so to will of our princely courage can not, to gyve place to the King of Scottes; whose progenitours hathe in deade heretofore, and in right owght, to knowleage the superiorite in Us, and rather in deade allwaies to reasorte unto our lande for to sue for redresse, than ons in worde to requyre the contrary. Wherfore, not knowing how the

[1] The address of this minute is not preserved, but the despatch was probably sent to Sir Thomas Clyfford in consequence of Norfolk's having forwarded to the King Clyfford's letter in p. 606.

King of Scottes, upon receipt of our letters, will use Hym self, and what answer He will make un to Us, forasmoche as upon the conformyte of his answer or ootherwise We entende to doo further, as shalbe agreable with our honour, and not to suffre soche injuries at his hande, We have geven in commaundement to our servaunt Carliel, berer of the saide letters, in his retourne by youe, to shew unto the same the Kinge of Scottes letters answering to ours, whiche our pleasour is, by warrante of these our letters, ye breke up and rede, and so sende the letters closed again with your seale, to thentent ye, perceaving by the contentes of them their conformyte in Scotelande, may in your rowmes use your self for defence of your charge accordingly. The copie of whiche letter also ye shall immediately send to the Lorde Dacres, to thentent he may likewise undrestande the tenor thereof, and do for his parte as shall apparteigne.

And where as ye, sounding moche to your honestie and our honour, made hieghe recule to Mouns^r^ Rosinburgk, Ambassadour to thEmperour, at his retourne out of Scotlande, lyke as the same Ambassadour hath reaported unto Us, We, moche praysing your gentilnes and humanite in that bihalf, geve unto you for the same our hartie thankes, and shall have the same in our goode remembraunce.

CCXXVIII. King Henry VIII. *to* Lord Dacre.

To our right trusty and welbeloved Counsaillour.

Right trusty and welbeloved &c. And for answer to your letters conteyning the principall poyntes; the oon concerning the meating on the Borders for the redresse to be made synnes Michaelmas hitherto; the oother, what answer We shall geve to the King of Scottes messanger concerning the destruction of them that inhabite the Debateble grounde; the thirde to be also answered, whither We woll ye receave and soccour the inhabitauntes of Liddilsdale, in case the King of Scottes shuld pursue them; ye shall undrestande that, as concerning the meating for redresse syns Michaelmas, inasmoche as We take it to be agreable to the recesse made by our and the Commyssioners of Scotelande at their laste departure so to doo, and that good, and no hurte ne prejudice, can com thereof; our pleasour is, ye procede therunto withowte any lett or difficulte. And as to the oother two articles, towching the destruction of the inhabitauntes of the Debateable groundes, and

and reteyning and socouring of them of Liddilsdale, ye may say, that writing unto Us therof ye receaved againe no speciall answer in the matter, but onely in a generaltie, that soche convention and agrement to the destruction of oother can not now be convenyently treated and spoken of betwene youe and them, being the matters of bothe Realmes in soche straung termes as ye be advertised they be; and that ye perceave, onles the King of Scottes and his Counsail do oother wise resolve, it shalbe rather tyme, how ye shall devise with oother to do them hurte, then to agree with them to the hurte of any oother. And other answer than this ye may say ye have nôt receaved from hens. Ye shall also undrestande, We have writen to the King of Scottes in a resolute and playne facion, as by the purporte of our letters to Hym addressed, the copie wherof We sende unto youe herewith, ye shall perceave. And, as his answer shalbe facioned, so We entend effectuelly to prosecute the contentes of the same; for which cawse We thinke it very necessarye ye use them of Liddilsdale, and oother as may annoye the King of Scottes, with soche entreteynement, as they may be the wyllinger, if nede requyre, to serve our purpose in that behalf.

CCXXIX. Northumberland *to* King Henry VIII.

Pleasith it Your most gracious Highnes to be advertysed, according to your most dradde commaundement and my most bounden dutie, I have establysshed Your Highnes countie of Northumberland aswell in executing of justice uppon attemptates comytted within your said countie of Northumbreland, as alsoo causyng every gentilman, which lay within the towne of Newcastell, to repare and lye at theyre owen howses, there to kepe watche warde showte and crye, and every man to be reidy to ryse with his neghtbur and folowe uppon payne of deth. And at my beyng at Newcastell kept a Warden courte, wher was arreyned, condempned, and judged to deth one Ectur Armestrange and Andrewe Armestrange his sonne, whiche Ectur is a tall personage and son unto mykyll Sym, beyng non of theyme that be in band with me, but of another grayne. Neverthelesse I have respyted his deth, by the consideration of Your Highnes commaundement in your last letters consernyng theyme of Lyddersdaill. And, seyng he offeryth to lay in what suertes and pledges shall stand with Your Highnes pleasure for hym and his grayne to kepe good rule toward your

Realme and to annoy the Scottes asferr as in theym shally, I most humble besech Your Highnes I may knowe your pleasure herein. And for this Armestrang was takyn by Syr Rauf Fenwyke, whoe came thorow Bewcastyldaill with the nombre of 60 personages to have brynned a towne of myn uppon the water of Tyne. And for myself I do remayne at Werkwurth, there to loke uppon the charge whiche I have of Your Highnes. Notwithstandyng, nowe at the repare of all the gentilmen in the contrey to the syse at Newcastell, Dan Car of Graydon being a deputie of the Marchies of Scotland, and Marke Cars eldest son, with the nombre of sevyn hundreth men, ran an opyn day forrey in Norhamshire, and there toke up a towne called Felkynton; whereuppon the contrey, according to my directions, dyde ryse for rescowing of the said towne, notwithstanding the head gentilmen were at the assyse the same tyme, yet your subjectes there remayning scrymaged with the Scottes. At whiche tyme were takyn divers of Your Highnes subjectes, and moche of theyre goodes; and thre of your said subjectes, aftir theyre taking, was shamefully murdred and slayne; the whiche attemptate is contrary to the leage and peace takyn betwene Your Highnes and the Scottes King; to whome I have wryten aswell for redresse of thois attemptates, as of all other committed afore my comyng to the contrey at this tyme; and as yit have non aunsware frome Hym; the whiche aunsware ons atteyned, I shall not fayle to sertyfie Your most noble Grace of the same with diligence.

And, wher by your most gracious letters I do persave Syr William Skevynton Knyght, and Deputie of your Realme of Irland[1], haith sertyffyed Your Highnes of the arryvall of certeyne Scottysshemen to the nombre of foure thousand in youer said land, under the leading of Machonell, intending to joyn with Adonell, and to invade youer obeysaunt contrey there, whoo haith alreidy distroyed the landes of one Magwylly, the trewth wherof Your Highnes thought I myght have knowen, yf that I had usyd myn aspialles for the same; I assure Your most noble Grace, for the atteyning of the knawledge of the affayres and secretes of Scotland, I had and hath (settyng all charges apart, and folowing my verey dutie therin), afore the receyte of your most gracious letters, and shall have, myn aspialles lying ther to atteyne asmoch knawledge as to theyme shalbe possible; whoo could atteyne no more in this matter, ner non otherwyse, then the Scottes King hath wryten unto Your Highnes: not, that the said Machonell doth any hurt to your obeysaunt contrey there, the ferre

[1] This despatch of Skeffyngton is not extant.

distaunce

distaunce of Machonell frome Edynburgh, the secretes that he haith to do in Irland being in secret articles devysed by the Archebysshop of Glasco, the Bysshop of Abyrdyne, Henry Kempe, and Davy Wod (noo more being prevey therunto), which articles were delyvered unto John Canois at his departure from the Scottysshe King, at whiche tyme the said Scottes King dyd make hym Knyght. Theis two causes considered, Your Highnes may perceyve it is very hard trewe knowledge to be atteyned unto the executions of Irland. Neverthelesse, as I am credably advertysed frome myn aspyalles, the said Scottes Kyng hath receyved, within this 8 dayes, certeyne letters frome Machonell, whiche he kept verey secret, and thankfully taken; uppon whiche the Scottes Kyng hath sent fyve hundreth archers frome the owte isles of Scotland unto the said Machonell in great hast. Nevyrthelesse I trust in breve tyme to atteyne the knawledge of the secretes of the affayres of Scotland; whiche to me ons perfitely knawen, I shall not fayle to sertyfye Your Highnes with diligence. And, according to your most dradde commandement, the perfitenes of the affayres of Machonell to me manyfest aftur the purport of your most gracious letters, or elles Your Highnes pleasure to me knawen, shal let slyppe Tyndall and Redysdaill to joyn with theyme of Liddersdaill for the annoyance of Scotland: whiche I trust by the Grace of God to handyll soo secretly, that the realme of Scotland shall have no small annoyance therby; and yit accordyng to my most boundon dutye shall folowe the sequele of Your Highnes most dradde commaundement purposed in your said most gracious letters. Most humbly besechyng Your most noble Grace to knawe Your Highnes pleasure, howe I shall ordre me in the premysses, the whiche to execute I shall not fayle with all dexteryte, asmoch as shally in my lytill power.

And alsoo Your most gratious Highnes shall persave the Rotherfordes, Carrs, Davysons, Pryngelles, Halles, Trumbilles, Hunters, Robsons, Waughes, and Wais, of Tyvydaill and of the forrest of Gedwurth being 400 in nombre, as to say 300 tryed horsemen and 100 fotemen, being malisiously purposed to commyt an heynous acte within this Your Highnes Realme uppon Monday being the 19th day of this instant monthe of August, in the close nyght came in at Belles in Tyndall, and uppon Teusday at son rysyng ran an opyn day forrey at Hawtwesill within the Mydle Marche, seasing al maner of goodes in the way as they came. The whiche manyfest by showte and crye unto your inhabitauntes ther nye adjonyng, Thomas Errington constable of my poore baronry of Langley, Alexander Fetherstonehalgh, Robert Thyrlewall, with the tenauntes of Syr Nicholas Rudley to the nombre of 6 score persons, came to the rescowes

of

of the said forrey; the whiche the Scottes being of soo gret nombre, and persaving your subjects be soo small, leavyng theyre booty, dyd set uppon theyme; unto whiche Your Highnes said subgectes it hathe pleased God to gyve the victory, whoo hathe wounded to deth, as by apparaunce, 6 score, the lest of theyme having a pece of a spere in hym or elles one arrowe, and alsoo slayne one Scott owte ryght, called Ways; and hath takyn twelve of theyme, as to saye, one of the Rotherfordes, one of the Halles, one of the Trumbylles, two of the Hunters, two of the Robsons, two of the Waughes, one of the Carrys, one of the Davysons, and one of the Pryngelles; the whiche all, God wyllyng, according to the lawes of your Marches, shall suffre execusyon uppon Sonday next, which shalbe the 25th day of this instant monthe of August; assuring Your Highnes the showte and crye came to Bewcastildaill and Gylles land, afore it came to my baronry of Langley; and not one man of the said 2 daylles came for rescows unto the said forrey. And pondering the said Scottesmen came through Tyndall, and retourned through Tyndall agayne into Scotland, notwithstanding the contrey of Tyndall was never in better ordre, I have some of the said of Tyndall in jeleycy for being prevey for the conveyng of the said Scottes into this Your Highnes Realme, seyng the long distaunce of Tyvydall from Hawtwesill; for whiche cause I am in person in Tyndal my self, according to my most bounden dutie. And, settyng all paynes apart for the atteyning of the trewth therof, the whiche unto me ons knawen of the offenders, I shall not fayle to put theyme to suche terryble execution, that I trust it shalbe a warrnyng to all suche offenders to bryng in the Scottes hereaftir: sertyfying Your Highnes that the Scottes of Tyvydall both came and went through Tyndall, and drust not aventure nayther to come ner goo through Liddersdall, which way yf they had takyn in theyre fleyng, I have suche knawledge that Liddersdall, being soo trewe unto Your Highnes according to theire promyse, had soo handled theyme, God willing, that never one of the said Scottes had comyn into Tyvydall agayne. And thus, as I am bounden, I shall daly pray for the preservation of your ryall estate long to endure, with asmoch increace of honour as your most noble hart can desyre. At Hexham, the 23th day ot August.

CCXXX. KING HENRY VIII. *to* ANGUS.[1]

HENRY the Eight by the Grace of God King of England and of Fraunce, Defensour of the Faith, and Lorde of Irlande, Greting. Wheras our right trusty and right welbiloved cousin, Archibald Erle of Anguish, hath, by his writing subscribed with his hande, dated the 25th day of August the 24th yere of our Reign, promysed Us by his othe, and in the worde of a gentleman, that in cace We shuld move actual warre to the King of Scotlande, he to his possible poure, with suche his servauntes adherentes and frendes as he canne by any meanes procure, shal truly and faithfully serve Us in the same; with other conditions, as in the said writing is conteyned: To thintent the said Erle shuld not in that cace dispair of our goodnes, but be encouraged to doo Us service with the better good wil, We have thought good to make promyse to the said Erle in writing, and doo promyse unto him by thise presentes, that in cace warre dothe ensue betwene Us and the said King of Scottes, and in the same warre the said Erle of Anguishe doo use himself according to the purporte of the said writing, truly and faithfully serving Us, as in the same writing is conteyned, and over that at the commencement and begynning of the said warre, the said Erle doo make unto Us othe of alleageaunce, and recognise Us as Supreme Lorde of Scotlande, and as his Prince and Souveraign; We thenne, the said Erle doing the premysses, shalbe reputed and taken as bounde, and by thise presentes binde Our selfe, to paye yerly unto

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[1] From the Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 129. Minute written by Wriothesley.

By a letter in the Chapter House of the 26th of May 1534 from Tuke to Crumwell, (Miscellaneous Letters, Second Series, Vol. 44, leaf 279,) it appears that Tuke had never until that time had any warrant for payment of any yearly sum to Angus, but only for sums pro hac vice; and then he proceeds:

"But I perceyve by my clerk Alane Hawte, that ye willed hym to advertise me the Kinges "pleasure, that the said Erle, in suche money as he hathe receyved of me sens the first day of "September the 21st yere of the Kinges Reign, shalbe alowed of 500 marcs to be taken to hym by "way of rewarde, and that from the last day of July the said 21th yere to the same day the "24th yere, he shalbe alowed after 1000 mark by yere; and from thens forthe til I shal have "commaundment in writing to the contrary, after the rate of 1000£ by yere, and so to be paid "from half yere to half yere. Upon whiche knowlege by you to my said clerk to be advertised of "the Kinges pleasure, I have geven ordre to pay hym 500 mark this nyght, or to morowe erly. "Wherfore, Sir, if ye meane not thus, I beseche you let this berer geve Alane Hawte monycyon to "the contrary; for I wer lothe to offende the on way or the other. Alane Hawte advertised me "your pleasure was, he shulde devise a warrant to this purpose, the copie wherof he sent me, and "I refourmed it in suche thinges as wer nede; but the signature of the warrant is not the thing "that I somoche make hast of, as I do to knowe the certaynte of your mynde."

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the said Erle the somme of oone thousand poundes sterling, and the same yerly payment of oone thousand poundes sterling to contynue unto the said Erle and endure, untyll We have by our said warre reduced the said Erle in to possession of his landes in Scotlande, eyther at our hande by conquest, or at the hande of the King of Scottes by our meanes; and further promyse unto the said Erle that, he serving Us in the said warres if the same chaunce, We shal take no appointement of peace with the said King, without comprehension, restitution of landes, and reconciliation of the said Erle. And for witnesse of the premysses We have signed thise presentes with our oune hande aftre our accustumed maner, the said 25th daye of August, the 24ti yere of our Reign.

CCXXXI. Northumberland *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Pleasith it Youer most gratious Highnes to be advertised that from the Scottes King I have receyved letters of answer to myne, the which letters, with the copies of myne unto Hym, I send unto Your most noble Grace here in cloosed, wherein his mynd toward justice and delayes for redresse of the same may openly apper unto Your Highnes. Also considering the affayres of Scotland, as I am certified from myne especiall, Your Highnes shall perceyve that for Makayn ys gone over in to Ireland with the numbre of 7000 men, wherof most parte be footemen, and it is said hath done myche harme in Ireland; but whedder it is upon Your Highnes subjectes or not, I can not atteigne the perfite knowledge. Never the lesse he hath a 1000 men sent hym of late. The trewth of all his actes I have no doubte to certifie Your Highnes at the commyng of the Erle of Argyle to Edenbourghe, whiche is the sexte day of September, at whiche tyme the said King of Scottes purposith to kepe his Parliament; trusting that, if it may stand with Your Highnes pleasour, to deliver with out indempnite the Erle Boothewell, and also to bring the Erle of Argyle and the Erle Craford unto suche purpose as Your most noble Grace shall devise. For the Kyng of Scottes hath plucked from the Erle of Argyle, and from his heires for ever, the rule of all the out iles, and gyven the same to Mackayn and his heires for ever; and also hath in likecase taken from thErle of Crafford suche landes as he had ther, and gyven the same to the said

[1] From the Museum, Caligula, B. I. leaf 124. Contemporary copy.

Mackayne;

Mackayne; the which hath ingendred a greate hatred in the said Erles harte against the said Scottes King. And, as for the spiritualtie of Scotland, standith in this case, that never one of theym hath ther hartes and favours to the King, but only the Bisshop of Glasco, the Bisshoppe of Abyrdyne, and the Bisshop of Donkell. And also, wher the Scottes King shuld have had of the spiritualtie of Scotland ten thousand crounes a yer; the Archebisshop of Sainct Andrew, with all the spiritualtie of Scotland savyng the afore named thre Bisshoppes, hath optayned a new bill from the Pope under suche fourme, that the said Scottes King now is content, for the said annuall rent, to take four thowsand pound sterling, to be paid in four yeres, and hath clerely renounced for ever the said pension of ten thousand crounes unto the spiritualtie. And also I do perceyve by myne especialles that the Scottes King is preparing an army be yond the North Seis; for the trowth wherof perfitely to be atteygned unto, I have send a howshold servaunt of myne owne with diligens be yond the Scottes Sees, at whose retourne I shall certifie Your most noble Grace of the premisses. And I have receyved one Sonday, being the first day of this instaunt moneth of Septembre, twoe severall letters from Your most gracious Highnes, by the Erle of Angois, the tone specifying your most drad commandment for the furnesshing of 100 men for the defence of Your Highnes Borders, and the other for the interteignment of the said Erle and his broder George, and lettyng slippe secretly them of Riddisdaill and Tyndaill to joyn with theym of Liddersdaill for the annoyance of Scotland. The which your most gracious pleasour to me specifyed in your said most gratious letters I shall fulfill accordingly to my most bounden dutie, with all dexterite. And for the last roode maide by the Scottes in the boundes of Berwike, I am suer Mr Capitayne of Berwike hath certified Your Highnes therof; for which open day forrey at Berwike, and that afor at Hawtewesill, I have writen for redresse of the same to the Scottes King; from whom as yet I have none answer. Sertifying Your most noble Grace that one Waugh, being a Scottes man, taken within the Middle Marche at the forrey of Hawtewesill, is deteigned by the Lord Dacre; who covertlie dyd alledge his taking to be within the West Marche; for which I put owt a qwest for the inquiri, wheder he was taken within the West Marche or Middle, two of the foremen of the said quest being as chefe at the said scrymage of Hawtewesill, who hath upon their othe gyven verdit the said Waughe, with all other prisoners taken at the said day forrey, to be taken within the Middle Marche. Upon which I wrote unto the said Lord Dacre for hym, and can have no deliverey. Certifying Your Highnes that one Carock tooke two Scottes men at the said affray, as to say, one Trumble and one Pringill, to whome the said Lord Dacre sent his land sergiant

called Nicolas Crawhaw, commaunding hym to deliver the said two prisoners to hym, supposing they wer Liddersdaill men; to whom the said Carock answerd and said they were taken within the Middle Marche, and wer no Liddersdaill men, but wer of Tyvidaill: with which answer the said Crawhawe retourned to the said Lord Dacre, and in as breve tyme as he could, came from the Lord Dacre agayne unto the said Carok, willing hym in no wise to deliver the said prisoners to me, but let them escape; for, if he shuld, they shuld be put to execution, and then he shuld concur in deadly feid with Tyvidaill, seing they wer of the principalles of the said countrey. Uppon the which message from the Lord Dacre the said prisoners wer let slippe in to Scotland; the which escape to me knowen, I send for the said Carok, whom, in open audience, being ther the Capitayne of Berwik, Sir William Heron, Sir John Heron, and many wourshipfull personages, I did examyn hym whye he dyd let slyp the said prisoners; who said openly word by word, as herafor I have writen. And then I examyned hym, wheder he was intised to say so, and he said no, for that this was trewth he wold depose upon a booke. And so I tooke his booke othe of the same, which, when he was swourne, said all his neyghbours could bere hym record that this was trewthe, for immediate that the said Crawhaw had shewed hym that message from the Lord Dacre, he declared the same to his neyghbors. And thus the Holy Trinite preserve your most roiall estate long to endure, with as myche encreace of honour as your most noble hart can desier. At my poor howse of Warkworth, the 3de day of Septembre.

CCXXXII. Northumberland *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Pleasith yt Your moost gracious Highnes to be advertysed that uppon Monday, beyng the 7th day of this instaunt moneth of Octobre, I cam to Barwyk, according unto my former letters unto the same; where I, with my broder Clyfford, my cousyns Sir Arthur Darcy, and Sir Richard Tempest, hath not oonly consultyd with my Lord of Angwyssh, who we all fynde as fast humble ande true subgiet unto Your Highnes (as ferr as we can perceyve) as any noble man can be unto hys Soveraigne Lord, who dayly studieth and inventith

[1] This letter strongly illustrates the statement made in the general preface, p. xiv., the first sheet of it (ending with the words "he would burn a town of mine within") being found in the State Paper Office, and the rest in the Museum, Caligula, B. VII. leaf 179. The latter part has been printed, but not very correctly, under the erroneous date of 1522, in the Notes to the Fourth Canto of the "Lay of the last Minstrel."

that

that thyng, which may be unto the contentacion of Your Highnes pleasour; and, as he, hys uncle, and hys brodder hath declared unto us, gotten thys certeyn knowlege out of Scotland, that the Scottes Kyng ys in suche feerre of hys owen subgietes, not oonly spirituall but also temporall, that for an huge army to be rased by Hym ys a thyng unpossible; and also that, havyng this dred among his subgiettes, woll not adventour hys lyve amonges theym, ande also that no noble man of Scotland woll tak uppon hym any auctoritie or rewle under the said Kyng. Ande puttyng no doubtes but, yf Your Highnes nowe take youre tyme, they shall alure unto your purpos not oonly many ande dyvers nobles of the realme of Scotland, but also a great part of the Mershe and Tyvyott dayll in lykewys, as they have doon Lyddersdaill; who hath commytted nowe of late many dyvers heynous and outragious actes uppon the Scottes Kyng subgiettes, who hath not oonly offred theym sex of the best strenghtes in Tyvyot dayll, adjonyng nygh unto theym, fre, but also their generall remyssion with hys speciall grace and favour: which as yet they have refused. Notwithstandyng, George Dowgles doth say he feryth greatly, yf theym of Lyddersdaill have not some comforth of Your Highnes, that the afforsaide offers, mayd unto theym by their owen naturall Lord, beyng as broken men, of theym shalbe taken and receyved. Nevirthelesse, the said George woll do hys full diligence to stey theym at the poynt they ar at, unto the tyme Your Highnes pleasour may be further knowen. And also at my beyng here, my broder Clyfford and I have commoned secretly with dyvers of the Merss ande Tyvyot dayll: who hath mayd great sute for assuraunce, and offereth that, yf any rood shalbe maid by Scotland within this Your Highnes Realme, to gyve warnyng therof before; and also, yf any shalbe made by Your Highnes subgectes within Scotland, they not to defend the same, but stand a looff, beeryng particuler signes to be knowen by; and yf Your Highnes breek uppe oppen warre, they than to entre in pledges unto Your Grace to become your true and lawfull subgiettes. Assuryng Your Grace that my Lord of Angwyssh and his frendes thynkith that Your Highnes, nowe takyng your tyme, shall with a small power, havyng a gretter redy, yf nede shall requyre, whiche they thynk shall not, shall opteigne what purpose as shall stand to your moost gracious pleasour consernyng the realme of Scotland; and nowe beyng let slyp, the afforsaid occasions remembred consernyng thErle Bothwell, yt shalbe verey hard herafter at any tyme to brynge theym unto that lure, ayther by the said Erle, or any other hys frendes. For the Scottes Kyng beyng at thys tyme in great and extreme povertie, and the Emperor, who He doth reckyn his chief frende, being nowe besyed in his warres, and the French Kyng somooche beyng toward Your Grace; He ys all

destitute of any ayd helpe or releve of any owtward Prince, thynkyng necessary, yf your Grace be determyned to have warre, that sendyng oon thousand men moo unto the Borders ye shalbe so therwithall served, as we put no dowt shalbe to Your Graces honour.

And where the Countroller of Scotland[1] and Thomas Scott hath nowe delyvered Beamond, owner of Charlton, which was taken prisoner, and gyven hym a coote of velvet in recompence of hys hard interteignement in Scotland; yet nevertheles they do deteigne and hold hys broder with all other men goodes and insight, beyng taken at the same tyme; nor yet redressyng the slaughter of your subgiettes than slayn. For lak of redresse wherof yt touchith Your Highnes honour somooch, that we durst not tak uppon us to have any metyng to we knowe further of Your Highnes pleasour therin. Notwithstandyng, they have rydden with no forrey within this your Realme, sith the commyng down of your garryson, but Tyndayll and Ryddesdayll doth joyn with theym of Lyddersdayll still for the annoyaunce of Scotland, accordyng to your moost dradde commaundement, and so shall contynewe, to I have contrary commaundement from Your moost noble Grace; notwithstanding George Dowglas doth say he fearyth greatly, yf theyme of Lyddersdaill have not some comforth of Your Grace, that the afforsaid offers maid unto theyme by theyre owen naturall Lord, being all brokyn men, of theyme shalbe takyn and receyved into Scotland. Neverthelesse the said George will doo his full diligence to stay theyme at the point they ar at, unto the tyme Your Highnes pleasure may be further knowen.

And alsoo Your Highnes shall perceyve that nowe, at my beyng at Berwyke, my brother Clyfforth and I dyd secretely speke with a gentilman of Scotland, whoo affirmyth Your most noble Grace to have as hye love and favour in Scotlande, as ever had any of your most noble Progenitours; and puttith noo dowte that, when it shalbe Your Highnes pleasure, that I shall display baner within the realme of Scotland, by reason wherof warre shalbe the sequele, that Tyvydaill than will not faill to become subjecte unto Your Highnes. And for his parte with all his frendes will not faill to come unto me, and to lye in plegges to serve Your Highnes trewly as his naturall Soverayne Lord.

Also Your Highnes shall perceyve that notoryosly and heynously, aswell by worde, as shewing that same in actes in spyte of me, the Scottes of Tyvydall, with the nombre of 300 personages and above, Launce Carr beyng theyre governer, whiche is a deputye of the Marchyes, hathe not only brunte a towne

[1] Sir James Colvill of Easter Wemyss.

of

of myne called Alenam on Thursday being the 10th day of this instanth monthe of Octobre, with all the corne hay and howseholde stuf in the said towne, and also a woman; but alsoo uppon Friday next after tooke up annother towne of myne called Newstede, 200 hed of cataill, 26 prisoners, and haithe shamefully murdered 2 yonge spryngaldes, the eldest of theyme not above 15 yere olde: the whiche actes to be notable according to Your Highnes instructions, dyverse of your captaynes of the garysons doth not defyne, by reason wherof your garysons dothe not ryde, to further of Your Highnes pleasure be knawen. Also most humble besechyng Your Grace that I myght have twenty light peces of ordynance, suche as Your Highnes dyd let my cosyn Darcy have, with powder for the same; and I truste to Godde to serve Your Highnes therwithe, as shall stand to Your Highnes contentation. And alsoo George Dowglas, afore my brother Clyfforth, my cousyns Syr Arthur Darcy and Syr Richard Tempest, shewed unto me that a gentilman of Scotland, being of cote armor, dyd declare unto hym that Syr William Ewry shulde say unto the Comptrollour of Scotland, that this wer was not only longe of the Erle of Northumbreland, but alsoo of the Dowglasses; and yit he trusted that it shulde be peax, and than the Dowglasses shulde voide owt of England: and yf the Erle of Northumbrelande dyd make wer accordyng to his purpose, that then at the furst rode that shuld be maid, the Dowglasses being ther, hym self shulde, or elles cause one pertenyng hym, to kyll on of theym. And theis afforsaid wordes the said gentilman of Scotland that, yf the Comptrollour of Scotland dyd denye, than he shulde prove it, as a man shuld do, by bataill or otherwyse uppon the said Comptroller. Uppon whiche I askyd my cosyn Tempest, whedir Syr William Ewry had spokyn with the Scottes or not; and he shewid me, that, when the Comptroller and Thomas Scot came to Cornell, they send unto my said cosyn Tempest that, yf he wold let Sir William Ewry come over to assure theyme, they wold come over and speyke with hym. And soo the said Syr William Ewry went over, and at that tyme spake with theyme. And what wordis he usyd ther, he knewe not. Wherfore, the premisses considered, pleasith it Youre Highnes wey according to youre excellent wysdome. And alsoo uppon Sonday at nyght, being the 13th day of this instant monthe of October, came in on the close nyght a hundreth lyght horsemen, and toke up a towne called Lowrebotell twenty horses and all the insyght of the said towne. Alsoo uppon Monday, being the 14th day of this instant monthe of October, the Scotes King auctorysed the Erle of Murrey, as his Warden of his Eist and Mydle Marches foranenst Ingland, opynly in his Parliament, and promysed hym three thousand inlandes men to lye uppon the Bordores, and hym self and

and all they to be in wages, and the said Erle to lye hym self at Coldyngham, wher provysion was maid for hym. At whiche tyme Marke Carr promysed the said Erle opynly afore the Kinge that within 5 dayes after, he wolde burne a towne of myne within thre myle of my pore house of Werkwourthe wher I lye, and gif me light to put on my clothes at mydnyght. And alsoo the said Marke Carr said there opynly, that seyng they had a governer on the Marches of Scotland aswell as they haid in Ingland, he shulde kepe Your Highnes instructions gyffyn unto your garyson for making of any day forrey, for he and his frendes wolde burne enough on the nyght, lettyng your Counsaill here defyne a notable acte at theyre pleasures. Uppon whiche, in Your Highnes name, I comaundet dewe watche to be kepte on your Marchies, for comyng in of any Scottes. Neverthelesse, uppon Thursday at nyght last, came thyrty lyght horsemen unto a litill vilage of myne called Whiteli, having not past sex howses in it, lying toward Ryddisdaill, uppon Shilbotell More; and there wold have fyred the said howses, but ther was noo fyre to git there, and they forgate to brynge any withe theyme; and toke a wyf, being greate withe chylde, in the said towne, and said to hyr, "Where we can not gyve the Lard "lyght, yit we shall doo this in spyte of hym," and gave hyr 3 mortall woundes uppon the heid, and annother in the right syde, with a dagger; wheruppon the said wyf is dede, and the child in hyr bely is loste. Beseching Your most gracious Highnes to reduce unto your gracious memory this wylfull and shamefull murder, done within this Your Highnes Realme, notwithstandinge all the inhabitauntes therabout roose unto the said fray, and gave warnyge by becons unto the contrey afore theyme; and yit the said Scottes men dyde escape. And uppon certeyne knawledge to my brother Clyfforthe and me had, by credable persons of Scotland, this abomynable act not only to be done by dyverse of the Mershe, but alsoo the aforenamed persons of Tyvidaill, and consented to, as by apparaunce, by the Erle of Murey; uppon Friday at nyght last let slyp 500 of the best horse men of Glendaill, with a part of Your Highnes subjectes of Berwyke, to joyn with George Dowglas, whoo came into Ingland agayne in the dawning of the day; but afore theyre retourne they dyd nuir the Erle of Murreis provisyons at Coldingham, for they dyd not only burne the said towne of Coldyngham, with all the corne therunto belonging, whiche is estemed wourth 1000 merkes sterling, but alsoo have burned two townes nye adjoning therunto, called Branerdergest and the Black Hill, and toke 4 score prisoners, 60 horse, with 200 hed of cataill. Whiche nowe, as I am informed, hathe not only bene a staye of the said Erle of Murreis not comyng to the Bordur asyet, but alsoo that none inlandes man will adventure theyre selfes uppon the Marches. And, as for the tax that shulde have bene grauntyd for fynding

of

of the said 3000 men, is utterly denyed. Uppon whiche, the King of Scottes departed from Edynburgh to Sterling, and asyet ther dothe remayne. And alsoo I, by the advice of my brother Clyfforthe, have devysed that within this 4 nyghtes, Godde wylling, Kelsey in lyke case shalbe brunt, with all the corne in the saide towne; and then they shall have noo place to lye any garyson in, nygh unto the Borderes. And, as I shall atteigne further knawledge, I shall not faill to sertyfye Your Highnes according to my most bounden dutie. And for this burnyng of Kelsey, is devysed to be done secretly by Tyndaill and Ryddisdaill. And thus the Holy Trynite ever preserve your most royall estate with long lyfe, and asmoche increase of honour as your most noble hart can desyre. At Werkwourth, the 22th day of October.

CCXXXIII. King James V. *to* King Henry VIII.

Richt Excellent, Richt Hie, and Mychty Prince, our derrest Uncle and Brother, in our maist hertlie maner We recommend Ws unto Zou. Signifiand to the samyne that, sene the recept of zour last letters, presentit to Ws be our servitour Dingval, pursevant, declarand that the cause of sending certane vageouris to zour Bordouris wes nocht to ennoy nor molest our subjectis, bot to defend zour liegis fra reiffis and spulzeis, allegit to be committit be ouris fornent yame, and to recover the samyne for lake of justice, We have lattin to do any thing sene syne; for We, being advertist of zour departing of zour Realme of befor, for the luyff and favour We bwir unto Zou, and to shaw the samyne evidentlie at that tyme, wer mair inclinit to cause gud reul and order be observit and kepit apoun our Bordouris fornent zouris in zour absence, rather thane Ze had bene present. And for putting of the samyne to dew executioun be justice, We gaiff strait command to all our Wardanis and officiaris of our Bordouris, and speciallie to our Wardanis of our Eist and Myddil Marchis, quhair that maist complante wes of committing of attemptatis, yat yai suld reforme the samyne be ordour of justice; and to see yat the samyne wer substancially done, We send our familiar servitouris, James Colvil of Eist Wemis our Comptrollar, and Thomas Scot of Petgorno Gentilman of our House, berer heirof, to be present wyth our saidis officiaris to cause ye samyne be done. Quhair upoun yai did continually remane tuenty days, and in yis meyn tyme zour officiaris, being requirit be ouris to sett and appoinct days of meting, denyit planelie to do the samyne wythout doing of sic inconvenientis, yat on na vise mycht nor culd be granttit to, and alyer last the

Erle

Erle of Norchumbreland, Wardane of zour said Eist and Middil Marchis, wrait opynlie to our traist cousin and counsalour James Erle of Murray, quhame We maid Wardane of our Eist and Myddil Marchis fornent zouris, as maist convenient yarfor, that he wald keip na diett of meting be him self nor his deputis, allegeand yat he wes inhibit to do the samyne. And sua the denyall and recusatioun of justice stud halelie in zour officiaris, as we suppose zour traist servitouris Schiris Richert Tempest, Arthure Darsy, and William Eueris, Knychtis, thre of ye capitanis and gidaris of zour said vageouris, cane testifie, being examyt yarupoun. And notwithstanding the refuse of nonadministratioun of justice be zour said officiaris apoun zour part, zour liegis of Tyndale and Riddisdale, and utheris of zour said Eist and Myddil Marchis, and speciallie zour vageouris of Berwik, being ondre the cuyr and reul of ye said Erle of Norchumbreland and capitane yairof, accumpanit wyth the Douglassis our rebellis, mair cruellie thane of befor, of verray sett purpose, as we beleiff, to breke the peace standing betuix Zou and Ws, has committit sene syne maist detestable and notorius crimes be birnyng of kirklandis, cornis, and otheris, murdering and birnyng of our trew liegis wythin the silence of nycht, quhilk we culd nocht glaidlie have sufferit nor borne wyth our honour, heryng the lamentable clamour and complante of our peple, war nocht zour absence furth of zour Realme; bot perseverand constantlie in our naturall luyff and favour towart Zou, hes pacientlie owerlukeit the samyne odiouse injuris and wrangis to zour returnyng[1]: quharof We thocht necessair to advertise Zou, or the peace suld dissolve or pase to ruptour ony vise for our part, traisting yat now, efter zour resorting to zour Realme, yat Ze wil luke sua apoun the mater, apoun the considerationis forsaid, yat gud and dew redrese may be had heirof be justice for zour part, lik as We sall not fail to cause be done for ouris. Heirfor, derrest uncle and brother, We pray Zou to reduce to zour memory ye hertly and luyffing wordis of zour humanite and kindnes, schewin unto Ws in our lese age and infancy, oftymes rehersit be Zou in zour diverse writingis send to Ws, in preservatioun of our Persoun fra perellis thane apperand, that now at our perfyt age, quhene We ar of puyssance and strenche in our persoun and liegis to recompence and acquyt Ws to Zou of zour gud deid and towartnes schewin to Ws during our minorite, and als ar of inteir mynd to accompleise the samyne, that Ze wil nocht suffir it pase to oblivion for zour part throu the perversit and vikkit laboris of evil personis, ymaginaris of baith our displesouris, contrare the natural knot of our blud, to the inestimable harme and skaith of baith our Realmes and liegis yarof, and

[1] Henry VIII. was at Calais from the 11th of October to the middle of November, 1532.

schew

schew Zou ane faithfull and kynd uncle unto Ws, lik as semblablie We sall gif Ws ane trew and afald nepho to Zou in all yai thingis yat ma nurise and foster amite and frenschip to be sinceirly kepit betuix Ws, to the plesure of God, yat haiste remeid may be put heirto for stanching of ye enormiteis daylie committit, be reformatioun of justice. And, to informe Zou mair amplie in all yir materis, We have send our said servitour Thomas Scot, berer heirof, sufficientlie instrukkit, to quhome it will pleise Zou gif ferme credence, as to Our self.

Rich Excellent, Rich Hie, and Mychty Prince, our derrest Uncle and Brother, We pray God have Zou in keping. Gevin under our Signet, at our burgh of Edinburgh, the tuenty day of Novembre, and of our Regine the tuenty zeir.

(*Signed*) Zour lovyng Brother and Nepho,
JAMES R.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Rycht Excellent, Rycht Hie, and Mychty Prince, our derrest Uncle and Brother, the King of Ingland.

CCXXXIV. NORTHUMBERLAND *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

PLEASITH it Your most gracious Hieghnes to be advertised, that uppon Wedynsday, being the 20ti day of this present month of Novembre, I resayved your most gracious letters, asweill unto me as others of your most honourable Counsaill resyent here; the sequelle of whiche Your Hieghnes most drade commaundement we shall not faill to observe according to our most boundon dueties. And, uppon the same Wedenesday bifor day, the Scottes, being assembled to the nowmbre of thre thowsande men, did come secret upon the close nyght, and kest of thaire forray to the nombre of 300 men, and tuke uppe a town called Rosse, and layd their bushement in the edge of Cheviot. After which so doone, and the bushment and forray met, thei did cast of two other forraies abowt 12 of the cloke of the day light upon the said Wednysday; and the oone forray did run down ye watter of Bremysch, and ther tuke upe 4 townes called Inggram, Reveyley, Brandon, and Fawdon; and the other forray com to the watter of Aylle, and ther tuke upe two townes called Ryle and Prendewyke, whiche townes standes at the utter parte of Your Highnes Middle Marchiez towerdes Scotland. And atheir of thaire said forraies was to the nombre of 200 men. Upon which heringes, the countrey arose with

[1] From the Museum, Caligula, B. VI. leaf 24.

parte of Your Graces garysons, who scrymaged with the sam forraies, and pursuyng thame unto Oswall forde and Parishe Stable, being 4 mylle within the severelle grounde of England, did not onely perceyve two greate bushementes laide, but alsoo did see opynly 3 standerdes displayed, as to say, the Lard of Sesforthes, the Larde of Bucklewghes, and the Larde of Farnyhirstes. And perceyving the nombres to be so greate, that thai were not able to counter with the same, for their apparaunce was no less unto theym in nowmbre then fyve thowsand men; neveryeles I knaw asweill by Englisemen as Scottishmen that their stale was no les then thre thowsand men, and thair capetains was the Lard of Sesford, being Wardene of inheritaunce of the Middil Marche, the Larde of Bucklewgh, John Care sone and heyr to Dand Ker of Farnyhirst, Marke Care, with all the hedesmen of the forrest of Atrik, with all Teviot daill on horsbake and foot, 400 tryed men from the west part of the Merse, and all thinhabitantes of the forrest of Gedworthe, and all the best tryed men of Moorehowsland and Lawtherdaill undre the Lord Bucklewgh. And so Your Hieghnes subjectes, seing thame noo partie, durste not enterprice with thame. Wherupon thei most contemptewosly had into Scoteland diverse prisoners, with great nombre of horse nolte and sheipe. And for this owttragious attemptait to be more heynows, notwithstonding displayng ye standertes, I doo accoumpte in my judegement muche notice to be taken hirin, seing the Scottes Kinge had assembled befor Hym and his Counsaill at Edinburgh all the officers and hedes men alonges ye holle Marchez upone Saterday, being the 9 day of this month instant of Novembre; and ther did not onely give pardone to diverse his offendours, bot also maid opyne proclamacion, and did graunte pardon by the sam to all uther offendours, oonely excepte thErll of Angwysh, his uncle, his brother, and thaire adherentes; and did aggre, and maeke at one, all such gentilmen and uther hedes men, wher any traverce was dependinge amongst eny of thame nygh unto his Marchiez; and also upon Tewysday last, being the 19th day of this instant month of Novembre, caused oppyne proclamations to be maid alonges the holle Marchiez of Scotteland, that no Scottesman should entercomyn nor speike with eny Englishman after Tousday next ensuyng the dait heer of, upon payn of dethe; and if eny Scottesman did offend in the same or entercomyned with eny Engliseman within ye grounde of Scoteland, having landes or gudes, the oone half therof to be to the Lord Warden, and the uther half to the partie that woll give informacion and knawlege of the same. Most humblie beseching Your Majestie not onely to esteme this acte doone by the Scottes to be by some comforth, but have me your moost humble subjecte in your gracious memorie; so that I may be more able to serve Your Hieghnes according unto my most boundon dewtie and true herte.

And

And further pleasith it Your most gracious Majestie that the shipe set furthe by the Capetain of Barwike, wherof Your Grace was advertised, haith takin upon the see a certane Scottes shipe, and by force of the tempestious wethers was dryven into the haven of Hull, where the Maiour of the same did arest deteign and keepe the sam shipe, and woll not suffer hir to departe with the shipe of Berwike at thaire pleasour. Upone knawlege wherof to me, Your Graces most humble Warden and officer of Your Hieghnes Eist and Middille Marches, I did, according to the auncient custom of other officers bifor me, send to the said Maiour a wardeyn sargeaunte, awtorised with my letters and utherwies, wolling hym by the same to put to libertie the said Scottes shipe, soo that the shipe of Barwike might pas with hir at thaire pleasour. Which commaundementes in Your Graces nayme unto the said Maiour geven, in no wies he wold obey, bot with disdeynows wourdes and like handeling of my said warden sargeante caused hym to departe; and the said Maiour yit doith deteign and keipe the said shipe. And, seing I stonde charged as Your Graces Warden for redres of attemptates, asweill don by see as by land, upon thEist and Middle Marchies against Scotland, like as ye Lord Dacre doith upon Your Hieghnes West Marches, which in due forme for my more surty I have excersysed all thinges to the saide Maiour, who takith no regarde therunto; wherfor most humblie I besech Your most excellent Hieghnes to addres your most gracious letters unto the said Mayre, asweill for putting to libertie the saide Scottes shipe of Berwike, as other Your Hieghnes drad commaundement for his contempt; so that the saide Maiour and others may know thair dueties in obeying Your Hieghnes commaundementes, yeven by me and other Your Graces officers in the sembleable. And also most humblie I besech Your Hieghnes to reduce unto your most gracious memory the weekenes of thes Your Hieghnes Bordours undir my charge, most unworthy; and howe by longe sufferance the Scottes Kinge and his subjectes be fully agreed, as may appere by thes last most notariouse actes contrary the leige and treatie of peaxe.

CCXXXV. Northumberland *to* King Henry VIII.

Pleasith it Your most gracious Highnes to be advertised, that accordyng to your most drad commaundment, for me to invade the realme of Scotland, and there to distroye waist and burne corne and townes to there most annoysaunces, Your Highnes shall perceyve that, uppon certayne knowleg made unto me

not oonly of the plentious contrey of Lodyane, at a towne called Donglas, and in the partes there nyghe adjoynyng, but also frome many and sundry of the Merse was removid into that part of Lodyane great multitude of goodes corne and catall, as I was lyke wise informed; which Donglas standith within 3 myles of Donbarr and other townes nere therunto, beyng 16 Scotish myles and more within the realme of Scotland. And, the same thus knowen, by thadvice of my broder Clyfforth, and other capteyns of Your Graces garyson here, accomptyng the same most to Your Highnes honour and to the Scottes greatist annoysaunce, did take uppon us that interprise, after all consulting to gydders amongest us in devysyng for Tyvidall and Merse. And so, uppon Wednysday at nyght, beyng the 11th day of this instant month, I did invade the realme of Scotland at the hower of 11 of the clok, beyng accompaned with Your Highnes holl garyson here, and other your subjectes in Northumberland; and uppon Thuresdy before day did send furth 2 forreys, wherin was Georg Dowglas and Archebold his uncle, and in the breking of the day they did rayse the fyer in Donglas, and so burned distroyed and wasted the said towne and corne there, and in there forreyinge the townes and corn of Aldhamstokes, Cobbirspeth, the 2 townes of Hoprygg, Old Camers, and the townes of Reidtlewes. And I did send for there strenght my cousyn Sir Arthur Darcy, being accompaned with 6 hundreth and above in a fleyng stale. And for his releif was my cousyn Sir Richard Tempest, with his retenewe of 500, beyng so nere unto my batall, that his strenght did lye unto the said fleyng stale and me, settyng forward in the best ordre of batall, with artellary, I cowth make; and did bryn a towne and corn beynge in my way called Raynton; all theis forsaid townes within Lodyan. And thus, thankes be to God, the forreys fleynge stale and batall savely, without losse or hurt, did mete at the howre of 12 of the cloke, not beyng one pele, gentelmans house, nor grange, unbrynt and distroyed; and so reculed towardes England, and in our retourne forreyed all the contrey toward Berwyk, and did bryn wast and distroye the townes of Conwodd, Honwodd, 2 Rustayns, Blak Hill, and Hill Ende, 2 Atons, and wan the barmkyn there; whiche townes was within the Merse. At which invasion there ys taken many Scottesmen prisoners, there was seaced 2000 noyte and above, 4000 shepe and above, with all the insight, coyn, inployments of houshold, estemed to a great somme. And unto we cam in the Merse did se no power assembled of Scottes men, where we did se before 3 of the cloke at after none, beyng in distaunce from the batall lyke a myle and a half, abowt the nomber of 2000 men, as saith the same they theym selfes did esteme, as haith beyn told unto me by a Scottes man sence, and then accompaned amonges theym. And immediatly after the day was gone, did come

come to Your Highnes towne of Berwyk, lovid be God, to the great annoysaunce of Your Graces ennemys, and to the savetie of all Your Highnes subjectes, without hurt or harme of any oone of theym, and to my comforth. I shall pray that the same act may be accepted to your most noble contentation, whiche haith not beyn done afore at any tyme, as by the memory of man can be knowen. And in the sequell, for annoysaunce to Scotland I shall, to all my possible power, in as breif and convenyent tymes sett forward in Tevidall, and elles where; assuryng Your Grace the frostes ys so sore and contagious here as haith not beyn seyn. Most humblie besuching Your Majestie that Your Highnes thankes may incurr to my brother Sir Thomas Clyfforth, my cousyns Sir Arthur Darcy and Sir Richard Tempest, who hath taken asmoche paynes as cowth be to serve Your Highnes underneth me, your officer most unworthy; and also others the gentilmen inhabitaunt here in the contrey, whose names I send Your Grace herein closed, as may stand with your most gracious pleasour; whose services all haith bene so inployed that I can no lesse but advertis Your Highnes of the same, and sue therfore accordingly. And for the service of thErle of Angois, Archebold his uncle, and Georg his brother, I assure Your Grace was attendet in their persons, highly to Your Highnes honour, and to their utter feed in Scotland. And also, as I am informed, the Lord Home was purposed to have yeven us settingon at Billy myre a great strayt, which when he was soo fully determined, my Lord of Angois frendes said playn, they wold not aventour there lyves agaunst a bataill so well furnyshed and ordred; uppon whiche they all went frome the Lorde Home, levyng not past 1000 men with hym, uppon whiche he never came narr unto Your Highnes army then ys afore writen.

And also, where it haith pleased Your most Roiall Majestie to admyt me, most unworthy, your Warden here, rehersyng in your most gracious letters patentes I to use the said office as haithe bene accustomed in your most noble Progenitours dayes, as more at large doith appere in Your Highnes said letters patentes; by reason wherof the most part of thexercise of myne auctorite rynneth appone a custome, in which custome, as all the holl contrey here doth conferme, that Wardeyns in their roodes hath advaunced the ordre of knighthode to theym that so deserveth, for which I assure Your Grace I have no small sute, and yet nevertheles alwas according to my most boundon duetie I wold not interprise to doynges thereof, unto the tyme I knewe further of your most gracious plesour: most humble besuching Your Highnes thereof, seyng yt ys the thyng that shall towche most my power honestie, and also the incoraging the hartes of gentilmen to serve me the better underneth your gracious Highnes, whome I shall serve, as I accompt my self most boundon, with

with as true humble and faithfull hart as ever did subject his Soveran Lorde.

And also it may please Your Grace to understand, that your trustie servaunt Sir George Lawson by post was with me on Monday at nyght, beyng the 9th day of this said month, and haith made payment to Your Highnes soudeours, lyke as he haith writen unto Your Highnes in that behalf; to whom it may please Your Grace to write your letters of thankes for his deligence. And thus the Holy Trinite, &ca.

CCXXXVI. Sir George Lawson *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Pleas it Your Highnes to be advertished, that this Mondaye the 23ti daye of this instaunt moneth my Lord Warden, accompaigned with Sir Thomas Clifford Sir Arthur Darcy and Sir Richerd Tempest, with your hole garysons, aswell of the furst thousand men as of the late fyftene hundred men layid apon this your Bordours for defens of the same, layide siege unto a pele, callid Cawe Mylles, within Scotland grownd without your bowndes of Berwike. Whiche pele was well provided for defens, and debated a long space, at last gave over and yelded; so that the same is delyvered, by thadvice of my said Lord Warden and your Counsaill heyr, to the kepyng of thErle of Angways, whom hathe apointed his servauntes to be therin, to Your Graces use. And in that meane tyme the Scottes ranne forreye, and bryntt in your ground of Ingland: wherin and other the premisses, I doubt nott but my said Lord Warden dothe wryte unto Your Grace further as every thing is.

And, forasmoche as your furst garyson of a thousand men is full payid of ther wages unto the 8th daye of Januarij next cummyng, and your garyson of this last fyftene hundred men is payed of ther wages butt unto the 25ti daye of this present moneth of Decembre, and that ther is remaynyng in my handes but one hundred and fyfte poundes of the receiptes of suche moneye as hathe cumen to me for this purpose; wherof, I have payid for hyre of horses, for carreage of your ordenaunce, and other necessaries for the same at thies two rodes in Scotland, with the wages of laborers and other charges perteynyng the same; it may therfore like Your Highnes to commaund moneye to be sent for payment of ther further wages, aswell the one, as the

[1] From the Chapter House, Letters to the King and Council, Vol. III. No. 12.

other,

other, duryng ther abodes heyr, as it shall pleas Your Grace. And gret exclamation the garyson of this last fyften hundred men dothe make for moneye for ther cotes; for payment wherof I becech Your Grace I maye knowe your pleasure. And in all thinges that Your Grace dothe comytt, or shall comytt to my charge, I shall endevour my self to accomplishe the same with all diligens from tyme to tyme, to the uttermost of my powre; with my dayle prayer, as I am most bounden to praye to Oure Lord God for the preservation of Your Highnes most royallye to endure. At your town of Berwike, this 23ti daye of Decembre, at night.

Your most humble subgiett,

(*Signed*) GEORGE LAWSON.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Highnes.

CCXXXVII. BISHOP GARDYNER *to* LORD CHANCELLOR AUDELEY.[1]

MY Lord. Thise shalbe oonly to advertise the same that the Kinges pleasure is, ye cause immediatly a commission to be made under the Kinges Great Seale for my Lord of Northumberland, the Kinges Warden of the Est and Mydle Marches foranempst Scotland, for the levying of asmany of His Highnes subjectes within the Est and West Riding of Yorkshire, as he shall think good, for defence or annoyance of Scottes, at any tyme, during the Kinges pleasure, at his libertye; which commission ye must send hider by some trusty person in all diligence possible, with your warrant for that purpose, which I woll get you signed, for your discharge in that behalf. From Grenewich, this first day of the newe, and God send you many good newe yeres.

Your loving frende,

(*Signed*) STE: WINTON.

(*Superscribed*)
To my singuler good Lord Sir Thomas Audeley Knight, Lord Keper of the Kinges Great Seale.

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[1] From the Chapter House, Miscellaneous Letters, Vol. V. leaf 64.

CCXXXVIII. Clyfford *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Pleasith it Your most gracious Hieghnes to be advertissed, I have, not onely asweill by myn espielles, as by Maistre George Douglas, sure and perfite advertisement and knawlege of fyve ships of warre set furth of the havyn of Leth in Scotelande unto the sees, the 28^{ti} day of the month of January last, which by reason of a contrary wynd reternide agane into the saide havyn the thride day of this month instante, wher they as yet doith reamayn, onely abydinge a favourable wynde to pass to the sees agane; bot also that the sam ships is set furth by the Kinge of Scottes knawledge, upon the coostes and chargies onely of the awners, who is capetains within the same, and no coste to the Kinge. The naymes of which awners and capetains, as I ame likewies enfourmed, is William Claperton of Leith, John Ker of Leith, John Barton the yonger, oone Gardener, and Denis Fawconer; and for their fournishinge with men, the largest of theym passith not twoo hundreth in hir, maryners and all; and the resydue fewer, as hir burdyn servith.

And, aneinst the Franche Ambassadour now remaynyng in Scotelande, as yet is not delivered. Nevertheles the King of Scottes hade appoynted the Lordes of his Councell to have attendit upon Hyme in Edingburgh the 8th day of this month instante, as it is thought in Scoteland, for the dispatchinge of the saide Ambassadour. Al be it, so farre as I can, by eny meanes, espyelry or otherwies, get knawlege or heir, the Kinge of Scottes is not content with the saide Ambassadour, nor yet the sam Ambassadour with the Kinge. The trewth wherof, at his departour, I trust to git knawledge: when as I shall ther after, with all possibill diligence, accordinge to my boundon duetie, advertise Your Hieghnes accordinglie.

And, to advertis Your moost nowbill Hieghnes of affairs occurrant heir of your Bordours, in avauncinge the same as bycome me of duetie; during the darkenes of the moon last bipast, I put furth your garyson of this your town, horsemen, by parcels, some one night and some one oder, by 20^{ti}, 30^{ti}, and 40^{ti}, as the purpose requierid, so often as horse and men might weill

[1] From the Chapter House, Royal Letters, Vol. I. The Letters to the King and Council, the Collection of Miscellaneous Letters, and the State Papers Scotland, contain a considerable number of letters at this period from Lord Dacre, Sir George Lawson, Sir Thomas Clyfford, &c. detailing the various acts of hostility committed on the Marches.

travell,

travell, into Scoteland within the Marse: wher thei brynt at diverse tyms, in tym of the said darkenes, theis townes and granges with the corne perteynyng to the same; that is to wit, Chyrneside; the Est Mayns, a great grange of the Lorde Hums; Cawklaw, a grange of corne of the Larde of Spottes, and the Crakewawes. And sembleablie on Saterday the furst day of this month instant, set furth my deputie of this your said towne, with aswell your said gareson as parcell of this your lait gareson remaynyng within this your towne, sending to Sir Richard Tempest for a part of his company; who forroyd the said Saterday in Scoteland within the Merse, at two of the cloke at after noon, and brint thre townes called Whitsom, Newton, and Ramrige, with all the cornes perteynyng to the same, to a gret quantitie; gat much goodes, and tuke many prisoners. Certefying Your Hieghnes that the drawghtes and purposes of the service don by me with your gareson unto Your Grace, in the setting forward of theis your affairs, was princepally by the meanes of my Lord of Angwisch, his uncle, and broder; who alwaies, with all their polycy wytte and power, is redy to the avauncement of all your affairs in theis partes, with full deligence, to the uttermost of their powers.

And on Friday the 7th day of this instant month of February[1], I with oders Your Graces Councellours, thErll of Angwish, his uncle, and broder, thinhabitantes of Tyndaill, Riddisdaill, Northumberland, and Norhamshier, and the gentilmen of the same, met my Lord of Northumberlande Your Hieghnes Warden heir, upon former appoyntement maide bitwixt hym and oder your Councellours in theis partes, at mydnight at Crewkamer; wher as my said Lorde Warden alledged he was advertised of the repayringe of thre Erlls of Scoteland with a great nowmber unto thErll of Murray, and that thei with their companyes should at that instant tyme be with the same. And thErll of Angwisch, his broder, and uncle, alledginge the contrary, sent furth immediatly fower of their servaunttes into Scoteland for due knawlege of the trewth in that behalf. Which met ws afor our entring into Scoteland ground, veryfyyng the former opynnyon of the said Erll of Angwisch, his uncle, and broder. And so we set forward into Scoteland to Tevydaill, casting of the forrays, at the breke of the day, within Scoteland grounde, wher we brynt theis townes, that is to wite, Sesfurth, Dandlaw, Bentes, Nether Whitton, Sesfurth Mayns, Mows Mayns, Cowboge, Otterburn, Cavertone, Cavertone Myln, Cavertone Mayns, Hootehowse, the Maynhows, the Newtowne, Trokden,

[1] There was an intermediate forray into the Laird of Buccleuch's country, of which the particulars are detailed in a letter from Lawson to Crumwell of the 5th of February (Chapter House, Miscellaneous Letters, Vol. XX. p. 153.), and in an undated letter from Northumberland to Henry VIII., catalogued as of 1536 (Caligula, B. VII. leaf 222.), and published, as of its true date 1533, in the Notes to the 1st Canto of "The Lay of the Last Minstrel."

Dunnerlaws, Sharperige, Lynton, Lynton parke, Wyddyndenburnfoote, Crewket shawes, and the Stanke ford; with many oder by stedinges, and demayn playces. And, as weill all the corne within the said townes and stedynges, as a great substance, which by the Scottes inhabitantes ther hade ben removyd furth of the townes for more savegard therof, and maid in the feldes and felles ther abowt in stakes; and tuke the Lard of Grawden and oder Scottesmen prisoners. And so, burnyng and spoolinge the contre ther, remaynid in Scoteland the Saterday unto foure of the cloke at after noone, and then reaturnid homewardes without eny loss of your subjectes, bot onely by reason of the sore handelinge of us at divers chaises, the Scottes acquytting theym selffes verray sharpely, that one of my Lorde of Angwisch servaunttes was slayne, and oone of myn takin. Never the les, the Scottes was alwais overthrown and put to flight, and we thair maisters at all tymes.

And for thErll of Murrowe hath layde this month upon the bordours of Scotelande, accompanyd with many gentilmen with a great nowmber of oder, accordinge to our former writing sent unto Your Hieghnes in that behalf; hym self remaynyng some tyme at Mulross, som tyme at Gedworth, Kelsoo, and Hoome castell; and it is said the company that was with hym the last month shall remove home, all saving two hundreth footmen which is callid thErll of Murrays gard, and is undir the leading of James Stewerd brother to the Lord of Mephen, and giffith attendance onelie of hym self; and that ther shall come a great nowmber furth of the schiers of Angwis, Straythern, and Fyf; which, albe it their day apoynted to have cummyn to Edingburgh this last Friday, as yet is not cummyn to the Bordours. And, as farder knawlege, yf thei come, asweill of their nowmber as capetains their naymes, shal by me be attayned, I shall advertise Your Hieghnes with all conveniency. And in likewies, as I shall be chargede by your most drad commaundement, I shalbe in redynes to the accomplishment of the same with my full harte, witte, pollycy, payn, and lawbour.

Besechinge Your most excellent Hieghnes it may pleas the same, thre hundreth speirs furth of your store be sent unto this your towne for fournishing of your garesone heir therwith; giffing respect that the same your gareson as now can have noon furth of Scoteland, like as thai heirtofore haith had.

And the Hollie Trenitie ever more preserve Your Hieghnes in contenewance of lif with princely honour. At Your Hieghnes castell of Barwike, this 9th day of February.

Your Hieghnes most humble
subject and servaunde,
(*Signed*) THOMAS CLYFFORD.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinge His Hieghnes.

CCXXXIX. Sir George Douglas *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Ryght Hygh, Excellent, and Myghty Prynce, unto Your Hyghnes in my most lowly maner I commende my symple servyse, most humbly thankyng Your Hyghnese of your good and gracyus letter sent unto my Lorde my brother, and to myne uncle, and to me, wyth Your Hyghnese rewarde sent wyth your Vycechambrelane to us; prayng God yat we may do Your Hyghnese servyse accordyng to owr good wyll and mynde. Plesyd Your Hyghnese, for suche newis as we have furthe of Scottland, I have shewyd unto your servand, Capytane of Your Hyghnese towne of Berwyke, and I dout not but he wyll certyfye Your Hyghnese of ye same; and so, as I do gytt knowlege, I shall certyfye hym, or others of Your Hyghnese Consell yat be here, accordyngly as ye mater is of weght, and as my deuty is so to do.

Plesyd Your Hyghnese yat my Lorde of Northumbrelande, Your Hyghnese Wardan, dyd charge me, in Your Hyghnese name and behalfe, with ye kepyng of an towre in Scottlande callyd the Caumylles, affor Chrystynmase, and desyryd me to stand chargyd with ye same to the tyme Your Hyghnese plesure were knowne; and so I have kept itt, of my cost and chargys, with ye nombre of 14 men at ye leyst. And ye house is of small strenthe, except itt be byggyd and helpyd by Your Hyghnese. The kepyng of ye sayd house, as symple as itt is, doyth grete dysplesures to Scotland, and eayse to Your Hyghnese Bordres, and enspecyally to Your Hyghnese towne of Berwyke. Most humbly besechyng Your Hyghnese yat I may know Your Hyghnese pleasure tochyng ye sayd house of ye Caumylles. And whatt servyse Your Hyghnese wyll commande me wythe, I shall be redy to fulfyll ye same to my lytyll power. As knowthe ye Eternall God, who preserve Your Hyghnese in helthe and honor. Wrytyn at Your Hyghnese towne of Berwyke, the 9^{t} day of Februarij,

By Your Hyghness most humble
and lowly servande,
(*Signed*) George Dowglas.[2]

(*Superscribed*)
To the Ryght Hygh Excellent and Myghty Prynce, the Kynges Hyghnese of England.

[1] From the Chapter House, Letters to the King and Council, Vol. I. No. 81.

[2] It appears from two letters of Lawson, the first, of the 6th of March, to Crumwell (Chapter House, State Papers Scotland, leaf 428.), and the other, of the 9th, to Sir T. Clyfford (ibid., Miscellaneous Letters, Second Series, Vol. XX. p. 229.), that Sir George Douglas was gone to the English Court, and that he had kept the Cawmills at his own cost, as is here stated.

CCXL. Lawson *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Pleas it Your Highnes to be advertished that apon Satterdaye last ther past bye sex shippes oute of Scotland, supposed to be shippes of warre, and one lesse ship; and, as farre as I can gett knowlege, is past Tynemouth haven as priviely as they can; intending to take suche shippes of corn and vittalles as is now laden, cumyng to your town of Berwike; whiche I assure Your Grace is above 1500 quarters of beanes otes and malt. I praye Our Lord save the same poer litil shippes; and have send all along the see cost, from hens to Humber to geve warnyng of the same Scottishe shippes, so that the vittallers maye take your havens if it can be possible to save them, to other remedy maye be had for ther safegard.

Ther is parte of corn redy cumen to Aylemouth and to Holye Iland; and, if thies shippes of warre do nott lett, I doubt nott but Your Graces garysons shall have plenty of corn in short space; notwithstanding the prices as yete is as good chepe heyr as it is in the south parties.

The King of Scottes, apon Thursdaye last the 13th daye of this moneth, came to Hathyngton, 16 myle on this side Edinburgh, and thErle of Murrey rode from the Bordours to Lawther, to meyt Hym. And, as it was enformed by thErle of Angweys espielles, that the Scottes wold entre this Your Graces Realme, either to burne Cornell or Warke, the Fridaye at night than ensuyng; wherapon Your Graces Counsaill in this parties, assembled at Berwike, consulted to gethers, and maid a letter to my Lord Warden, the tenour wherof, Your Highnes shall perceyve herin closed; and the same Friday, having perfite knowlege by George Duglas espielles that the same Erle of Murreye, accompaigned with divers Erles and Barons of Scotland, the names wherof is in a sedule herin closed[2], (the King of Scottes than being at Mewros Abbeye)

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1 From the Chapter House, Letters to the King and Council, Vol. III. No. 11.

2 " The names of thErles Lordes and Barons of Scotland now lying in Tevedale, asfar as I can
" gett knowlege of George Duglas and his uncle.

" ThErle of Murreye
" ThErle of Mountrose
" ThErle of Rothose.

" The Lord Gray
" The Lord Oglebye
" The Lord Dromond
" The Lord Rovell
" The Constable of Dunde.

" Thies

Abbeye) did wryte agayne to my said Lord Warden, with the power of the countrey to cum to Forde whiche is nye the Bordours; so that your said Counsaillours mought resort to hyme with Your Graces garysons, to assemble at Crookham Stone, to defend the Scottes, in case they wold make any suche invasion: albeit that night the Scottes came nott.

Sythens that tyme, this last Sondaye all the Counsaill being assembled to gethers at Norham, George Duglas declared unto them that of a surtie, by all thespielles he culd gett or have knowlege of, that the King of Scottes than lying at Pebylles, thErle of Murrey rode to hym to determyne and conclude fully to byrn the countres of Cookedale or Glendale, or sum other purpose in this your Realme, the same Sondaye at night, Mondaye at night, or elles Tuysdaye at night at the farthest. The said Erle of Murreye beyng still at Jedworth, accompaygned with the same Erles and Barons of Scotland, withe the nombre of 4000 men of the inlandes men as it is said, besides the countres of Tevedale and the Mershe; whiche in all is estemed to be above 10000 men, having 20^{ti} or 24^{ti} small peces of ordenaunce carted for the feld. And of this saying your said Counsaillours did wryte furthwith to my Lord Warden, to geve warnyng to the hole countre to resort to hyme and your Counsaill, to Chyllingham, or elles Bewyke, in all hast possyble, and my said Lord Warden to cum theder hyme self. The same Sondaye at night Sir Thomas Clifford, thErle of Angweys, his uncle, and brother, with your garysons and souldeours of Berwike, rode to meytt Sir Arthur Darcy, Sir Richerd Tempest, and Sir William Euers, aboutes Etaill, or elles where as they shuld heyr or have knowlege, in case the Scottes wold make any suche entre in this Your Graces Realme. And that night the Scottes came nott; albeitt word is cumen they shuld be to gethers. Wherfore the best watches and espielles, that can be, is layid; and every night all your Counsaill and garysons is on horsebakke redy to withstand your enmyes.[1] And as further newes shalbe

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" Thies are called in Scotland,
" Barons -
- " The Lard of Wymes
- " The Lard of Reythe
- " The Lard of Bagonye
- " The Lard of Fentre
- " The Lard of Coollanrye
- " The Lard of Loughlylle.

" With divers other noble men and gentylmen of estimation, whose names as yete is unknown."

[1] Among the Miscellaneous Letters in the Chapter House, Second Series, Vol. XX. leaf 194. is one from Lawson to Crumwell, dated from Warkworth, 21 Feb. [1533]; from whence it appears that down to that day the Scots had not carried their threatened invasion into effect, and that in addition to the 2000 men, then lying at Jedburgh and Kelso, an equal number more was expected by the next full moon. The whole Council had then repaired to the Lord Warden at Warkworth.

occurraunt,

occurraunt, I shall acertain Your Highnes from tyme to tyme, beceching Your Grace to remembyr to cause sum of Your Graces shippes of warre to cum in thies parties, to defend your enmyes, and the safegard of your poer subgiettes. And, as I am most bounden, shall dayle praye to Our Lord for the preservation of Your most Royall Majestie long to endure. At your town of Berwike, this 17th daye of Februarij.

Your most bounden bedman,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) GEORGE LAWSON.

To the Kinges most gracious Highnes.

CCXLI. LAWSON *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

SIR, after my full hertie recommendation. At this present tyme my Lord Warden and the Counsell dothe wryte unto the Kinges Highnes of all such newes as is now occurraunt, and did assemble the countre at Hedgleye Moore with the hede gentylmen of the same, and so upon Thursday last came to Chellingham, then intending to have envaded Scotland, and to have brynt Kelsoo, or elles to have maid other entreprise for thannoyannce of the Kinges enmyes. And at that tym came the Kinges letters to the contrarye, that no envasion shuld be maid, whylles the Scottish King dothe remayn apon the Bordours; whiche as yet maketh his abode at Mewros Abbeye, and dayle rydeth about, sum tyme to Kelso, to Jedworth, and to other places. And the saying is that He cumeth for the Larde of Hundeles fayr doughter, and to visit Marke Carrs concubyne. Ane other saying is, He taryeth for word from the Frensh King[2] of ane abstinence of warr, in trust to have peax with the Kinges Grace, and hathe no gret nomber ne power with Hym, that can be knowen. The Scottes be so subtile, that often they shyft ther power and removes ther garrysons. I assure you my Lord Warden dothe the best he can to have good espielles, and taketh as moche payne as may be, to his gret cost and charges to serve the Kinges Highnes, and to do that is possible for thannoyaunce of thenemyes, saving the Kinges subgiettes, and is as redy as any man to lepe on horsbakke at every skrye or burnyng of bekyns, for the defence of thies Bordours, and hath a right good order for the keping and continuaunce of the watches of the felles fordes and strayttes, to geve warnyng

[1] From the Chapter House, State Papers Scotland, page 78.

[2] Henry used Francis as a mediator, as will appear in the French correspondence.

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in tyme, and hathe caused parte of the fordes to be casten, and mo woll do, to stopp the entres of the Scottes in divers places.

I have payed this moneth wages, so that ther remayneth in thAbbot of Saynt Maryes handes and myne, of the 4000£ ye sent last, but 1500£, and the next moneth wages shall begynne the 3de day of Aprill, and of that payment ye do lake as yete 1000£, besides all other charges, as payment of the hyre of horses for carreage of ordenaunce that shuld have ben caryed towardes this intendyd rode that shuld have ben at Kelsoo, cowpers wages, carpenters, sawiers, smythes, laborers, with divers other charges at Berwik, whiche is wekely payd. So that for sending of more monye in tyme, I referr it to your wisedom.

Also I maid you a scedule of certain necessaries to be provided and sent to Berwik, whiche I commanded my servaunt John Raven to resort to you to know your pleasure therin; and so he to mak provision therof as ye wold commaund hym.

Also, Sir, I pray you remembre the letter for the taking of the musters, as I wrote unto you, and that it may be sent by post with diligens. Also concernyng Warke castell, it must nedes be had in reparation furthwith, for all the walle towerdes the watersyde is almost clene down to therth, and divers other places of the same castell farr in decaye.

And as touching Cawe Mylles, my poore advice is, that if it stand not with the Kinges pleasure to repayr and make it strong, to cast it down to the hard erth, and cast all the stones in to the water of Whittotter that rynneth hard by itt.

Also I mervaill moche that no shippes of warr cumeth in thies parties; for the Scottes roveth upon thies sees; and, be my faith, I feyr the shippes of corn that is laden, for ther came oute of Holdernes 4 shippes laden with corn 20 daies past, and I can heyr no worde of them. I pray God save them.

I thank you for your kynd and hertie remembraunce in my causes, and your gentyll letter ye sent to me; praying you to remember Rybbees heyr, and the respytt of the money I owe unto the Kinges Highnes in Maister Tukes charge; whiche I woll not faile to paye at Cristenmas next, by Goddes help, who ever preserve you. At Alnewyk, this 22th day of Marche.

Your own ever hertly,

(*Signed*) GEORGE LAWSON.

I pray you remembyr the reward for the poore souldeours of Berwik, as I wrote unto you, for I assure you they do good service, and moche annoyaunce to the Mershe of Scotland.

CCXLII. LAWSON *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

SIR, with all my hert I recommend me unto you. Signefying unto you that at this tyme Maister Capetain of Berwik dothe wryte unto the Kinges Highnes of the good and diligent exployttes and rodes done by the souldeours and garyson now lying within Berwik, aswell apon Sondeye at night last past, as also thaventure of 60 souldeours ryding oute of Berwik apon Mondeye last, into the Mershe of Scotland, where the said souldeours gatt, at a place called Myreburne, moche cattall and shepe. And, in ther home cumyng towardes Berwik, John Home, being in Coldingham abbeye, where all the countreye dothe nyghtly lodge theraboutes, issued oute, to the nomber of 200 and mo, did sett apon the said 60 souldeours. Who, seing the assemble of the Scottes, send hastely to Berwik for reskew; and in the meane tyme the said Scottes be almost all on foote, encountred with them, and at moche defens past over Tyne, to tyme that after knowlege had to Maister Capetain apon this last Tuysdaye in the mornyng verey erly, caused the larom bell to be rong and therapon send his deputie, with yong Thomas Clifford his nephew, and the souldeours and garysons heyre, to reskew the said 60 souldeours. And, what by the sure keping to gethers of the said 60 souldeours, and by the sight and cumyng of the other souldeours and garysons of Berwik, the Scottes fled to Coldingham abbeye. And in this encountre and fleying, ther is not onely 60 prisoners, Scottes, taken, one hundred cattall and above 300 shepe, butt also the chief gonner of Coldingham slayne, and two other gonners taken; whiche Maister Capetain dothe kepe in prison in Berwike. So that, thanked be God, all the Kinges souldeours and garysons be cumen home in saftie, saving divers of them sore hurtt, but none in jeoperdie of liffe. I assure you this encountre and rode is moche to be praysed of thies poor souldeours; and, as I have often wryten unto you the assured and contynuall service and annoyaunce of thenimyes, that the poor souldeours of this town dothe, and for the reward therof, I have wryten unto you my poor advice and mynd, whiche I pray you remembyr. Also it may pleas you to have in remembraunce all suche letters and articles as I send unto you of late by my servaunt Rauf Brown; for whose dispatchement and aunswer in every behelve, with your good remembraunce I hertly becech you.

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[1] Holograph. From the Chapter House, Miscellaneous Letters, Second Series, Vol. XX. leaf 160.

And

And concernyng certain reparations of the amendyng of the walles of this town and castell, as I wrote unto you, I pray you move the Kinges Highnes of his pleasure to be knowen therin.

Also I trust ye remember, as I have wryten unto you, the moneth end of the payment of thes garysons shall end the last daye of this moneth, and to begynne agayn the furst daye of Maij; and by myne acompt, whiche I send unto you by my said servaunt, ye do perceyve in what case I am of all my receiptes. Wherfore, as ye may well know, it is yll being or remaynyng for me heyre in thies parties, and not having moneye to paye wages acordinglye. For without doubt, at the begynnyng of the moneth, moche crying and calling wolbe for moneye, of all handes.

And touching shipps of warre, it is a speciall thing to be remembyrd, consideryng the losse of the Kinges corne, as of divers his subgiettes that hath bene lost now lately. And assuredly the Scottes shippes of warre is now roving styll apon the costes betwene the Skate rode and Humber, so that no Englissh ship darre cum oute of haven. Also for sending of sperys, gonne powdyr and other artyllerye, as I wrote unto you, I pray you remembyre.

And thus Our Lord preserve you as I wold do, and as your gentyll hert can thinke. At Berwik, this Saynt Georges daye.[1]

Eftsoones, I pray you remembyr the hastie dispatchment of my servaunt, and that by your good help he have expedition of Maister Dauncye, for the warraunt for the wages of the 20^{ti} new gonners in Berwik.

All your own ever hertly,

(*Signed*) GEORGE LAWSON.

(*Superscribed*)
To my right worshipfull Maister Cromwell Esquiere, and of the Kinges most honorable Counsaill. In haste.

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[1] In this letter was inclosed a copy of one of the same date from Northumberland to the King, with similar details. It is in Vol. VI. of the same Series, leaf 374. A rough draft of Northumberland's letter (which appears to have been transmitted to the King's Almoner, Edward Fox) is found in the Museum, Caligula, B. VII. leaf 260. After detailing the same events, he adds that on Saturday the 19th Mons. de Beawys arrived at Alnwick on his way from the French King to the Scottish Court.

CCXLIII. Lawson *to* Crumwell.[1]

Right worshipfull Sir. After my hertie recommendation; and have receyved of Maister Doctour Lee, thre thousand poundes, and indentytt with him for the receipt therof, in your name; and shall, acording to the porpourt of your letter, applye my self to the utterest for themployment therof acordingly. Trusting that ye woll have in remembraunce, that the next moneth wages shall begynne the 29^{ti} daye of this instaunt moneth, and for further sending of moneye in tyme as ye shall thinke best; for ane yll lyf have I emonges the garyson, whan they have nott ther wages redy to be payid at the begynnyng of the moneth.

I praye you remembyr the dispatchement of my servaunt in all thinges as I wrote unto you; and also to remembyr the articles I send unto you.

Also concernyng the shippes with corn, that was taken of Ester even by a Scottes barke, as I wrote unto the Kinges Highnes[2]; of trouthe the said Scottes barke had in chase, open of Skardeburghe, 15 shippes, wherof thre escaped, and the other 12 werre taken; and of the same 12 ther was two laden with whete, malt, otes, and beanes, of the Kinges Graces, of my provision; 5 laden with corn, of merchauntes of Newcastell; one laden with corn, of Beverley; and a nother laden with corn, of a man of Norfolke; and the other thre were but balast, and had bene at ther merkett in Lincolnshire, with coles. And the maryners of the same thre balast shippes fled aland in ther botes, and came aland at Skardeburge. The Scottes, seing nothing in them but balast, tooke awaye all ther sales, ankres, and takell, and booged the same shippes, and lett them traves the see, so that none can tell whether they be sonken, or where they be cumen; for I caused the Erle of Angwayes to send to a secret frend of his to Edenburghe, to know the verey trouthe herof. And moche affrayed I was, that ther had bene many moo shippes with the Kinges corn taken, than thies two; for ther was than in Humber and at Skardeburghe 11 shippes redy laden to have cumen in thies parties; wherof, thanked be God, ther is sex cumen to Berwike in safetie with corn, and other thre is yete in Humber, and darre nott cum forth for feyr of enmyes. For

[1] From the Chapter House, Miscellaneous Letters, Second Series, Vol. XX. leaf 191.

[2] The same Volume contains, leaf 144, a letter from Lawson to Crumwell of the 18th of April, in which he states that the Council has written to the King about the corn ships having been taken by the Scots, but none from Lawson himself to the King.

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ther is dayle shippes of warre of Scotland roving betwen the Skate rode and Humber. And, as I have often wryten unto yow, verey necessarie it is (if this warre shall contynew) to have shippes of warre to defend thies costes. For, as I perceyve, the the Scottes haith had gret avauntage; as it is said, they have taken above 30 English shippes this yere, in divers places, of a gret value and substaunce.

And concernyng newes, the Scottes trusteth of peax by the meanes of Mons[r] de Bevis, that is now in Scotland; albeitt thErle of Murreye, with this last garyson of Scottes that came to the Bordours, lyeth as yete in Tevedale; and, as it is said, shall depart aboutes this next Sondaye. And, because this is the last moneth of the foure monethes that was apointed by the Scottes, that divers shires in Scotland shuld fynd garysons apon ther Bordours; now the Counsaill of Scotland is in handes to rayse a tax within the realme, for a certain season, to fynd a garyson of Scottes to lye as Jedworth, Kelso in Tevedale; and at Duns, Langton, and Coldinham, in the Mershe; in case that Mons[r] de Bevis do nott bring peax to passe at this tyme.

The King of Scottes was the last weke at Lawder and Mewros thre or 4 daies with a small company. And the Arsbusshope of Saint Andrewes is comyttid to warde in Saint Andrewes castell, in the keeping of thErle of Rothosse: sum saye because he woll lend the Scottishe King no moneye, and ane other saying is, because he haith wryten letters oute of the realme, contrary the Kinges mynd.[1] As I shall heyr further of all occurrauntes, I shall advertishe you from tyme to tyme.

Thus the remembraunce of all maters I referre to your good wisedom; and to remembyr my mater with Maister Tuke, I hertely praye you. And ever ye to fare aswell in Our Lord God, as I wold doo. At Yorke, at my departour northwardes, this 7th daye of Maij at after noone.

Your own ever hertly,

(*Signed*) GEORGE LAWSON.

Maister Doctour Lee lakketh of his moneye of the payment of the 3000£, 8[s] save a peny; whiche he hathe maid good of his own purs.

(*Superscribed*)
To the right worshipfull Maister Cromwell Esquier, and of the Kinges most honorable Counsaill. In hast.

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[1] He is said in the "Diurnal" to have been suspected of the crime of lese-majesty. p. 17.

CCXLIV. Magnus, &c. *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Pleas it Youre mooste noble Grace to be advertised. Accoording to your mooste gracious commaundement we repaired hider for meting with the Commissioners of Scottelande, that is to wete, James Colvile Countroller of the King of Scottes Housholde, and Mr Adam Otterbourne the saide Kingges Advocate; and were here avising treating and commynnyng of oure causes, a daye afore thair commyng. The saide Commissioners, with the Ambassadour of Fraunce, called Monsr de Bevoys, arrived here upon Saturdaye laste the 28^ti^ daye of this instaunt moneth; with whoome, after convenient welcommyng and salutation, we assembled and mette the next daye folowing, and had with thayme commynnycation, as it apperteynned, concernyng the truce and abstinence of warre, and had sight of thair commission[2], like as thaye had of oures; and conceiving aither of thayme to be well accoorded upon, we proceded to other oure causes, accoording to youre saide mooste gracious commission and letters to us addressed in that behalve.

Whenne we at large had enterlaced oure causes, we conceived thayme to be content to conclude a truce and abstinence of warre for an hooll yere, after the maner and fourme of the last peas concluded at Barwik, and noted thayme therby, after myche clooce commynnycation, to take avauntage concernyng the house called the Cawe Mylnes, for that it standeth in the severall grounde of Scottelande. Wherunto by generall woordes of the saide peas, under correction of Your Highnes, we thenke Your Grace haith noe pretence, being at this daye at youre mooste gracious use pleasure and commaundement.

This matier after oure discretions being by us prepenced and prepared for, we contynued with thayme in commynnycation, nowe oone waye, and nowe an other, till that in conclusion thaye discloosed the matier all at large, saying that the truste and confidence of the King thair maister and of his Counsaill was and is, that Youre Grace wolde not kepe, by waye of conqueste, any parte of his lande and inheritaunce, being soe litle a thing as it is, and specially to recette in the same, as thay saye, his rebelles; wherby, as the saide Commissioners doe reapoorte, the King thair maister doubteth that a moore provocation of trouble betwene Your Highnes and Hym shulde insue. And therfore fynally the saide Commissioners determynned, that thaye couthe not, nor wolde,

[1] From the Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 116.

[2] Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 481.

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make with us any conclusion for a truce and abstinence of warre, oonles the King thair maister were in suche estate of his severall grounde, as he was afore the begynnyng of these warres.

Hering all these thair alledginges for thair partie, with many circumstaunces, we shewed and declared unto thayme that it was naither consonant nor accoording to the tenour nor effecte of the King thair maisters letter lately addressed unto Your Highnes, naither to any good reason, that a truce and abstinence of warre shulde be concluded condicionally; but, in case that any matier in question shulde insurge in that behalve, the same to be treated commynned and concluded upon herafter, aither by Counsailours, Commissioners, or Ambassadours, and thenne reformation to be had of suche thingges, if any suche be, as have bene occasion of displeasures hertofore commytted.

The saide Ambassadour of Fraunce, being privea and present at all oure commynnycations and assembles sethenne our meting, haith shewed hym self right favourable[1], and of good will and mynde for the good entertaynnyng of amytie and peas firmely to be had betwene Your Highnes and the King of Scottes, and for the weale of booth the realmes and the subjectes of the same. Yet, nevertheles, we be infourced resolutely to advertise Your Grace, howe we canne not conclude with the Commissioners of Scottelande, by occasion of the cause aforesaide.

And for this tyme present aswell we, as the Commissioners of Scottelande, have ordaynned agreed and sent furthe proclamations, booth for Einglande and Scottelande, commaunding all and every the subjectes of the same to abstaine frome any unlaufull attemptates booth by see and by lande to be doone and commytted to the subjectes of aither of the said realmes, and have couched the saide proclamation with as good termes as convenientely we canne for that purpoos; theffecte of the saide proclamation to indure for 15 dayes after the date of this present letter.

Under the correction of Your Highnes, oonles the same be mynded to any high conclusion, wherunto hit besemeth us not to be privea, we thenke Cawe Mylnes for the tyme of warre, withoute grete coste to be doone therupon, canne doe Your Grace litle service, and in tyme of peas litle or noe

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[1] Caligula, B.VII. leaf 199. is a letter addressed to Henry VIII. from Newcastle on the 30th of June [1533] without signature. It seems to be the translation of a letter from Beauvois, in which he argues that the detaining of Cawmills and putting Douglas there was for the purpose of contention, advises the King to give it up to James, and not to mistrust Him, and claims the merit of having been the first person who ever brought the Scots so far as Newcastle. In Vol. XX. of the Miscellaneous Letters in the Chapter House are several letters from Sir George Lawson, relative to the expence and the difficulty of keeping Cawmills, besides those here printed.

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thing to insue therby. And, under favour of Your saide Grace, hit is thought good unto us, that the saide Cawe Mylnes shuld be raced and clerely caste downe to the grounde; and, soe farre as we canne conjecture and conceive by the Commissioners of Scottelande by thaire woordes had unto us, thaye doe not care for the same. Wherfore, if it maye stande with youre gracious pleasure, your Capitaine of Barwik canne and woll putte this matier in plenarie execution, upon knowlege of your mooste gracious pleasure; wherof not oonly, but in all and singuler the premisses, we humbly beseche Your Highnes that we maye be ascertaynned.

ThAmbassadour of Fraunce and the Commissioners of Scottelande have at large addressed thaire letters to the King of Scottes, and declared all oppynnyons alledged amonges us in this behalve, and doe and woll remayne here, till your saide high pleasure and the pleasure of thair maister be certefied; and in the meane season we shall doe the beste we canne for the good enterteynment of thayme, being honeste personnages, and well inclyned as farre as we canne conceive.

And forsomyche as thordour by proclamation, taken by us and by the Commissioners of Scottelande, woll in breve tyme expire; we therfore doubting howe Youre saide Highnes wolbe inclyned to this matier, canne noe lesse doe, of our bounden duetie, but to putte Youre Grace in remembraunce to conscider the state of youre Bordours, being disgarnisshed of youre souldiours for deffence of the same, in avoiding suche inconveniences, as ar suspecte to insue by soudaine invasions or excurses to be made into this your Realme. And thus Almighty God have Youe, our mooste dradde Soveraine leige Lorde, in His mooste blessed tuition and governaunce. At Newe Castle, the furste daye of July.

Youre mooste humble servauntes and subjectes,

(*Signed*) T. Magnus.
(*Signed*) Thomas Clyfford.
(*Signed*) Rauff Ellerkar, yonger.
(*Signed*) Thomas Whartton.

(*Superscribed*)
Unto the Kinges mooste noble Grace.

CCXLV. Lord Dacre *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Pleas it Your Highnes to be advertised. The King of Scottes haith bene all along his Northwest Bordours, begynnyng at Glasgew, and from thens to the towne of Aire, and so to Sainct Ninianis in Gallowaye. And upon Fridaye at night last, being the 27 daye of June, he was in Dumfreiss, being 24 myles frome Carlisle; and in his commyng to Dumfreiss he vieued and sawe the thre grete peces of ordinaunce brought by the Duke of Albany, when he shulde have commen to Carlisle, and then retorned to Warke with twoo hundrethe shott of irne for the same gonnes. And upon Satturdaye the 28 daye he came to Loughmaban, 8 myles athisside Dumfreiss, and ther remaigned all Sondaye, and upon Mondaye the last daye he retourned homewardes to Peblis, and so to Striveling. There was in his companye not above 30 personnes, and noon of his Counsaill, except his Treasourer, and with hym the Lordes Flemyng and Avendale.

Pleas it Your Highnes also ther is a gentilman of Wailes, his wif and 8th personnes with theim, landed at Sainct Ninianis, afore the King cam thidder, in a barge, who names hym self uncle to Ryse of Wailes.[2]

Pleas it also Your Highnes, upon Fridaye laste the Scottes men of West Tevidale to the nomber of foure hundrethe personnes cam into Beawcasteldal, and ther haithe taken, frome your Highnes subjectes and tenauntes and my poore tenauntes ther, sevin score hede of catell, and brint 6 houses. I have writtin unto Your Graces Commissioners for reformacion therof. And the Holy Goost preserve Your Highnes. At Graistok, the secound daye of Julye.

Your humble servaunt,

(*Signed*) Willm̃ Dacre.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Highnes my Soverain Lorde.
Haist, Post, haist with diligence.

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[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, Vol. IV. leaf 42 a., erroneously so placed, since its contents show it to be long posterior to Wolsey's death.

[2] This person occurs several times by different names, and on the whole it appears that his true name was James Griffith; that he was son of Sir Rice ap Thomas's sister; that he had long been imprisoned in London; that both Dacre and Wharton were ordered to watch him; that on his landing in Scotland with his family, they were first ordered to a castle S.W. of Edinburgh, where he was visited by James; that they went from thence to Edinburgh, where he had no audience of the King, but daily resorted to the Lords of the Council; that he was desirous of remaining in Scotland while that kingdom was at war with England, and in case of peace, he wished to be conveyed to the Emperor, in which wish he must have been gratified, for he was at Antwerp in December, and in May following at Lubec.

CCXLVI. MAGNUS, &c. *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

PLEAS it Your mooste noble Grace to be advertised. We have received Your mooste honourable letters, dated at youre manour of Westmynster the 6th daye of this instant moneth, and deliverde unto us by Thomas Butler youre servaunte the 9th daye of the same afore noone; wherby we conceive it haithe liked Youre Highnes to declare unto us the effecte of your gracious pleasure as ansuer to oure letter lately addressed unto Your saide Grace, conteynnyng the procedinges of your affaires in these parties, and specially suche resolution as thenne passed betwene us and the Commissioners of Scottelande, concernyng a truce and abstinence of warre that thenne shulde have bene concluded betwene us. Maye it pleas Your Highnes to understande that, according to the contynue of oure former letter, Monsr de Beauvoys, Ambassadour of Fraunce, and the Commissioners of Scottelande, remayned here with us till the arrivall of youre saide mooste honourable letters; to whoome we gave the beste enterteynment we couth, as well in making thayme chere at oure lodginges, as geving unto thayme famylier company for their pastyme; and as the case and tyme required, we had conference and commynnycation some tyme with the saide Ambassadour, and some tyme with the other Commissioners, of oure matiers and causes.

Ymmediately upon the arrivall of youre saide mooste honourable letters, and afore that we had perused and conceived the contentes of the same, the saide Frenche Ambassadour sent unto us for his letters, if there were any suche. Wherupon we sent the same unto hym; and bycause we thought and suppoosed that boothe he and the saide Commissioners were desirous to speke with us, we therfore ymmediately, and furthwith after we had knowlege and intelligence of theffecte of youre saide mooste gracious letters, paste unto thaym with spede; and, notwithstanding oure haiste, yet the Ambassadour of Fraunce was in all his riding geere redy to departe; wherof we did not a litle marveile. Howe be it he saide, knowing thymportaunce of oure causes, he was fully determynned with all spede and diligence to passe in poste unto Your saide Highnes. And nooting well in our remembraunce hit was your gracious pleasure, as we shulde in every behalve procede with the Scottes, that we shulde make hym privea therunto, we therfore required and desired hym to take somyche sparing of his passing forwarde, that it wolde like hym to here us

[1] From the Museum, Caligula, B. III. leaf 163.

and

and the Commissioners of Scottelande to treate common and conferre oure causes to gader. With this he was something content; but we nooted well he had soe large intelligence, booth howe we shulde and mought procede, and also the Scottes for thaire partie, that he made but small tarying with us, and soe departed. Yet nevertheles he harde all and every thing that we alledged for our partie, according to youre mooste gracious commaundement, and thextremetie of the Scottes for thaire partie, as we truste he canne and woll reapoorte unto Your Highnes.

After whoos departing we had depe and large commynnycation with the Scottes by the space of 3 or 4 houres, and devised all the wayes and meanes we couthe, after our poore discretions, by such conference as was betwene us, to induce and bring thayme to oure purpoos, accoording to the contynue of youre mooste honourable letters. And conceivyng that thaye contynually consisted upon this oppynnyon, that thaye woolde noone otherwise conclude the truce and abstinence, but to be ordoured like in every parte to the chapitours and articles comprised in the laste treatie of peas, as was thaire oppynnyons at oure furste meting, we, trusting that thaye had bene moore gently resolved and inclyned to us, thenne thaye were afore, by reason that thaye were newly advertised of the King thaire maisters pleasure, shewed unto thayme that we were content to applye unto thaire oppynnyon, with this, that the woordes couched and comprised in a litle scedule, copye wherof hertofore we sent unto Youre saide Highnes, mought be conteynned in the treatie of the saide truce. Wherwith in any wise thaye wolde not be content. And nooting that all this thair straunge and stiff proceding was, that thaye wolde not Your Highnes shulde have Cawe Mylnes at your governaunce pleasure and disposition, we declared unto thayme that it was thought unto Youre Highnes that this commynnycation, being oonly for a truce and an abstinence from warre for a tyme, shulde not infource any restitution, but the same to be treated and ordoured herafter by boothe the parties, as of right and good reason, we alledged, it apperteynned. We shewed also it shulde to myche touche thonour of Your Highnes to make restitution or deliveraunce of any thing on our partie, whiche ye have in possession, oonles the semblable were also presently doon by the partie of Scottelande. And for maintenaunce of this reason we induced taking of oure shippes of the see, with many and sondery other thinges, soe farre as we couthe call to remembraunce, and willed thayme to leeve all particuler matiers betwene Youre Highnes and the saide King thaire maister clerely in suspence, as afore.

And, conceiving the saide Commissioners yet with all these premisses not to be content, we shewed, with as good termes maner and facion as we couthe,

that we trusted Youre Highnes wolde be pleased to amoove George Douglas, or any other whoom thaye call thair rebelles, frome oute of Cawe Mylnes, and that Youre Grace wolde appointe the keping therof to suche oone of youre servauntes in these parties as wolde kepe the same in suche wise, as thaye mought be well assured, thoccasion not proceding of thayme selves, there shulde therby insue unto thayme noe displeasure nor inconvenience. To this thaye wolde not accoorde, but refused the same as thaye did the other; soe that resolutely thaye saide thaye woolde noone otherwise conclude but as afore, till suche tyme as thaye had spoken with the King thaire maister. Hering this thair saying, we conscidered the dangier of youre Bordours, and willed thayme to shewe what was thought good unto thayme for the weale and suretie of booth the fronters, and advised thayme, insomyche as we determynned to tary here till we mought conduce and bring this matier to some good purpoos, that there mought be a further abstinence taken for a monthe, and thaye booth to remayne and tary here with us, or elles oone of thayme soe to doe, and the other to repaire to the Kinge thaire maister for knowlege of his further pleasure in these premisses. This thaye also refused. Howe be it, thaye fynally concluded with us that with all spede and diligence thaye wolde repayre to the King thair maister, and to knowe his pleasure in all our oppynnyons, and specially for having a further abstinence for 20^{ti} dayes after the 15 dayes expired, and have promised to certefye the same to Barwik upon Tuesdaye next, being the laste of the saide 15 dayes. And over this thaye have promysed, like honeste gentilmen, to doe the beste that in thayme shall lye, for bringging these causes betwene Your Highnes and the King thair maister to good effecte and purpoos. And fynally, for the better apeesing and stablisshing of the Bordours, we all to gader have devised proclamations to be made for the saide 20^{ti} dayes, and deliverde oone of thayme to the Commissioners of Scottelande, to be proclaymed along thair Bordours ymmediately uppon thaire commyng into Scottelande. And to see the same to be putte in due execution, we have sent Lyall Graye, your Porter of Barwik, to thintent as the same shalbe doone we maye ordour your Bordours accoordingly; and yet naither thaye nor we be bounden, nor shall be, till knowlege doe come frome the King of Scottes and his Commissioners, as is aforesaide.

The cause whye we ar content with this truce for 20^{ti} dayes, whiche is devised, if it soe come to passe, is this: furste, that we maye conceive howe the King of Scottes and his Counsaile ar inclyned to accomplisshe the pleasure of Your Highnes for suche causes, as have bene commynned upon and not accoorded nor concluded by us: secondely, that we maye understande and noote his procedinges, soe nigh as we canne or maye, to thintent that know-

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lege maye be geven unto Youre Highnes therof; and thirdely, as it maye stande with your gracious pleasure, that Youre Highnes all this meane season maye have speciall respecte and regarde to the weale suretie and diffence of youre Bordours; for we ar in doubte, howe the said King of Scottes and his Counsaile woll yeilde and inclyne thayme towardes your high pleasure concernyng the saide Cawe Mylnes. And under the correction of Your Highnes, oure myndes and oppynnyons resteth clerely touching Cawe Mylnes, as afore we wroote unto Youre Highnes.

And, as touching the gentilman of Wales, with other his company arrived at Saint Nunyans in Scottelande, we have layed unto the charge of the saide Commissioners, that Your Highnes dothe not a litle marveile, whye that the King thair maister, intending to enter amytie and peas, woll receive mainteyne or suppoorte withynne his realme any youre rebelles, as of liklihoode this Welshe man is, withoute advertisement geven unto Youre saide Highnes. To this thaye doe not gretely denye, but saye that sethenne thair commyng hider, thaye here that suche a person is arrived in Scottelande, and that as yet the King thair maister had not spoken with hym; and further thaye saye thaye knowe not. As myche as is possible unto us we shall doo, to gete knowlege what he is, and what is thintent of his comyng thider, and whether he haithe bene in Scottelande afore or not.

Humbly beseching Youre Highnes that we maye knowe your gracious pleasure in the premisses, for here we tary and intend soe to doe, till we maye be further advertised of youre mooste gracious pleasure and commaundement. And thus Almighty God have youe, oure mooste dradde Soveraine leige Lorde, in His mooste blessed tuition and governaunce. At Newcastell, the 11th daye of July.

Ymmediately after our commynnycation afore saide, the Commissioners of Scottelande woolde make noon aboode nor tarying, but with all spede departed frome hennes, and soe paste to Morpathe the same night; as thaye saide, purpoosely to make spede for ansuer to be had unto us frome the King of Scottes thair maister, &ca.

Your mooste humble subjectes
and servauntes,

(*Signed*) T. Magnus.
(*Signed*) Thomas Clyfford.
(*Signed*) Rauff Ellerkar, younger.
(*Signed*) Thomas Whartton.

(*Superscribed*)
Unto the Kinges mooste noble Grace.

CCXLVII. Clyfford and Lawson *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Pleas it Your Highnes to be advertished. Newes cam oute of Scotland to thErle of Angwayes, his uncle, and brother, that now apon the return of the Comissioners of Scotland to Edinburghe, Marke Carre of Tevedale and Alexander Hoome of the Marche was comaundyt to repayre incontynent to the Counsaill of Scotland; (the King of Scottes than being in the north parties of Scotland at a place callid Saynt Dothons in Rose, and woll with all diligens repayre to Edinburghe) and, as it is supposed, to invent and devise to make sum entreprise to gett the Cawe mylles by stelth or otherwise. Wherapon Maister Clifford, your Capetain of Berwike, and I, hering thies newes, repayred this present daye to the said Cawemylles, to view and se the same, and to prevent any suche purpose for defens therof, if it so shuld happen; and have devysed that a flat roofe of tymbre shall be maid furthwith to be sett apon the roofe of the said Cawe mylles to sett ordenaunce apon in the meane season, to tyme further of Your Graces pleasure maye be known therin.

I wrote lately to Maister Cromwell, howe my Lord Warden and Your Graces Counsaill heyr, had taken ordour with George Duglas for his charges in keping of the said Cawemylles from the 23^{ti} daye of Decembre of his entre there unto the secound daye of this present moneth, after 4^{s} the daye for hym self, and for every of 19 men 8^{d} by the daye, amountyng to the sum of 160£; whiche I have payid hym in redy money. And further ordour is taken from hensfurth, he to have 4^{s} the daye for hym self, and 8^{d} by the daye for every of 11 persons, to kepe the said Cawe mylles duryng your most gracious pleasure.[2] And as it is conteyned in the said letter whiche I send to Maister Cromwell, I wrote my poer opinion aswell touching reparations of the said Cawemylles, as otherwise, to be ordred, as maye staund with your most gracious pleasure.

Also as it is said, ther is lately cumen unto Edinburghe a gentylman of Walys namyng hym self Ryse, with his wif, doughter, and 7 servauntes, well favoredly arrayed and apointed; whiche the King of Scottes receyved right well. What is the cause of his cummyng, his abode there, or otherwise, I

[1] From the Chapter House, State Papers, Scotland, p. 192.

[2] This accords with a letter of 6 July from Lawson to Crumwell, in the Miscellaneous Letters, Vol. XX. leaf 150.

cannott

cannott saye; but I have moved George Duglas to send to sum of his sure frendes in Edinburghe to have the verey true knowlege of his cummyng, and what his name is, and of his qualities. And therin and of other newes, as I shall have any knowlege, I shall acertaigne Your Highnes with all diligence.

Furthermore this present daye Richerd Foster, with others Your Graces capetains of your shippes of warre, arryved at Eland in thies parties; and so to passe further according to Your Graces commaundment.

And concernyng Your Graces corn nowe remaynyng in thies parties in my custodie and keping, the prices is so mervelously fallen, and the countre as yete plenteous of whet and malt, that small sale can be had; and to cary the same to other places, it woll drawe to more charges. Wherfore I shall do my best in the keping therof, to tyme further ordour maye be taken for the utteraunce of the same to Your Graces profuct. Albeit, if it be peax, consideryng the fayrnes of this yere, ther must nedes be charges in keping therof, and yete grete losse like to ensue.

It maye further like Your Grace, that, where Maister Tuke wrote to me for the discharging of your postes in thies parties at this tyme[1]; yete, consideryng that the peax is nott concluded but for 20^{ti} dayes, it is thadvice of my Lord Warden and your Counsail heyre, that the postes shall remayn in charge as yete, to tyme Your Graces pleasure be further known. Wherin, and other the premissez, it maye like Your Highnes, I maye knowe your most gracious pleasure, and specially touching Cawe mylles. And, as I am most bounden, shall ever observe Your Graces commaundment to the utterest of my power, and dayle praye to Oure Lord for the preservation of your most royall estate long to endure. At Your Graces town of Berwike, the 15th daye of July.[2]

Your most humble subgiettes,

(*Signed*) THOMAS CLYFFORD.

(*Signed*) GEORGE LAWSON.

(*Superscribed*)

To the Kinges most gracious Highnes.

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[1] See Vol. I. p. 406.

[2] On the same day Lawson wrote to Crumwell to the like effect. He mentions that the Council of Scotland had sent for Mark Car and Alexander Home, to consult with them respecting the taking of Caw Mills. Miscellaneous Letters, Vol. XX. leaf 190.

CCXLVIII. MAGNUS, &c. *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

PLEAS it Youre mooste noble Grace to be advertised, that forsomyche as it haithe pleased my Lorde of Northumberlande, your high Warden in these parties, to repaire hider unto us, and to be privea to oure procedinges in all causes and matiers betwene us and the Commissioners of Scottelande, his Lordeship is content to remayne and tary here with us, to thentent that he maye counsaile and conferre with us in all causes commytte unto our charge by Youre saide Highnes; by reason wherof, and of theffecte of Your mooste honourable letters at this present tyme addressed unto his Lordeship, hit is commen unto our knowlege that Your Grace is infourmed by Sir George Lawson that the Scottes be aboute to enterprise the steiling of Cawe Mylnes, or otherwise to doe some damage to the same. Trouth it is, that like infourmation was geven to my Lorde Warden and to us by George Douglas, and that proclamations were made in diverse places of Scottelande for men to be in a redynes for this cause or a like purpoos, soe farre, as my Lorde Warden thought he couthe doe noo lesse, in case suche proclamations were made in Scottelande, but semlably to make proclamations to putte in a redynes your subjectes in these parties, for resisting the malice and intended purpoos of the Scottes, if this reapoorte were true and effectuall. Wherupon my saide Lorde Warden, afore us, examyned the saide George Douglas, if the same were of trouthe or not, and desired hym to sende to his espialles in Scottelande for knowlege to be had of the verey and sure certaintie of this matier. The saide George sent furthe accoordingly, and had ansuer ayeine that there were noe suche proclamations made, but that the Scottes did take myche to stomake the keping frome thayme of the saide Cawe Mylnes. We, your poor servauntes and Commissioners here, have had a speciall regarde and respecte to the proceding of the Scottes, soe farre as our poore wittes and intelligences couthe attaine unto, and contynually sethenne our laste writing unto Your saide mooste gracious Highnes, have received diverse letters frome the Commissioners of Scottelande, and have retourned ansuer ayeine unto thayme, not pretermytting thentended purpoos and enterprise of the Scottes, as was suspecte and reapoorted; like as by the originall letters, sent unto us frome

[1] From the Museum, Caligula, B. III. leaf 161.

the

the saide Commissioners, and copyes of our ansuer to the same herunto annexed, Youre saide Highnes shall and maye perceive at large.

Your saide Highnes shall conceive also that the Commissioners of Scottelande were content and in a redynes to sende unto us thair writing for suretie of the truce concernyng these 20 dayes, by thayme sealed and subscribed, soe that we woolde have doon the same for our partie; whiche thenne, upon the suspecte enterprise of Cawe Mylnes, we refused, and wolde not consent and agree therunto, oonles at the leiste thay woolde promyse unto us by thair speciall letters or writing, that the King thair maister, his officers, nor any other his subjectes, shulde attempte any suche enterprise; and laide unto thayme the liklihood of suche dangier as therby wold insue, as at large by copye of our saide letter it woll appere. Upon Sondaye next we looke for ansuer of this matier, and in case thaye refuse to make suche promyse, as is aforesaide, by thair letter or writing, though it be not by indenture, thenne we ar in doubte, and knowe not what we shall doe, conscidering we have not received ansuer frome Your Highnes of oure laste letters sent unto the same.

The saide Commissioners write unto us, as appereth by thair letter of the 15th daye of this moneth, that thaye aboode and taryed upon our ansuer, to thintent that thaye and we mought mete for a fynall conclusion of all matiers.

Maye it like Your Highnes to conscider, this present daye is the 11th daye of these 20 dayes taken for a truce, soe that there be but nyne dayes of the same to insue, whiche shall expire the 4th daye of Auguste nexte commyng; and thenne, withoute further remedye to be provided, every thing is and shall stande at large.

We humbly beseche Your Grace of pardon, for we be inforced to write plainly unto Your Highnes, these causes being of ymportaunce, proceding upon nootice and knowlege had of your mooste honourable letters addressed unto my Lorde Warden and to Sir George Lawson[1] for the mainteynnyng of Cawe Mylnes, and resisting of the Scottes, if any enterprise be made to the same. We have reasonned commynned and debated this matier all at large at sondery tymes, as hertofore we have doone, whiche inforced oure oppynnyon,

[1] By a letter from Lawson to the King (Caligula, B. VII. leaf 176.) it appears that the King had written to Lawson from Windsor on the 21st of July. Lawson in his letter, which is dated from Newcastle on the 26th, gives information similar to that contained in the present letter. It is without signature, and is in the catalogue erroneously ascribed to Magnus.

comprised

comprised in oure former letters sent unto Your Highnes, concernyng racyng of the saide Cawe Mylnes, and canne not see howe the same canne be maintenynned and kepte to your honour, if the Scottes intende to have the same, oonles remedye be provided, for these consciderations folowing.

The house, as it is uncoverde, is not able to kepe 16 persons. Also naither George Douglas nor any other Einglisshe man woll take the charge for the sauf and sure keping therof, but desire to be disburdenned and exonerate of the same.

All reparations canne not nor maye be made withoute a gretter garrison of men thenne your Bordours there maye make, contynually to abyde during the tyme of making reparations.

Also the Scottes at all tymes be in suche a redynes, as we be infourmed boothe by George Douglas, and other having experience and intelligence in that behalve, that with the assembling and meting of fyve gentilmen, that is to wete, the Lorde Hoome, and Allexander Hoome for the Marse, the Lorde Bouclough, Dan Carre of Farnehirste, and Marke Carre for Tevidale and thoos parties, fyve thousande men maye sodanly be made, withoute proclamations, to be at Cawe Mylnes withynne 24 houres, specially at this tyme of the yere; not to be resisted with the power of Northumberlande, but with grete aide of the Busshopriche of Duresme and other places, whiche woll not be levied and assembled to come to the Bordours in foure or fyve dayes. Albe it we doe and shall endevour us, soe farre as oure power and witte woll extende unto, to counsaile for the diffence of the saide Cawe Mylnes, and to avaunce all other your causes and affaires commytted unto our charges in these parties, accoording to oure mooste bounden dueties. And thus Almighty God ever have Youe, our mooste dradde Soveraine leige Lorde, in His mooste blessed tuition and governaunce. At Newcastle, the 26 daye of July.

Your mooste humble subjectes and servauntes,

(*Signed*) T. Magnus.
(*Signed*) Thomas Clyfford.
(*Signed*) Rauff Ellerkar, younger.
(*Signed*) Thomas Whartton.

(*Superscribed*)
Unto the Kinges mooste gracious Highnes.

CCXLIX. LAWSON *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

SIR, after my most hertiest recommendation. This present ther is aunsuer cummen from the Scottishe Commissioners, as I trust ye shall perceyve by the letters now send to the Kinges Highnes from my Lord Warden and the Counsaill heyr; whom all as yet woll remayn at Newcastell to the Kinges pleasure be further known in all thinges; and of further metynges with the Scottishe Commissioners, as shall stand with the Kinges said pleasure, of the aunsuer of ther letters last and now send by the postes.

As yete ther is no worde of any damage towardes Cawe Mylles, otherwise than was advertished afore; notwithstanding George Duglas is now ther for defens therof, and, as he is acertaigned, to advertishe my Lord Warden and the Counsaill of suche newes as is occurraunt theraboutes. And this present daye I woll towardes Berwike, ther to remayn; and as I heyr of any damage towardes Cawe Mylles, I shall put my bodie and power theder, with all the policies I can for the defens, as shall require. I have prepayred all thinges redy to sett the false roofe therapon, but surely carreages is hard to gett; and moche more is to be regarded to carye the same to Cawe Mylles, without gret daungeour of the Kinges subgiettes going therwith, oneles ther shuld be a gret nombre of men to go therwith. I praye yow consider well my last letter sent to the Kinges Highnes touching Cawe Mylles. And, where the Kinges Grace wrote to me, in his last most honorable letters to me sent, that His Highnes wold be at sum parte of charge to defend the said Cawe Mylles; surely to my litil power I regard the Kinges honour and profuct asmoche as any poer subgiett liffing in this realme, and as I am most bounden; but it woll be no litil charge that woll make Cawe Mylles defensable against enmyes, if they be mynded to sett therapon, and to abide any litill tyme to have ther purpose to gett the same.

ThErle of Angways sayeth that he haith newes, that ther passeth by see a gret ambassade from Scotland to Fraunce, aboutes a mariage to be concluded betwen the King of Scottes and the King of Naveres suster, or elles the Duke of Vandomns doughter; and the names of the said Ambassiadours is thErle of Mountros, the Busshop of Dunkell, Sir John Camell, and the Secretarye of Scotland.

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[1] From the Chapter House, Miscellaneous Letters, Second Series, Vol. XX. No. 172.

Sir, I am in a doubt in my self, whether I did subscribe my name in the last letter I sent to the Kinges Highnes, or no: for surely the daye of the wryting therof I was urgently busyed with my Lord Warden and the Counsaill aboutes Cawe Mylles and other the Kinges affayres in thies parties; and my poer wytt not so fresh of remembraunce as it haith bene. Wherfore I hertely becech you, if it so be, to make my most humble peticion to the Kinges Majestie of pardon and mercy, that I shuld be so lewd to wryte unto His Highnes of his busynes in my charge, and to omytte to wryte my name under, as his true subgiett. And in this mater I praye you forgett me nott, and that it woll pleas you by the next post to wryte me your mynd in this and all other thinges, and to remembyr me in all my causes as ye shall thinke best. And ever I shall praye to God for the Kinges Highnes, and to be at your commaundment after the old assured maner, as God be my helpe, who ever preserve you. At Newcastell, the 28^{ti} daye of Julij.

I cannott be mery at my hert, to I heyr word from you agayne.

Your owne ever hertly,

(*Signed*) GEORGE LAWSON.

(*Superscribed*)
To the right worshipfull Maister Cromwell Esquier, and of the Kinges most honorable Counsaill. In haste.

CCL. MAGNUS, &c. *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

PLEAS it Youre mooste gracious Highnes to be advertised that, where of late we wroote[2] unto the same, that the Commissioners of Scottelande shulde have bene here upon oure appointement on Mondaye laste; trouth it was, that the same daye thair servauntes and officers came hider to prepaire for thayme: and, by chaunce of the ragious weder that was thenne in these partes, it was Tuesdaye at night or thaye came. And upon Wennesdaye we mette to gader and enterde commynnycation with thayme; and perceiving thayme somdeale to be straunge, though not somyche as thaye were afore, we were playne and rounde unto

[1] From the Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 24.

[2] On the 23d of August they wrote to Crumwell that they had been at Newcastle a long time, and the Scottish Commissioners were not to be there again till Monday the 1st of September, and they sent Sir Thomas Wharton to London for answers on certain points, which are not stated in the letter. Caligula, B. III. leaf 166.

thayme,

thayme, and precisely saide that it apperteynned not to thonour of Youre Highnes to have soe many prorogations and tracting of tyme, where there was noe cause reasonnable, if thaye conscidered the weale of thaire maister and of his realme: and even soe, with these woordes and other like in effecte, we shewed unto thayme the mynute, signed with your mooste gracious hande, declaring howe honourably excellently and plainly, withoute colour of any subtill termes, it is couched for concluding of a truce and abstinence of warre, to be seen afoore all the Princes in the worlde. And with this we saide thaye shulde tracte the tyme noe longger with us, but to the contynue of the saide mynute aither to saye, yee or naye, withoute altering or excepting any woorde in the same. Hering these woordes, and having the sight of the mynute soe signed as afore, thaye shewed thayme selves abasshed and myche perplexed, as apparauntely we mought conceive. Wheruppon, after some studye, thaye made speciall requeste unto us, that thay mought have respite a daye to consulte therupon. Wherunto, with some straunge maner and facion, we accoorded.

Upon Fridaye next after, we had meting for thaire ansuer, at whiche tyme we founde thayme by liklihood well inclyned; and instauntly thaye desired and required us that, forsomyche as the saide mynute, as thaye saide, is soe precisely ordoured in every parte, and thay being but twoe personnages for thaire hooll realme, that we woolde be content to geve unto thayme a copye therof to be sent unto the King thair maister, for his pleasure knowlege and consent to be addressed unto thayme in that behalve; and offred thayme selves to remayne here in this your towne of Newcastle, as nowe thay doe, till the same were sent unto thayme: and therwith thaye made speciall sute and requeste for a further abstinence to be taken unto Michaelmas next. And, conceiving that in case we shall conclude a truce and abstinence for a yere, your high pleasure is, upon suche considerations as be comprised in your saide mooste honourable letters, the same shalbe ordoured and devised frome Mychelmas to Mychelmas; to these thaire speciall sutes, with like straungenes as afore, we consented; trusting the same, after our poore intelligences, to make to your honour and purpoos. For hoolly by thaire speciall sutes thay have inforced us thereunto; saying nowe thaire meanyng is, Your Highnes to have Cawe Mylles during this tyme of abstinence, and have promysed us to have ansuer in this partie by Friday next commyng. The same soe had, we shall advertise Youre Highnes therof with all diligence possible.

And over this we have counsailed with my Lorde of Northumberlande in youre affaires in these parties; whoos Lordeshipp woll avaunce every thing apperteynnyng to his charge accoording to your mooste gracious commaunde-

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ment, as the case shall require. And thus Almighty God ever have Youe, oure mooste dradde Soveraine liege Lorde, in His mooste blessed tuition and governaunce. At Newcastle, the 6te daye of September.

Your mooste humble subjectes and servauntes,

(*Signed*) T. MAGNUS.
(*Signed*) THOMAS CLYFFORD.
(*Signed*) RAUFF ELLERKAR, Yonger.
(*Signed*) THOMAS WHARTTON.

(*Superscribed*)
Unto the Kingges mooste gracious Highnes.

CCLI. MAGNUS, &c. *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

RIGHT honourable Sir. After full due recommendation, like it youe to understande, we received of late your letter dated at London the 12th daye of this instaunt moneth, wherby we conceived to oure counfortes, and myche the better by your good meanes, howe well the Kinges Highnes was thenne content and pleased with oure procedinges in his affaires in these parties, concernyng the concluding of the truce and abstinence of warre[2], whiche nowe we truste haith taken full effecte in every behalve, accoording to his high honour and moost gracious pleasure: like as we have signefied unto His Highnes at length by oure writing, wherunto we knowe right well your Mastership shalbe privea.

The Frenshe Ambassadours letter, sent unto us frome your said Mastership, we did to be conveyd with all spede into Scotlande, and at this tyme doe sende aunsuer to the same addressed frome the Chaunceler of Scotlande. And thus Almightie God ever have youe in His blessed governaunce. At Newcastle, the 27^{ti} day of Septembre.

All your oune,

(*Signed*) T. MAGNUS.
(*Signed*) THOMAS CLYFFORD.
(*Signed*) RAUF ELLERKAR, younger.
(*Signed*) THOMAS WHARTTON.

(*Superscribed*)
To the right honourable Mr Cromwell,
of the Kinges mooste honourable
Counsaile.

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[1] From the Chapter House, Miscellaneous Letters, Second Series, Vol. XXVIII. leaf 12. Written by Magnus.

[2] A truce for one year was concluded on the 1st of October. Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 480.

CCLII. NORTHUMBERLAND *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

PLEASITH it Youre Majesty to be advertysed, that uppon Friday being the 26th day of this instant moneth of September, Your Highnes Commyssyoners declared unto me that they had concludet a treux and abstynence betwene Youre Highnes and the Scottes Kynge. Uppon whiche I called unto me Syr George Lawson, whose diligent service is aprovedly done in all youre affayres in thies partes to Youre Highnes profett; and with all speyd and diligence addressed forth my letters the same Fryday, for the dissolving of youre garyson then repared into the countrey to Duresme, Derneton, and other townes there abowtes, to have bene in the towne of Newcastell uppon Wednisday at nyght last, lyke to my former letters unto that same, whoo was there stayed uppon relation maid to Youre Highnes Commyssioners by Syr Jamys Colvell one of the Scottes Commyssioners, whiche at lenth I trust Youre Highnes Commyssioners doith advertyse. And, for soo moche as there was in the handys of the said Syr George Lawson, ne none other, any money frome Youre Highnes for dissolvynge of the said garyson, I dyde, by advice of youre Counsaill here, shewe my self to the advauncement of the same, to my possyble power, and soo haith dissolved theyme for thys tyme, to be payed at Yorke for theyre cootes, conduyt money, and wages, at suche day as they shalbe sertyfyed of frome Syr George Lawson. Most humbly besechynge Youre Highnes that youre commaundement may be sent in suche wyse, that the same money may be payd to the capitayns of Youre Highnes garyson for two thousand men at Yorke accordingly. It may pleace Youre Grace, some sayinges there is in the partes of Scotland, that the reparinge of youre garyson toward youre Borders haith maid a good visage and inforcement to the conclusion of this abstynence of the Scottyshe party, with more speid therin. And undowbtidly there is as great discension in the realme of Scotland as ever was; the Erlys of Murrey and Argyle beyng on the one party, and the Erle of Huntley with all hys frendys beynge on the contrary party, for the shamefull murderinge of one gentilman callyd the Lard of Lynsay. And, as I am informed owte of Scotland, the Kynge haith bene there for agrement, but it wolde take none effect amonges theyme as yet. Wherfore He doth fene Hym self to be evyll at eace, of a soore fois. And as I shall attayne further knawledge, I shall not

[1] From a contemporary copy, in the Museum, Caligula, B. III. leaf 229.

faill

faill to sertyfie Your Majesty therof, beynge at this present tyme consultyng with my brother Clyfforthe, Syr Thomas Wharton, and the gentilmen of Northumbreland, for the good establysshement of the Borders foranenst Scotland, according to justice, and lykewyse for the good rule and ordre of the hole countie of Northumbreland under my charge: trustyng I shall not faill to leve the same in suche ordre, as shalbe to Youre Highnes honour and contentation anenst Scotland, and to the well profet and comodite of the countrey besydes. After which soo done, lyke to your most gracious commaundement sent unto me heretofore, I intende to gyf myne attendaunce uppon Youre Highnes according to my most humble desyre and most bounden dutie, having myne onely hope confidence and trust in your most gracious aboundant goodnes to be unto me according to my pore trew hart, and shall alwayes serve and attend that which shalbe Your Highnes commaundement frome tyme to tyme unto me, wherin my comforth onely restythe.

CCLIII. Clyfford *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

To the Kinges Hieghnes.

Pleasith it Youre most gracious Hieghnes to be advertysed. Sence the departour of my felloes and me, Your Graces lait Commissioners, from Newcastell, aftre thabstinence takyn agreid upon and concludit by us with the Scottes Comissioners to be bitwixt Youre Highnes and the Kinge of Scottes, myn abod haith ben still at this your town of Barwike, doing my devoure that the tenour of the sam abstinence upon Your Hieghnes partie and behalve, within my reull and charge, should be so fermely observed, as no default, upon reason, should be founde to the contrary; like as to my duetie, being Your Graces Warden his Lieutenent by Your Graces pleasure and commaundement, it doith perteign. Within which tym haith ben commytted, uppon your subjectes of Your Graces Est Marchies undre my cure, great enorm and heynows slaughter reffes stouthes and depredations, by Scottesmen, speciallie thinhabitours in Teviotdaill, bordorers for anenttes your saide Est Marches. And, thinkinge that thofficers of Scotelande should furst have writtyn for meatinges,

[1] From the Chapter House, State Papers Scotland, p. 622., which contains also several of the inclosures; viz., Clyfford's letter of the 3d of October, the Scottish Commissioners' answer of the 7th, his second letter of the 10th, the King's letter of the 23d, and his reply of the 27th.

I dide

I dide forbear to write unto theym, unto that I thought, by all apperauncy, yf I wolde not maike mocion for meatynges, considering the saide slaughter, thei wold not haistelie have ben desierous of eny meatinge. And therfor I determyned the thrid day of the month of Octobre last, to write unto the lait Commissioners of Scotelande: and soe dide: and had from theym aunswer agane by their letter, which me thought was not of such substanciall and indiferent sorte, as myn expectation was it should have ben. And eftsonnes wrote unto theym a secunde letter; and of the same in like wies receyved their aunswer, beinge, as I tuyke it, of less affect towarte justice and reformation than the other their former letter was, and also set furth in the last part with elation and hieght. Wherfor I then thought most convenient to write unto theym the thrid tym, and at length to touche and explayn divers their allegations, as I might of sufficient grounde and mattir: and soe dide, and receyvede their thrid aunsuer. The coppies of all whiche letters and aunsuers I had in redines to have sent unto Your Highnes the 26^{ti} day of Octobre last, with my servaunt this berer. In which verray mean tym I receaved a letter from the officers of Scotelande for Teviotedaill, as to say, the Lardes of Cesford, Farnyhirst, and Marke Ker, compleynynge of one attempted commyt upon their Soverain subjectes undre their rewll by Your Graces subjectes undre my rewll; and replyynge the sam in writinge, thought in my self for the best to contenew thadvertisinge of Your Hieghnes, unto that I myght have perseverance of the mynd of the officers of Scoteland for Teviotdaill, whether thei wald be inclinable towarde the settinge forward or no. And conceyvinge the sam, to thintent now Your Hieghnes may at length perceyve all thinges mutuallie writtyn in every behalve, what is the stay now at this tym, and how I have ordered my self in thoes behalves, I send unto Your Hieghnes, herwithall, the copies of all the letters, aswell sent by me into Scoteland both to the lait Commissioners and thofficers of the Bordours, as from theym receyved.

I am determyned, yf that I have not the rather wourd furth of Scoteland of daies of meatinges accordinge to my demaund, yet againe to writ unto theym, speciallie forbicaus that as yet thei doe not writ nor declayr who shalbe their Soverains officers, to make aunser for Liddisdaill, accordinge as their promes was to my felloes, Your Graces lait Commissioners and me, at our departour. And, as I shall receive aunser from theym, or go forward in reaformynge of attemptates, I shall owther immediatlie advertise Your Hieghnes therof by my letters, or elles, yf I lieffullie may, puttinge the cuntre in good stay with my deputies, soe as may stonde with Your Graces honour, mayke my repayr unto Your Grace theraftre with deligence, to asserteyn Your Hieghnes

Hieghnes the playnnes of all the premisses at large. Wherin how to us my self in the mean tym, I moost humbly beseche Your Hieghnes that I may be advertised of your gracious pleasure; and like to my moost bounden duetie shall endevour me accordinglie, by the grace of the Holly Trinetye, who ever preserve Your most nobyll Hieghnes in contenewance of lyf with honour and helth. From your awn town of Barwike, the 7th day of Novembre.

Your Hiegnesis most humble
subject and servaunt,
(*Signed*) THOMAS CLYFFORD.

CCLIV. KING JAMES V. *to* KING HENRY VIII.

RICHT Excellent, Richt Hie, and Mychty Prince, our derrest Uncle and Brother, We recommend Ws [*unto Zou in*] maist hertlie maner. Forsamekle as We have directit presently unto Zou our traist Counsalour, Maister Adam Otti[*rburn of Auld*]hame, as ane personage in quhome We have singulair traist and confidence, and als as he yat hes ay bene a [*procurer*] and sollistar of peace and concord to be betuix Ws and our Realmes, to declair unto Zou our invart mynd, and [*how desi*]rouse We ar to have zour hertly kindnes pece and rest to be betuix Ws and our Realmes, and to communicate wy[*er*] thingis, yat may tend to ye weil yarof, lik as We have geven him in command and charge; praying Zou, derre[*st Uncle, to*] gif to him gud attendance and credence, as to Our self.

Richt Excellent, Richt Hie, and Mychty Prince, our derrest Uncle and Brother, God Almychty have Zou in keping. [*Geven under*] our Signet at our burgh of Couper, the 22 day of Novembre, and of our Regine the tuenty ane zeir.

(*Signed*) Your loving Brother and Nepho,
JAMES R.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Richt Excellent, Richt Hie, and Mychty Prince, our derrest Brother and Uncle, the King of Ingland.

CCLV. King James V. *to* King Henry VIII.

Richt Excellent, Richt Hie, and Mychty Prince, our derrest Bruthir and Uncle, We commend Ws unto Zou in our maist hertlie maner. Signifiand on to Zou We have directit our Thesaurar, and rycht weilbelovit traist counsailour, William Bischope of Abirdene, our Ambassiatour towart Zou[1], wyth all informationis and instructionis necessair for ye weill of ye peax betuix Ws and our Realmes; and for ye experience traist and confidence We have in our traist Counsalour Robert Abbot of Kinlose[2], and at ye desir of ye forsaid Reverend Fader, hes wyth him send towart Zou our said Abbot and Counsalour, quhome We desir Zou, derrest uncle, to treit in honest maner as efferis, and to admitt him in counsalis and secretis quhatsumever concernyng our materis, as ye said Reverend Fader, our Ambassiatour, requiris, as man luffand ye weill of ye peax and concord evir to stand betuix Ws and our Realmes.

Richt Excellent, Richt Hie, and Mychty Prince, our derrest Bruthir and Uncle, We pray Almychty God have Zou in His keping. Gevin onder our Signet, at our castel of Stirling, the penult day of Februar, and of Regine ye tuenty ane zeir.

(*Signed*) Zo[ur] lovyng Brother and Nepho,
James R.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Richt Excellent, Richt Hie, and Mychty Prince, our derrest Bruthir and Uncle, the King of Ingland.

CCLVI. King James V. *to* King Henry VIII.

Richt Excellent, Richt Hie, and Mychty Prince, oure derrest Uncle and Bruthir, We recommend Ws unto Zow in oure maist hartlie maner, signifiand unto Zow that, sen oure last depesche gevin to Zow with oure Ambassiatoure and Thesaurare, hes bene maid on oure Marcheis, be evill myndit personis zoure subjectis, sik invasioun and violence, as may be grete occasioun to breke

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[1] Sir Adam Otterburn was joined in the commission with William Stewart Bishop of Aberdeen. Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 483.

[2] Robert Reid, afterwards Bishop of Orkney.

this

this abstinence, standing betuix oure Realmez and liegijs, quhairof ane parte oure said Ambassiatoure and Thesaurare can schaw; the uthir and gretest of all attemptatis that wes done aganis oure liegijs during the hale weire, sen his departing, hes bene committit upon oure Myddill Marcheis be certane zoure liegijs of the surnames of Doddis Charltonis and Mylburnis, undir the cure of Schir Rauf Fenwik, quhilkis on the 6 day of this instant Marche hes cumin within the grund of Teviotdale, reft and spoilzeit sindry gudis, murdryst fyve men, and utheris left in perrell of deid; albeit We, on oure side, have done sic diligence to caus gude rewill be kepit on the Bordowris for oure parte, that, as We beleif, thaire is na just cause of complaynt aganis Ws. Praying Zow heirfore, derrest uncle, to cause reformatioun of thir attemptatis be haistelie providit, as accordis of resoun, baith for our honouris, and wele of oure Realmes and liegijs; considering that at the desire of zoure last writing, send unto Ws with Rothissay herald, We have to zoure pleasure drawin away all occasioun of breke fra oure Bordouris for oure parte. Forther, derrest Uncle, We refer to oure Ambassiatouris, quha will opin at lentht all thir materis unto Zow, to quham Ze pleise gif credence, as to Oure self. Richt Excellent, Rycht Hie, and Mychti Prince, oure derrest Uncle and Bruthir, We pray God have Zow evir in His keping. Gevin at oure Palyse of Falkland, the 18 day of Marche.

(*Signed*) Zȣ lovyng Brother and Nepho,
JAMES REX.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Richt Excellent, Richt Hie, and Mychti Prince, oure derrest Uncle and Bruthir, the King of Ingland.

CCLVII. ANGUS *to* G. DOUGLAS.[1]

BRODER, I commend me to zow. Weit ze, yat I am hayll and feyr at ye makyn off yis byll; desyryng ye sam off zow and all my gowde frendes in ya partes. Weit ze, yat I hayff rasawit zour writyngis fra Pate Nesbet, and hays spokyn with hym at lencht. Ferder ye sall weit, at frendis in Schotland has byddyn me adwertys zow, yat ze sall speyk with Master Adem Oterbowrn, or cawis sowm tentyk man to speyk with hym, as ze thynk expedyent, for he hays bot small trayst in Schotland as yai trast, and pray hym to be gowd in to my

[1] Holograph. From the Chapter House, State Papers Scotland, p. 72.

mater

mater and zowris; and ze may promys hym yar for as ze thynk expedyent, for hys word may do gowd at yis tym. Yarfor I pray zow, yat ze wyll lawbor to hym as zowr wysdown thynkis expedyent, for frendis trowis yat ze may lawber weyl with hym. Yar for he may be spokyn with yar, with owt ony suspecion. And ferder I pray zow to desyr ye Kyngis Grace to byd my Lord Wylzem[1] to speyk to ye Kyng of Schotland effecttousle for me, for yai trayst yat he wyll get an gowd answer. For tym yat my Lord Wylzem speyk, yar is oyer yat wyll help gowd putes in ye tym, for yai trayst yat it wyll be weill tayn with, sa yat he speyk frefully, as yai trayst yat has adwertysit me. Yar for I pray zow that ze wyll desyr ye Kynges Grace, and my Lord of Norchtwolk, and ye Sacrater, to byd hym speyk in yat mater, as ze and I sall adwertys hym of yat, and all oyer thynges at his cowmyn, with ye grace of God.

And ze sall weit, for oyer thyzandis in to Schotland, ye Clarge is sitand on in generall Cownsell in to Edynbrowgh apon an serten artykillis yat ye Kyng hais put to yam. Ye Kyng is nocht in to ye town Hym selff, and werra fewe temperall Lordes. And at ye makyn of yis wrytyn, ye Kyng was in Crawfurd Jhon in Cledysdal, and send his writyn to Edynbrowge to ye Clarge. Ye bereres of yis writyn was Schyr Jamys Hamylton, and Nycoll off Crawfwrd, and Mayster Jamys Fowlys. Yis was ye pwntis of the Kyngis charg and command, as I was adwertesit; bydand ye Clarge gyff owr ye crospresandes, and ye owmest claycht throw all Schotland, yat yai sowld be na mayr tayn, and at ewere man swld haif his awn teynd, payand yarfor for his teyndis syklyk as he payis to his landis lord of his malys, and na meyr for all his hayll tendes. And Schyr Jamys and ye tother twa sayd to ye Clarge, and yai grantit nocht to yat at ye Kyngis command, yat yar sowld be an charg layd to yam yat he swld ger yam set all yar ye temporall, yat ye kyrk hau, to few, and to hayff for it bot ye ald mayll, syklyk as ye ald rentalys berys. Ye kyrkmen of Schotland was newer sa ewyll content. Ye word is now throw all Schotland yat ye Kynges wyll meit, for yam yat was ferest agayn it in to Schotland sayis yat ye Kyng wyll meit his wnkyll, with ye grace off God, and trastis nocht ellis. For yir thyzandis yat I wryt to zow, yat ye man, yat schow me yam, com fra ye Kyng to Edynbrowge, and hard ye charg gyffin to yam with yir thre yat I wrait off be for. Nocht elles as now, bot God hayff zow in His kepyn. Wretyn at Berwyk, the 24 day of Marche.

(*Superscribed*)
To my broder Gorge Dowglas be yis delywerit.

(*Signed*) Ar^D Erl of Angus.

[1] Lord William Howard.

CCLVIII. KING JAMES V. *to* ALBANY.

RICHT traist and best belovit Cusing, We recommend Ws wnto zou in our maist effectus maner. Ve hef causit Canyvet zour servitour writ in siphir to zou part of our mynd instantlie, anent sik thingis as hes occurryt sene departing of our Enbassatour; prayand zou be deligent yerin for baith our welis, and ye weil of yis Realm, for We belef, quhen ze hef knawin quhat yis berer wil schaw, and it yat Canyvet vritis, wyth inform send till our Enbassatour, ze wil consider gret ewil devisit for Us baith by yat way. Yerfor, as ze luf our honour and weil, and zour awne, and ye honour and weil of yis Realm, be ze vigilant and diligent, yer quhar ze ar, and at ye Court of Rowm; and We, be zour awise, sall do our part heyr. Yis mater is bot werray laitlie cum till our knawlege; notwythstandyng, it is cum in dew tyme, and We do our part yarin. Ferder We refer ye opynnyng of ye hail mater til our Enbassatour be ye beraris informacioun; and be it yat Canyvet vritis in siphyr, haist ansuer agane in siphir to Canyvet, baith anent our effares dir[*ect*] to zou wyth our Enbassatour, and of yis yat hes occurrit of new.

Traist and bestbelovit Cusing, We pray God hef zou ever in keping. At our castel of Sterling, ye 10 of April, and of our Regine ye tuenty ane zer.

(*Signed*) JAMES R.

(*Superscribed*)
Tyl our rycht traist and bestbelovit Cousing,
ye Duk of Albanye.

CCLIX. BISHOP STEWART *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

SCHIR. I praye zou remembre ye wowrdis betuix zow and me anentis my Masteris mariage, and be solistar and dresser yerof, as ze schew to me ze sould do. Now is ye tym to solist, for our Imbassatoris ar in to Fraunce for ye samyn mater. Yerfor I pray zow hartly to have ye Kingis mynd yerintill, for it

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[1] Holograph. From the Museum, Caligula, B. III. leaf 278.

is

is an article of my secreit credence, as ye King Hym self knawis. His Grace ma perfetly wnderstand my Masteris gude and hartly mynd to Hym be mony wayis: yerfor I dowt nocht bot His Grace will do now, as appertenis to an nobill Prince and kynd wncle till do for his part, in all thingis belangand my Masteris weill honor and proffeit. I pray zow keip secreit fra all persone ye persuasioun of meting, bot fra ye Kingis Grace allanerly; sa yat nowlder wdyr man, Inglese nor Scotis, have wnderstanding yerof, for diverse gude causis as I can schaw zow. Our writingis ar endit; yerfor necessar is yat we meit yis Tewisday, and compleit all thingis as efferis, at yerefter we ma cum to ye Kyngis Grace, and have commoning with His Henese for our leif and departing. And Jhesus be zour kepar.

Zour hartly and gud frend,
(*Signed*) BISCHOPE OF ABR̃DEÑ.

Because I will mak na wyer Secretar in yir materis bot my self, ze may excuse my ewill hand.

CCLX. BISHOP STEWART *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

GUDE Sir, I commend me hertlie to Zou. Ze will pleise be rememberit, at oure last conventioune it was commonit yat ze and I suld have spoken togidder on Friday at evin, or Setterday in ye morning, and to have had finall resolutioune of our materis as I belevit. I waittit yerupoune, bot I knaw zou sa gretely occupijt, yat I may excuise. Prayande zou, Sir, yat ze will commende my hertly prayeris to ye Kingis Grace, and solist my gude and haisty depesche.[2] I have necessair service of my Maisteris ado at hame, and wes directit here as ane man, mare of credence nor of wisdome; and in gude faith desiris, without fraude or dissimulatioun, to have hertlie and gude peax betuix baith ye Princes, without ony dishonour or inconvenient to ony

[1] From the Chapter House, Miscellaneous Letters, Second Series, Vol. I. leaf 35.

[2] The treaty was on the 11th of May concluded for the two Kings' lives, and for one year after the death of either. Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 529. The following day a separate treaty was made for the restoration of the castle of Edryngton called Cawmill, and for the abode of Angus, George his brother, and Archibald his uncle, in England. Ibid. 538.

of

of yame, as I schew to ye Kingis Grace at lenth, and als to his Counsaill: prayande zou herfor to have ye Kingis Gracis mynde herintill, for my haisty depesche may be proffit to baith ye Princes, as I beleif; and I pray zou think never we will brek our peax with zou. Tharfor (trepidaverunt ubi non erat timor) I write yis in hamely and grose maner to zou, as to my freind and bruther; havande traiste of zoure Maister, as I have of myne, quhilk is and salbe evir to halde yame in hertly kyndnes. And Jhesu be zoure kepare.

Zour gud freind,

(*Signed*) BISHOPE OF ABERDEÑ:

(*Superscribed*)
To the richt honorable and weilbelovit Maister Crummell, First Secretar to ye Kingis Grace &ca.

CCLXI. BISHOP STEWART AND OTTERBURN *to* CRUMWELL.

RYCHT honorable and weilbelovit Schir, we commend ws hartly to zow. We wrait to zow zisterday af Cauldstrem, and yis day we haif commonite at mair lencht with our bordoraris of ye Eist Marche, and findis of verite yair is diverse sclauthteris and greit attemptatis done and committit apon yame laitlie; and, as we belief, yer salbe na haisty reformation yerof, because ye Capitane of Barwikis deputis heir, quhilk we haif spokyn, mevis to ws yat ye attemptatis ar greit, and tha ar sobir men quhilk ma nocht mak reformation for sclauchteris. And att our cuming to Hungtintone af Londone, inlikwise commonit with ye Captane of Bervik, quhome we faund nocht myndit for haisty dew metingis and redrese, quharfor we drid at besines risc agane in defalt of officeris, as hes bene of befoir; prayand zow heirfor to advert weill heirto, and send chairge to twa or thre weill myndit men, dwelland neir zour Bordouris, luffand ye peax and justice, to cum to ye meittingis one ye Eist Merchis, to see and onderstand at gud and dew redrese be maid; and ye Kingis Grace our Maister will nocht faill to send sek lik weill myndit wise personis to ye effect foirsaid; swa it sall nocht ly in na officeris powar to mak besines betuix ye Princys and yer Realmes. Schir, we knaw ze haif mekle ado in grit materis, nocht ye lese we pray zow yat yir materis be rememberit with all deligence, considerand it concernis ye weill of bayth ye Princis and yer Realmes, and at ze will, be post, mak ws advertisment yat we ma appoint dayis

dayis of meitting schortly to be kepit, and our Commissionaris may be reddy to meit with zouris at ye said Eist Merchis; for as to ye oyer Marchis it is nocht neidfull at ony Commissionaris be had, because yer is daly meittingis, and we heir na complaintis. At yis part of ye Bordour hes bene, in tymes bigane, ye grit default of justice, and is able zit to be, with out ze remeid it, as we schaw zow oft tymes at Londone. We pray zow at yis mater be rememberit with deligence; and God keip zow. Writing at ye Merse, in our paissaige to Edinburgh, ye thrid of Junij.

(*Signed*) Zour gud frend, BISCHOPE OF ABERDEÑ.

(*Superscribed*) To the rycht honorable and welbelovit Maister Crumwell, Greit Secretar to ye Kingis Grace of Ingland &ca.

(*Signed*) Be zr awn AD̃: OTTꝰBURN.

CCLXII. A Remembrance to the KINGES Highnes and his mooste honorable Counsaill for THERLE OF ANGUSE and his brother; wherin it may pleas His Highnes to direct his most gracious letters to the Kinges Grace of Scotlande in the favour of the said Erle and his brother, with somme substanciall wise gentilman concerning their requeste heraftur ensewing.

FURSTE, it may pleas Your Highnes to call unto Your Graces remembrance your many and sundry requestes and writinges made unto the Kinges said Grace of Scotlande in the favours of the said Erle and his brother. Your Grace doithe knowe the trew and faithfull hert and mynde that the said Erle and his brother have borne and berethe towardes the said King; and also considering we never offended unto His Grace, or were robbers murderers or also brekers of his lawes or justice, but that we, by the sinistre enformacion of our small freindes and evill willars (without cause or occasion by us to His Grace or Realme geven), were exiled and putt furthe of the realme of Scotlande. The principall point and cause, whiche our said non freindes furst allegied for them selfes was, that we shulde have put furthe His Grace unto Your Highnes; and Your Grace doithe perfitelie knowe the contrary, for of our honesties we doo not knowe any offence, that we shulde have

have done unto His Grace, or that His Grace shulde have displeasure to us, except it be for serving of Your Grace the last warre. Wherfore we mooste humbly and lawly besuche Your Highnes to direct your tender loving and kinde letters unto His Grace, that we may be restored thidder, and to our possessiones and landes, and the same to occupye and have, as we did before we were exiled. This being done, incace we had bene offendours, as we are none, we truste Your Highnes reasonable request and deasire herin shall not be denyed.

Secondelie, it woll pleas Your Highnes and moste honorable Counsaill, that we might have knowelege, afore or the gentilman past into Scotlande, to thintent we may certefye our freindes in Scotlande to cause theim make laubours to have knowlege of the Kinges mynde, whiche way were best to content and pleas His Grace, and to bring the matter to good effect and purpose, so that our freindes might alwayes, frome tyme to tyme, reasorte unto the said gentilman, to advertise hym therof as the case shall require.

We truste also that Your Highnes and moste honorable Counsaill, at the concluding and taking of the laste peax, have takin suche ordour for us, our poore bloide and hous, as doith stonde for Your Graces honor and the welth and suretie of us and our bloide; for we ar bounde to Your Grace evermore to be your servauntes for the grete goodnes to us shewed heretofore, and further to pray for the preservation of Your Highnes mooste roiall estate.[1]

CCLXIII. King James V. *to* King Henry VIII.[2]

Derrest and bestbelovit Brother and Oncle, in owre maist hartly manner We commend Us to Zow. We have resavet be owr Bischop and Thesaurer zowr lowyng and tender wrytyngs, wrytyn be zowr awyn hand, and alls zowr gud and conforme credence; of the quhylks We thank Zou wyth all owre hart, assuryng Zow We sall trewly and constantly persevier in perfyt kyndneis towart Zow, confform tyll owre oder wrytyngs and credence send with owre sayd

[1] This is indorsed, "Instruccons for a letter to be made to the Kyng of Scottes for thErle of "Anguysche and his brother."

[2] Holograph.

Byschop.

Byschop. Derrest Oncle, We beleiff surly owre wrytyngs suld be tyll Ws bayth, and tyll owre lowyng fryndys, gret mater off pleser and consolacyon, and tyll owre onfryndys matir off dredder and dyspleser. And becaus We understand, derrest Oncle, that thayr is mytyng to be betwyx Zow and France at thys tym, We wyll wryt na ferder, quhyll zowr returnyn, quhylk We besyk God be sone and wyll, and thayr effter Ze sall knaw, wyll God, farder owre mynd in that and owther materis. Derrest Oncle, We pray God ewer to hawe Zow in Hys kyepyng. Wyth my ewell hand,

Zowr lowyng hartly Brother
and Nepho,

James Rex.

CCLXIV. King Henry VIII. *to* King James V.

Right Excellent, Right High, and Mightie Prince, our derest Brother and Nephew, We commende Us unto You in our right hertie maner, signefieng unto You, that We have receyved your kynde and lovyng letters by thandes of your trustie Counsaillour and Ambassadour the Abbote of Keinlosse. And, like as uppon the repayre thither of our trustie and welbeloved Counsailours the Priour of our Monasterie of Duresme[1], Mr Thomas Magnus, and Mr William Frankelyn, our Ambassadours sent unto You for thaccomplishing and perfyting of all thinges requysyte for the observing of the peax concluded betwixt Us, our Realmes, domynions, and subjectes, Ye have accordinglie for your parte ratefied confirmed and approved the saide peax[2], and for the observing of the same have gyven your solempne othe, according to the request of our saide Ambassadours, in suche loving kynde and hertie maner, as the same is not a litle to our rejoysee and contentation: We also, derest Brother and Nephew, have semblablie for our parte gyven our solempne othe for confirmacion keping

[1] Hugh Whitehead, afterwards Dean of Durham.

[2] The treaty was ratified by James V. on the 30th of June (Rymer, Vol. XIV. p. 540.), and on the 6th of July the Abbot of Kinloss was commissioned to carry the ratification to Henry VIII. (ib. 542.) The Prior and Frankeleyn, by their letter of the 9th of July (Caligula, B. VIII. leaf 163.) acquaint the King that according to the continue of his Majesty's letters of 26 May, they had in company with Mr. Magnus been with the King of Scots, seen him ratify, &c. the treaty, which was done at Holyrood House in presence of, as it was esteemed, 2000 persons, with great joy, &c. as Mr. Magnus would at large shew.

and observing of the saide peax, and have fulfilled, and with hertie good will accomplisshed, every thing to all poyntes requyred therto by your saide Ambassadour, in maner and fourme as Ye have don for your parte; the good successe whereof shal not onelie be acceptable and pleasaunt to Almightie God, thincrease of both our honours strength and powers ayenst our enemies, if any hostilite or warre should chaunce agenst Us by any other Prynces (which God defende), but also to the grete weale and commodyte of our lovyng subjectes in both our Realmes countrees and domynyons, which We shall effectuallie intende alwayes to conserve for our parte, aswell towardes You as Our self, in right lovyng syncere and hertie maner; not doubting, derest Brother and Nephew, but Ye will semblablie be as confourmeable and willing thereunto for your parte, as We shalbe for ours; whiche can not but highlie redounde to both our honours. And thus Right Excellent, Right High, and Myghtie Prynce, our derest Brother and Nephew, Almightie God have you in His blessed tuycyon. Yoven under our Signet &ca.

CCLXV. King Henry VIII. *to* Queen Margaret.

Right Excellent, Right High, and Mightie Pryncesse, and our derest Syster, We commende Us unto You in our right hertie and affectuous maner; signefieng unto You that, having receyved your lovyng and kynde letters addressed unto Us by the Reverende Father in God thAbbote of Kenlosse, and well perceyving by the same your tender zele and affection towardes Us, with also your ardant mynde and desire to have perpetuell peax, syncere amyte, love, and unyon to contynew betwixt Us and our derest brother and nephew your son, both our Realmes and subjectes, in the perfecting and effectuall accomplisshment whereof Ye alwayes most lovynglie have putto your devoyres and hertie good will; We therefore, most dere and lovyng Sister, can no lesse but (like as We do) take the same kyndelie to herte, so We doo gyve You our most entier lovyng and hertie thankes for the same.[1] And, forasmoche as the peax is now perfited and concluded, and also ratefied and confirmed, aswell

[1] Magnus, soon after the conclusion of the treaty, in a letter to Crumwell, dated at Maribourne near Westminster, Whitsunday morning 24 May (Chapter House, State Papers Scotland, p. 302.), hinted the expediency of Henry's writing to the Queen.

by

by Us as our saide derest brother and nephew, with solempne othes yeven by Us both for the inviolable observing of the same as aperteyneth; We firmelie trust that the good sequele and successe thereof shalbe moch to the pleasure of Almightie God, the grete joye and consolacion aswell of Us as our saide derest brother and nephew, your son, and specyallie the gret weale commoditie and profite of both our Realmes countrees domynyons and subjectes. For the preservation increase and contynuance of which saide amyte and peax, We doubt not Ye will contynew to shew your good mynde zele and will, as Ye alwayes have don hitherto, which We shall intende agayne to requyte with all gratuyte love kyndenes and amyte, towardes our saide derest brother and nephew, his Realme and subjectes, according to your hertie request and desire.

LONDON: Printed by GEORGE EYRE and ANDREW SPOTTISWOODE,
Printers to the King's most Excellent Majesty. 1836.